# THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SECOND, AND OF RICHARD and JOHN, his SONS;

With the EVENTS of the Period, from 1154 to 1216.

In which the Character of THOMAS A BECKET is vindicated from the Attacks of GEORGE LORD LYTTELTON.

---

Ut nihil nimiè, nihil nisi verè dicatur.
WIL. MALM.

---

By the Revd. JOSEPH BERINGTON.

---

BIRMINGHAM: PRINTED BY M. SWINNEY:
FOR G. G. J. & J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER ROW; AND R. FAULDER,
NEW BOND STREET, LONDON.
M.DCC.XC.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

# TO
# *The Right Hon.* CHARLES JAMES FOX.

SIR,

JUST emerged from the view of times, to which modern vanity has imputed a peculiar darkneſs, it was natural, I ſhould turn my eyes to the living characters of this iſland, that, by compariſon, I might eſtabliſh their relative excellence, weighing manners with manners, and men with men. That the reſult was favourable to my own days, it is unneceſſary to ſay. Yet then there were ſtateſmen of great political ſagacity; patriots to whom their country was dear; ſoldiers who nobly fought her battles; and churchmen of diſintereſted virtue. The candor of your mind will readily admit more than this. And where I have exhibited the imperfect ſtate of things, particularly of our political government, I truſt, your knowledge of the ſubject will juſtify the ſtatement, and clear me from the charge of an unfounded theory.

It is on Runnemede, Sir, that I wiſh to meet you, the ſacred field of liberty! And if you but approve the ſpirit with which I led the barons to it, I ſhall think my labour has been repaid. But whatever may have been my enthuſiaſm,

I was

I was patient, I know, in the enquiry, and accurate to a ſcrupulous preciſion. On that ſpot, where the language of flattery would not find utterance, I ſhall be permitted to ſay, that there lives one modern patriot at leaſt, in competition with whom, the barons of thoſe days were but puny men. Nature endowed him with ſplendid talents, and bleſſed him with a heart, comprehenſive, generous, manly, and ſincere. His talents he gave to his country, and his heart to his friends. Animated by a laudable ambition, and the love of generous praiſe, we have ſeen him the darling of the people; and, as the tide of royal favour flowed, we have ſeen him in the poſſeſſion of power, and ſharing in the duties of a mighty empire. But neither to power, nor party, nor wealth, nor the ſmiles of favour, have we ſeen him ſacrifice the great intereſts of honour and integrity. True to this level, he deemed no preferment worth the ſurrender of character; or thought that the fame of a ſtateſman ſtood in need of inſincere profeſſions, and the frothy teſtimonies of duplicity. On a late occaſion, when it was vainly clamoured that danger threatened the conſtitution, we beheld that ſame patriot, ſolicited even by thoſe who had been his enemies, come forward the avowed champion of unreſtrained toleration, and of the ſacred rights of conſcience.

It

It has, for ſome time, been the faſhion with courtiers, and with prieſts, and with men of irritable minds, whom ſome jealouſy, perhaps, has warped, to decry the politics of France, as originating in the baſeſt deſigns, and as ſupported by meaſures, which tyranny only, and the worſt paſſions of the heart can patroniſe. This is not the language of cool diſcernment, which weighs the proceſs of events while they proceed, through inevitable confuſion and the ſtrife of jarring intereſts, to a conſummation, it may be preſumed, that ſhall ſecure the rights of men, break the arm of deſpotiſm, and give liberty to millions. The darkneſs which clouds the view will be diſſipated, as the teeming plan ſhall be developed. But this may be aſſerted, that, had the counſels of ſuch men been liſtened to as I have mentioned, the mad career of John had never been reſiſted; no Magna Charta had graced the annals of the thirteenth century; and the conſtitution of theſe realms, by bold and reiterated efforts, had not yet been formed. We are in poſſeſſion, Sir, of your ſentiments, ever dictated by the ſame free, unvarying, and comprehenſive views.

But even in this iſland, Sir, exiſts a proſcribed ſociety, whom neither popular hatred, nor the malevolence of bigotry, nor the rigour of perſecuting ſtatutes, have been able

able to annihilate. Their anceſtors were the men who once brought glory and freedom to the land; their principles grew with its growing greatneſs, cementing the political fabric as it roſe; and their church was, for ages, as it is now ſtyled, its eſſential and indiſſoluble partner. This ſociety, as the ſtorm, they truſt, is over, looks ardently to the reſtoration of their rights, and to the common privileges of men. But they are with-held; and a wretched policy ſtill dictates, that the proſperity and ſtrength of Britain ſhall depend on the diſunion of its members, and that partial favours ſhall beſt ſecure the good-will of all. Sir; it is reſerved, perhaps, for you, when the country ſhall again poſſeſs your ſervices, to remove the ſtain of intolerance from her name, and yourſelf to become, what to a great mind is the nobleſt triumph, the protector of the oppreſſed, and the reſtorer of the inſulted honour of the Engliſh Catholics.

With the greateſt reſpect,
I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
And humble ſervant,

JOSEPH BERINGTON.

*Oſcott, near Birmingham,*
*April* 6, 1790.

# PREFACE.

THE *History* I now offer to the public, may be considered, in one sense, as a continuation of the *History of the Lives of Abeillard and Heloisa*, which I published in the year 1787; for the general events are connected, and proceed uninterruptedly from the close of that period. At the end of the *Preface* to that work, I said: "My "history breaks off at a most brilliant and impor- "tant epoch. It is, when Henry Plantagenet "had just mounted the throne of England, when "his dissentions were soon to begin with Becket, "when Frederic Barbarossa was in Germany, "when Alexander III. was at Rome, and when "the general aspect of Europe seemed to promise "events, great and interesting. The period has "already been ably treated; but should the public "favour encourage me, *perhaps* I may be tempted "again to review it." The public favour did encourage me, and I prosecuted my design. But

I could not then calculate the labour that would attend it. However, in my former reſearches, having acquired ſome knowledge of the manners and of the general character of the times, I was not in the forlorn ſituation of a traveller who is thrown on a diſtant land, to whom the language of the inhabitants, the country, and all its ways, are ſtrange and inextricable. My ſources of information, beſides, were ample.

In reading the Hiſtory of Henry II. as given by modern writers, I had, many years before, remarked, with what aſperity they ſpoke of Becket, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and of his controverſy with that king. I likewiſe knew, how highly, at the ſame time, the character of that prelate was venerated in my own church. That truth was never found in the extreme of any queſtion, I was aware; and it was my wiſh to bring the ſubject to a fair diſcuſſion, and to be juſt. If I have not been ſo; ſome untoward circumſtance of my mind, which I could not command, has led me into error. — Sometimes I have been ſorry, that I had not confined myſelf ſolely to the life of Becket. I could then have taken a wider view of it, and have brought forward, in ſo ſhort a period, many incidents

dents and anecdotes, which would have thrown additional light on the times. But the greater events of hiſtory coaleſce better with kings and ſtateſmen; and as they, to the neglect of more intereſting materials, have filled the pages of our ancient writers, we collect them with leſs labour. —Having completed the reign of Henry, in a much ſhorter compaſs than I had expected, the natural connection between him and his ſons led me on to the two ſucceeding reigns. And the concomitant characters and events of the period, as far as I could admit them, ſerved, all along, opportunely to break the narration, and to relieve it. I muſt now acquaint my reader with the ſources from which I drew.

On the affairs of England, I conſulted William of Malmſbury, William of Newborough, Ralph de Diceto, Gervaſe of Canterbury, Roger de Hoveden, Girald of Wales or Cambrenſis, Geoffry Vinſauf, Matthew Paris, the Chronicles of Mailros, and of Walter Hemingford, and the Annals of Margan, of Burton, and of Waverley.

William of Malmſbury.

*William of Malmſbury*, a monk of that abbey in Wiltſhire, lived under Henry I. and Stephen. Of his life little is known but what himſelf has

recorded: but his writings, by their elegance of ſtyle and accuracy, have given immortality to his name, and rendered it dear to the lovers of Engliſh hiſtory. Robert, earl of Glouceſter, the natural ſon of that Henry, and the Mecenas of the age, was the protector of this learned monk; and to him he dedicated his two principal works. "Which," ſays Leland, "as often as I take into my hand, I "am compelled to admire the diligence of the "man, whoſe reading had been vaſt; the felicity "of his diction, which could imitate the beſt ori-"ginals; and the ſoundneſs of his judgment[a]." His general hiſtory of England *(De Geſtis Regum Anglorum)* is in five books, from the arrival of the Saxons, in 449, to the 26th of Henry I. 1126: his modern hiſtory *(Hiſtoriæ Novellæ)* in two books, from that year, to 1143: and a hiſtory of the Engliſh church in four books. Theſe Sir Henry Saville publiſhed an. 1596. The titles of his other works are various. A faithful and animated tranſlation of the above hiſtories would be well received, I think, by the public.

William of Newborough.

*William of Newborough*, in Latin *Neubrigenſis*, was a monk in the abbey of that name in Yorkſhire, now

[a] De Scrip. Brit. p. 195.

now the ſeat of the noble family of Bellaſyſe. He was born in 1136, and lived to ſee the end of the century. Among his works the moſt valuable is the hiſtory of England, *(Rerum Anglicarum)* in five books, from the conqueſt to 1197, the eighth year of king Richard, which extenſive knowledge of the ſubject, veracity of narration, proper arrangement, and uncommon purity of language, have rendered highly eſtimable. I have ſometimes ſtyled him the moſt philoſophical of the monkiſh writers; for I ſaw in him an honeſt love of truth, a depth of obſervation, and a boldneſs of reflection which the ſubſervient ſpirit of the cowl could not ſtifle. His ſevere ſtrictures on the fabling Geoffry of Monmouth have excited the diſpleaſure of ſome ancient Britons and of Leland[b]; and Pitts dares to queſtion his general veracity, becauſe, on ſome occaſions, he too freely patroniſed the civil meaſures of the ſtate[c]. The above hiſtory was publiſhed by Hearn in three volumes 8vo. 1719. Mine is a German edition in folio.

Ralph de Diceto.

*Radulphus de Diceto*, dean of St. Paul's, contemporary with Henry II. and his ſons, wrote two hiſtories of this country, one a mere abridgment *(Abbre-*

[b] Ib. p. 203. [c] De Ill. Ang. Scrip. p. 270.

*(Abbreviationes chronicorum)* from 589 to 1197, and the other *(Ymagines hiſtoriarum)* from 1149 to 1199, the firſt of king John. From his rank in the church, and the various buſineſs in which he was employed, Radulphus was well qualified to record the tranſactions, particularly of his own times, and he has done it with accuracy and truth. His facts ſeem judiciouſly ſelected, and they are arranged with perſpicuity; and his narration, without being very correct, or elegant, or minute, or flowing, proceeds with manlineſs and candour. I have obſerved that he, as well as other writers of the age, were well acquainted with the characters and great occurrences of other countries, which they have carefully tranſmitted. The titles of the works of Radulphus are numerous: and his two hiſtories, as juſt deſcribed, were publiſhed by Sir Roger Twyſden in his collection of *ten writers*, an. 1652.

Gervaſe of Canterbury.

*Gervaſius*, a monk of Chriſtchurch in Canterbury, was coeval with the laſt writer. His works are a *Chronicle* of Engliſh hiſtory from 1122 to the end of the reign of Richard, the *Lives* of the archbiſhops of Canterbury from Auſtin to 1205, and a *Treatiſe* on the deſtruction by fire, and the rebuilding of

the

the cathedral of Chriſtchurch, which himſelf witneſſed. — In the writings of Gervaſius is much curious information, and they are diſpoſed with great chronological preciſion. But on the tranſactions of the church, and particularly thoſe, in which he was perſonally intereſted, the diſputes between his monaſtery and the archbiſhops, he dwells with a diſguſting prolixity. General events are well told, and ſometimes with a circumſtantial minuteneſs, which an accurate obſerver only could have detailed. His deſcription of the rebuilding of Chriſtchurch is a valuable piece. The ſtyle of Gervaſius has no flowers; but it is not low, or obſcure, or languid. His works are in the laſt-mentioned collection.

Roger de Hoveden.

*Roger de Hoveden*, or de Howden, was domeſtic chaplain to Henry II. and was employed by him in the tranſaction of many important concerns, being, from early application, particularly ſkilled in the canon and civil law. After the death of his maſter he retired, and compiled his *Annals* of Engliſh hiſtory, from 731, when Bede's hiſtory cloſes, to 1202, a work replete with various matter, and written with an accuracy that ſurpriſes. In recording events, he not only notes the years, but the months,

months, the days, and ſometimes the hours when they happened. "If to veracity," ſays Leland, "the firſt quality of the hiſtorian, Roger had join-"ed ſome little of Roman elegance, he would "have borne off the palm without a rival[d]." But that he neglected. Hence his ſtyle is ſlovenly, his phraſeology often ſcriptural, and his narration looſe, unconnected, and void of order. He is accuſed of having pirated his materials from the hiſtories of Simeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, and the abbot of Peterborough, authors of renown, and the laſt his contemporary. The charge, in its full extent, is not juſt; for he relates many things of which himſelf had been witneſs. In the reign of Edward I. when his claim to the ſovereignty of Scotland was litigated, the libraries of England were ordered to be ſearched, and the *annals* of Hoveden being found with other hiſtories, on their ſtatement of prior facts was the proud pretenſion aſcertained[e], that is, in the opinion of the Engliſh monarch and his court. The *Annals* are in the collection of Sir Henry Saville.

Giraldus Cambrenſis.

*Giraldus Cambrenſis*, deſcended from noble anceſtors, was born near Tenby in Pembrokeſhire. With

[d] Ut ſup. p. 229. [e] Thos. Walſingh. an. 1292.

with much ſelf-complacency, and with a vanity which has been ſeldom equalled, himſelf has related his firſt education under his uncle, the biſhop of St. David's; his application to ſtudy; his great fame, as a rhetorician, in the ſchools of Paris; his preferments in the church; his labours to ſave the ſouls of his countrymen, who neglected to pay the tithes of their cheeſe and wool; his promotion to the archdeaconry of Brecon and to the ſee of St. David's, which the diſinclination of Henry II. would not permit him to occupy; the further proſecution of learning, in the laws and theology, at Paris, where his fame outwent the moſt exalted praiſe; his being called to the court of Henry, appointed his chaplain, and preceptor to prince John, and his journey with the youth into Ireland; his progreſs through Wales with Baldwin archbiſhop of Canterbury, where they preached the cruſade, and his *Latin* ſermons drew tears of extacy from the liſtening crouds of Welſhmen; his better proſpects at the acceſſion of Richard, as the laſt king would not reward virtues and abilities which he was compelled to admire; his refuſing the biſhoprics of Bangor and Landaff, having fixed his heart on the ſee of St. David's; his retiring (as

the aſpect of public affairs, during the abſence of the king, promiſed no ſucceſs) to Lincoln, where, for ſix years, he heared the lectures of William de Monte in theology, and compoſed many works; his ſecond election to the ſee of St. David's, wherein he was again oppoſed by the primate Hubert, involved in difficulties, forced, at a great expence, to make three journeys to Rome, and at laſt defeated; his withdrawing from the world, where, in a ſtudious privacy, he ſpent ſeventeen years[f]. Such, from his own deſcription, was the life of Giraldus, a man of uncommon activity, endowments, and learning.—In the long catalogue of his works, the principal are the *Topography of Ireland*, drawn from actual ſurvey, but which, with ſome intereſting information, is crouded with tales of ſtrange events and appearances:—The *Conqueſt of Ireland*, in two books, which, though too partial to the Engliſh name, is a production of great value:—And the *Itinerary of Wales*, containing a deſcription of that country and its inhabitants, of which many parts are highly curious.—The ſtyle of Giraldus is affected and unequal. He took delight in drawing characters, and in reporting the ſpeeches

[f] Giral. Camb. de rebus a ſe geſtis ap. Angl. Sacr.

ſpeeches of his heroes, after the manner of the ancients; but he was not aware that the clumſy imitation betrayed his weakneſs and want of claſſical taſte. — Mr. Camden collected the works, I have mentioned, which were printed, with others, at Francfort in 1603.

Geoffry Vinſauf.

*Geoffry Viniſalvus*, a poet and hiſtorian, lived under Richard and John, the firſt of whom he accompanied into Paleſtine, and whoſe expedition and exploits he recorded. This is the *Iter Hieroſolymitanum* in ſix books. The biographers of Vinſauf, even Leland, ſpeak of his accompliſhments, and the admirable ſtyle of his works, in a manner that has ſurpriſed me. So laboured to me is his diction, that it raiſed diſguſt; his dull narrations tired me; and I could not give credit to his ſtatement of facts, which a romantic fancy ſeemed always to have magnified, and often to have invented. — The *Iter* of Vinſauf is in Gale's collection, an. 1687.

Matthew Paris

*Matthew Paris*, a monk of St. Alban's, who lived in the reign of Henry III. wrote two hiſtories of England, the *Hiſtoria Major* from the conqueſt to 1259, and the *Hiſtoria Minor*, which is an abridgment of the former made by himſelf. Matthew is deſcribed as an univerſal ſcholar, and he ſeems to

have merited the praiſe. His hiſtories are an ineſtimable treaſure, for their accuracy, their independent and free ſpirit, and their extenſive information. But the ſtyle is heavy and inelegant; and a weak credulity, introducing idle tales, too often breaks and diſgraces the intereſting narration. He ſaw the abuſive pretenſions of Rome, and boldly cenſured them — Of theſe works many editions have been given.

Chronicle of Mailros.

The *Chronicle de Mailros*, a monaſtery on the banks of the Tweed, was written by various hands, and contains the annals of the Scottiſh kings from 735 to 1270: but it alſo records ſome events which intereſt the Engliſh hiſtorian. — The *Chronicle* is in Gale.

Walter Hemingford.

*Walter Hemingford*, a canon regular of Giſborn in Yorkſhire, publiſhed a *Chronicle* of Engliſh hiſtory from the conqueſt to the death of Henry III. 1272. His facts are moſtly drawn from other writers.—The work is in Gale.

Annals of Margan.

The *Annals de Margan*, or Morgan, an abbey in Glamorganſhire founded by the famous duke Robert in 1147, contain a very ſuccinct account of the affairs of this country from the conqueſt to 1232, but ſuch as are not all found in the more voluminous writers.—They are in Gale. The

Annals of Burton.

The *Annals of Burton*, written by an unknown author, a monk of that abbey in Staffordſhire, profeſs to open with the year 1004; but it is not till the reign of Richard, that they enter into any detail. From this year 1189, they exhibit much curious matter, and proceed to 1263, or the latter years of Henry III. Matthew Paris and this author were, probably, contempories; and their hiſtories confirm, and throw mutual light on each other. The annals are in Gale.

Annals of Waverley.

The *Annals of Waverley* are another anonymous compilation, written, as it appears, by a ſucceſſion of monks. They begin with the conqueſt, the author of which part profeſſes that he had ſeen William and been in his court. The narration then goes on, with much ſimplicity and apparent candour to 1291, the nineteenth year of Edward I. Waverley was a Ciſtercian abbey in Surrey. — Theſe annals are alſo in Gale.

From theſe copious ſources, as other writers had done, I collected the principal materials. But I ſeldom conſulted Matthew of Weſtminſter, who in his *Chronicle* from Adam to the reign of Edward II. as far as he could, has abridged Matthew Paris; nor the *Chronicle* of John Bromton from 588 to 1198,

1198, a writer of much more recent date than the laſt year announces, and the tranſcriber of Hoveden in nearly all that is important; nor the *Compilation* of Henry Knighton, *de eventibus Angliæ*, from the reign of Edgar to 1395, the laſt years of Richard II. a valuable hiſtorian, but who, having lived at ſo late a period, could add no weight to the teſtimony of more contemporary authors. The two laſt are in Twyſden.—It was not my wiſh to ſwell the line of references with an unneceſſary diſplay of names. So alſo, as I only looked for the moſt authentic documents, I was ſatisfied with thoſe which approached neareſt to the times, and only ſought other aid as it became neceſſary. The reader will therefore notice that I do not quote Matthew Paris, till the other ſources were exhauſted, and his authority, as the events came nearer to him, grew. The method, I thought, would beſt conduce to the eſtabliſhment of hiſtoric truth.

In ſtating the controverſy between Henry and the primate, and in my relation of the latter's life, I found the authors, I have mentioned, abundantly informing. Them I copied, and the four contemporary writers, Herbert de Boſeham, William of Canterbury, John of Saliſbury, and the abbot Alan,

Alan, whoſe relations are prefixed to the collection of the extenſive correſpondence on the ſubject, and the letters themſelves. No portion of hiſtory is ſo richly ſupplied with materials as this. The biography is in three books, written with too partial an inclination to the primate and his cauſe; and the letters in five. Theſe are from various correſpondents, the greateſt men of the age, and are an invaluable monument of its learning, its politics, and its taſte. They were publiſhed from a MS in the Vatican library, by Chriſtianus Lupus, at Bruſſels, an. 1682.

To the moderns I am not much indebted; for poſſeſſing the original writers themſelves, I wiſhed to be guided by them alone, and to feel no foreign influence. Occaſionally, however, I looked into Rapin, and Hume, and the Hiſtory of Henry II. by George Lord Lyttelton.

Of *Rapin* the far moſt valuable part are the *notes* by his tranſlator Tindal. The work itſelf is a baſe compilation, which has marred the beauty of Engliſh ſtory, and led many writers, who have been ſatisfied to copy him, into an endleſs maze of errors. Sore from ill-uſage, as he juſtly deemed it, and his expulſion from France, Rapin ſought

to

to revenge the injury on all its monarchs, miſtating their views and politics: he vilified the religion of Rome and the characters of its miniſters, from bigotry and abſurd attachments to his new faith: and in relating the tranſactions of England, he was partial and unjuſt. On all occaſions, the unfounded ſuggeſtions of his own mind, and looſe ſurmiſes are preſented, for the genuine ſtatements of the ancient chroniclers, whom he dares to quote. Unfortunately, I have ſaid, the ſpirit of this man has been transfuſed into other pens, through a thouſand channels.

Even Mr. *Hume*, I fear, was ſometimes content to tranſcribe from Rapin, when the beſt originals lay open before him. But the philoſopher's fame roſe not from the firſt volumes of his hiſtory, which, I truſt, I may be permitted to ſay, are indiſtinct from compreſſion, and ſometimes inaccurate, perhaps, from the ſame cauſe. He ſeems to have finiſhed them as a taſk, which had not engaged his heart, or rouſed the energies of his mind.

Lord Lyttelton's *hiſtory* is a valuable compilation, which the ſcholars of future days will conſult. The laſſitude I have felt in its peruſal, only ſaid that the digreſſions were too long and frequent,

and

and that the ſtory, which never ends, wanted life and intereſt. It is a treaſure of knowledge, replete with much truth and accurate deſcription. But I have to complain that his partiality for Henry permitted him not to ſee diſtinctly, even when the medium was moſt ſerene, and that the *horror of popery*, which in ſome is a real malady, had diſordered his judgment. The mind which is oppreſſed by this diſeaſe, ſhould not be allowed to enter on the diſcuſſion of eccleſiaſtical matters, particularly at ſuch a period as was that of Henry II. His notions alſo of a limited prerogative, and of a parliamentary repreſentation, were drawn from a theory which the facts of hiſtory did not eſtabliſh. What elſe I have to object to the noble author ſhall be mentioned in its place.

My authorities for the general hiſtory, which accompanies that of England, were the beſt I could procure.—In the concerns of France, which all along are connected with our own; our own hiſtorians ſupplied ample information; and to them were joined a few chronicles, and among the moderns, Mezeray, Daniel, and the preſident Henault.

In ſtating the affairs of Germany, Sicily, and Lombardy, I was happy in being able to recur to Muratori, the illuſtrious librarian of Modena, whoſe volumes of univerſal literature are themſelves a library. His *Annali d'Italia* preſent every thing, from the original authors themſelves, which the moſt ſcrupulous hiſtorian may deſire. I was, beſides, in poſſeſſion of the *Chronicle* of the abbot of Urſperg, and of the *Life* of Frederic Barbaroſſa, by Otho de Freiſingen his uncle, and of an *Abridgment* of German hiſtory by Peeffel.

The *Annals* of Baronius and the *Hiſtory* of Fleury were the authors I conſulted on the affairs of the church. Too much cannot be ſaid in praiſe of either. Baronius gives you ample extracts from the beſt authors, (for the treaſures of the Vatican were all open to him,) on which the writer may form his own judgment, unbiaſſed by the partial and courtly views of the Roman cardinal. Unfortunately his reſearches end with the year 1198, and as yet the learned have but ſhewn their weakneſs, in attempting to continue his labours. Baronius, however, it muſt be owned, was credulous; he wanted critical ſcience, which, when he lived, was but in its infancy; and his love of controverſy led

led him into diſquiſitions, which break unpleaſantly the thread of hiſtory. He died in 1607.— Of the merits of Fleury I have elſewhere ſpoken[s]; and I can add that, the more I have compared him with the original writers, the greater has been my admiration of his uncommon accuracy and ſcrupulous preciſion.

This account, though imperfect, of the authors I had by me, will, I hope, give ſome ſatisfaction. It will prove at leaſt that my materials were not defective. — Should it be aſked, why I did not extend my reſearches into the hiſtories of Spain and other kingdoms, and unite their events with thoſe I have recorded? I can reply, that it was not my plan to write a *general* hiſtory of the period, and that I wiſhed only to bring forward ſuch matters, as were either immediately connected with the concerns of England, or ſuch as might ſerve, by their importance, to give relief and variety. On a larger ſcale than this, the hiſtory itſelf of England, which I viewed as the prominent and central figure, would have been thrown back on the ſcene, or have been overwhelmed in the accumulation of objects.

[s] Pref. to Abeil. p. xxiv.

How the work itſelf, agreeably to the plan I laid down, has been executed, muſt be left to the judgment of an equitable public. I can only ſay that, as far as my abilities reached, they have been uniformly exerted. The ſubject certainly is intereſting, particularly the reign of Henry, and more particularly the reign of John, over the principal events of which, thoſe that lead, through *Magna Charta*, to the dawn of liberty, I have thrown, I think, ſome new light. I am well aware, that the taſk I undertook was arduous, and that on a ſubject, ſo generally underſtood, I expoſed myſelf to cenſure.

By ſome I ſhall be accuſed of bigotry, and of ſeeing with popiſh eyes: while others, perhaps, may charge me with a freedom of thought, bordering on incredulity, and with a want of veneration for ſacred perſons and ſacred things. In this diſcordance of opinions, I ſhall myſelf be diſpoſed to conclude, that I have fortunately avoided the extremes, in which alone lies error.

To the reader, as he proceeds, two obſervations will occur, which I wiſh here to anticipate by remarking, 1. That I endeavoured, as far as the great complication of occurrences would permit,

to

to give to each its proper place, whereby confuſion might be avoided, and each year would meaſure its own events. The arrangement, I have no doubt, will be admitted in theory. But then the conſequence has been, that the narration has ſometimes taken the broken form of annals, which to thoſe who only read for amuſement, or who only look for unity of deſign and parts nicely joined, may prove offenſive. This defect, if it be one, will be found to occur, where the years are thin of occurrences, or the under-parts have been various and independent; for the main action, I hope, will throughout appear uniform and never broken without deſign. Whatever may be thought by others, I adopted the meaſure from a conviction of its utility, and from having experienced that want of diſtinct arrangement in other writers, which generates confuſion, and diſtracts the mind. Without any regard to dates, they leave many occurrences behind them, which they bring up at certain periods, as a maſs of information can be beſt formed, and with the ſame view they can anticipate on futurity. I wiſhed that my reader, under each year, might ſee the ſeries of its events. — In the *Introduction* only I was neceſſitated to depart from this

this order, and to collect into a point many antecedent tranſactions, from the circumſtance of the reigns of thoſe princes, whoſe hiſtory I meant to review, having commenced at different periods. I could then from Book I. proceed regularly. On ſome other occaſions, expediency prompted a violation of my rule; for I had not tied myſelf irrevocably to the rigid trammels of a chronicler.

2. I muſt notice the *dramatic* ſtile, which I have ſedulouſly adopted, whenever the original writer had himſelf uſed it, and at other times, when the narration, from its circumſtantial detail, authoriſed the licence. Thus when the old writer related, that ſuch things were ſaid in converſation or at interviews, I ſometimes took the liberty to make the perſons ſpeak for themſelves, as, on the occaſion itſelf, they certainly had done. This ſtile of narration, practiſed by the beſt models in the ſchools of ancient Greece and Rome, has given to their writings that intereſting charm, which captivates, which inſenſibly tranſports the reader into the company of their heroes and ſages, obliterating, by a momentary magic, the diſtance of years, and the conſciouſneſs of preſent exiſtence. I had not always ſuch noble perſonages to preſent; but to

ſuch

ſuch as they were I was deſirous to introduce my reader, that he might witneſs their manners, and hear their blunt and unadorned diſcourſe. The method has, at leaſt, the advantage of diverſifying a long ſtory; and as in more modern times, ſpeech has not been leſs uſed, than it was *of yore*, why ſhall a ſtile be rejected, which approaches neareſt to common life, and which the ancients practiſed with ſucceſs?

When I began my work, I thought I ſhould have been able to interſperſe, with ſome effect, obſervations on the *manners*, the *arts*, and the *learning* of the period; but I was ſoon ſenſible, that the minute digreſſions, which could not coaleſce aptly with the general ſtory, would either ſeem misplaced, or be loſt in the rolling torrent of war and politics. I therefore reſerved them for a diſtinct diſſertation, which forms *Appendix* I.—It here becomes me to acknowledge my obligations to Dr. Henry, who in his hiſtory of England, has made reſearches, which, in my eſtimation, render it far the moſt valuable compilation we poſſeſs. I had prepared my own obſervations and extracts; but his work ſerved to abridge my labour.

*Appendix*

*Appendix* II. contains a critical examination of a *Letter* of Foliot biſhop of London, and of a *Bull* aſcribed to Alexander III. the Roman biſhop, which Lord Lyttelton found in the Cottonian collection of MSS. and on the ſuppoſed authority of which, (of the *Letter* I mean,) a material portion of his hiſtory is built. It became neceſſary coolly to weigh documents, of which an important uſe had been made; and the reſult of my enquiries was, that the *Letter* and the *Bull* were both *ſpurious*, or, which to me was tantamount, that they were of no authority.

I have to add, that I once intended to have prefixed to this work a *geographical* view of England, as it was in the 12th century, drawn from the old writers; and that my materials were in part collected. But the ſeaſon of publication preſſed, and already, it ſeemed, the volume had ſwollen to a cumbrous magnitude.

As I have no views in my purſuits, but to preſent hiſtorical truth as exempt, as may be, from the blemiſhes of political and religious prejudices, it will give me pleaſure to retract any errors, into which I may have fallen. Errors there are, I am well aware; though neither incaution, nor a love

of

of controverſy, nor any want of ſufficient evidence has produced them. For theſe I may claim indulgence: but to the bar of an enlightened and juſt criticiſm I would rather appeal for approbation or cenſure.—I had hoped the time was faſt advancing when men of literary purſuits, at leaſt, would no longer feel that influence of climate, of religion, of politics, which hitherto, by a fatal bias, had warped the energies of genius, and checked the progreſs of important truths. And ſtill I will indulge the pleaſing hope, though the events of every day convince me, that we have yet far to go, and that a world of idle altercation muſt yet be paſſed through. That the age, with which I have lately converſed, was dark, I am ready to admit, and to admit that ours is comparatively enlightened: but of this light what hitherto have been the fruits? The bounds of ſcience have been enlarged, and the arts perfected. The mind of man, in its moral tendencies, remains as it was, narrow, ſelf-intereſted, intolerant. And ſo it muſt be, I believe, till other ages have gone round, and we have learned to be, what it imports us moſt to be, *men* and *brethren*.

## ERRATA.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Page | 3, | line 2, | for *Poiton*, | read *Poitou*. |
| ..... | 28, | note k, | for *Moreri*, | read *Muratori*. |
| ..... | 52, | line 22, | for *Terracine*, | read *Terracina*. |
| ..... | 85, | ..... 18, | for *ſmooth*, | read *ſooth*. |
| ..... | 236, | ..... 18, | for *eræ*, | read *æra*. |
| ..... | 267, | ..... 13, | for *Bohum*, | read *Bohun*. |
| ..... | 387, | ..... 21, | for *reigns*, | read *reins*. |
| ..... | 398, | ..... 1, | for *Neſtle*, | read *Neſle*. |
| ..... | 410, | ..... 6, | for *have*, | read *been*. |
| ..... | 447, | ..... 24, | for *Morania*, | read *Meranie*. |
| ..... | 457, | ..... 1, | for *Mirabeau*, | read *Mirebeau*. |
| ..... | 565, | ..... 4, | for *ever*, | read *every*. |
| ..... | 580, | ..... 20, | for *my*, | read *me*. |

# CONTENTS.

## INTRODUCTION.

*State of England*, 3.—*State of France*, 15.—*Germany*, 18.—*Sicily*, 25.—*Rome*, 26.

## BOOK I.

*Council of Pavia*, 38.—*Alexander and Victor*, 40.—*Henry and Louis*, 44.—*War in Lombardy*, 46.—*Alexander retires to France*, 52.—*Becket chosen archbishop of Canterbury*, 56.—*Change in his life and manners*, 61.—*Council of Tours*, 64.—*Dispute between Henry and his bishops*, 66.—*Conduct of the primate*, 70.—*Meeting of Clarendon*, 76.—*Its constitutions*, 79.—*Becket repents of his weakness*, 83.—*The king applies to Alexander*, 84.—*Becket attempts to leave the kingdom*, 86.—*Death of Victor, and the affairs of Lombardy*, 87.—*Meeting at Northampton*, 89.—*Brief account of the Anglo-Norman government and polity*, 103.—*Power of the king*, 104.—*National council*, 105.—*King's court*, 108.—*County court*, 110.—*Revenue of the crown*, ib.—*Army*, 114.—*Navy*, 116.—*Laws*, 117.—*Degrees of nobility*, 118.—*Inferior ranks, and bondmen*, 121.

## BOOK II.

*The primate eſcapes into Flanders*, 126.—*Henry ſends embaſſadors to France*, 129.—*They appear before Alexander*, 131.—*Becket goes to Sens, and opens his defence*, 135.—*Henry's revenge*, 141.—*A conference projected*, 142.—*Alexander returns to Rome*, 143.—*Henry ſuſpected of inclining to the antipope, is cleared by Foliot*, 144.—*War with the Welſh*, 148.—*The biſhop of Liſieux writes to Becket*, 151.—*Heretics puniſhed*, 155.—*Becket appointed legate, writes to the king*, 156.—*Henry goes to France*, 159.—*Appeals to Rome*, 161.—*The primate pronounces his cenſures*, 162.—*The Engliſh biſhops appeal, and addreſs the primate*, 165.—*He anſwers*, 170.—*Writes alſo to Foliot*, 175.—*Is driven from Pontigny*, 178.—*John of Oxford's embaſſy*, 179.—*Affairs of Italy and Rome*, 182.—*Legates arrive in France*, 186.—*Conferences of Giſors and Argentan*, 189.—*Hoſtilities in France and Flanders*, 195.—*Death of Matilda*, 197.—*Frederic eſcapes from Lombardy*, 198.—*Embaſſy from Conſtantinople to Alexander*, 200.—*Commotions in France, which end in a general peace*, 202.—*Henry and the primate meet*, 205.—*Singular behaviour of Louis, and Henry's fears*, 208.—*Nuncios arrive from Rome*, 211.—*Various fruitleſs conferences*, 212.—*Severe edict of the king*, 216.—*New commiſſioners appointed*, 217.—*Prince Henry crowned*, 218.—*Henry and the primate are reconciled*, 220.—*Difficulties are raiſed* 223.—*The primate returns to England*, 225.—*Is aſſaſſinated*, 231.—*His character*, 235.

## BOOK III.

*Henry is afflicted, and ſends embaſſadors to the pope*, 242.—*Invaſion of Ireland*, 245.—*It ſubmits to Henry*, 253.—*The king is reconciled to Rome*, 257.—*View of Affairs on the continent*, 258.—*Rebel-*

258.—*Rebellion of Henry's ſons*, 261.—*Progreſs of the war*, 264.—*Henry viſits the tomb of Becket*, 270.—*The Scottiſh king taken, and the rebellion in England ſuppreſſed*, 275.—*The ſiege of Rouen, which is followed by a general peace*, 278.—*Miſcellaneous occurrences*, 283.—*Frederic defeated by the Lombards, puts an end to the ſchiſm*, 294.—*The Vaudois or Albigenſes*, 301.—*Third council of Lateran*, 306.—*Events in England*, 308.—*In France and Germany*, 312.—*Other occurrences*, 315.—*Death of the young king*, 319.—*Independence of the Lombards, and other events*, 323.—*Embaſſadors from Jeruſalem*, 326.—*Prince John goes to Ireland*, 329.—*Conduct of Frederic and the popes*, 332.—*The detention of Adelais excites hoſtilities*, 334.—*Battle of Tiberias, and loſs of Jeruſalem*, 336.—*Preparations for a general cruſade*, 340.—*Hoſtilities in France*, 345.—*Henry dies*, 352.—*Sketch of his character*, 353.

## BOOK IV.

*Acceſſion of Richard*, 357.—*Firſt meaſures of his government*, 361.—*He goes to France*, 364.—*Diſcontents in England*, 365.—*The kings depart for Aſia*, 366.—*The march and death of Frederic*, 368.—*The kings arrive at Meſſina*, 370.—*State of Sicily*, 372.—*They paſs the winter in the iſland*, 373.—*Curious interview between Richard and Tancred*, 377.—*Eleanor having arrived with Berengaria, the fleets ſail*, 379.—*Ptolemais is taken, when Philip returns to Europe*, 382.—*Richard's exploits*, 384.—*Diſturbances in England*, 387.—*Richard leaves Paleſtine*, 392.—*Is taken priſoner*, 395.—*Negotiations for his releaſe*, 397.—*He returns to England, and goes into France*, 405.—*Miſcellaneous occurrences*, 408.—*Terms of peace between the kings*, 422.—*Richard dies*, 425.—*His character*, 427.

BOOK

## BOOK V.

*Acceſſion of John*, 432.—*Inauſpicious opening of his reign*, 437.—*Innocent* III. *and the firſt tranſactions of his pontificate*, 439.—*Peace with France*, 444.—*John marries Iſabella of Angouleme*, 446.—*Cauſe of Ingeburga, queen of France*, 447.—*John meets the king of Scotland at Lincoln, and makes a progreſs through the realm*, 450.—*The barons ſhew diſcontent, and John goes into Poitou*, 453.—*Duke Arthur is taken priſoner, and murdered*, 456.—*Various reports of the murder, and its conſequences*, 459.—*Innocent eſpouſes the cauſe of John*, 461.—*The cruſaders erect a new empire at Conſtantinople*, 463.—*Normandy and other provinces taken by Philip*, 469.—*A truce with France*, 472.—*Stephen Langton appointed to the ſee of Canterbury*, ib.—*Controverſy between the pontiff and John*, 477.—*England laid under an interdict*, 481.—*The king's vengeance*, 482.—*Otho ſucceeds to the empire*, 484.—*Conduct of John, and the further deſigns of Innocent*, 485.—*Langton, with views againſt the king, goes to Rome*, 492.—*Philip, commanded by the pope, prepares to invade England*, 493.—*Pandulphus, the papal nuncio, lands*, 495.—*John ſubmits, ſubjecting himſelf and kingdom to the pope*, 497.—*The French king, checked by Pandulphus, enters Flanders*, 502.—*The exiles return, and Langton adminiſters an oath to the king*, 504.—*Meeting at St. Alban's, and further proceedings of Langton*, 507.—*He confederates the barons*, 510.—*A legate arrives, before whom John renews his ſubmiſſion*, 513.—*Cruſade againſt the Albigenſes*, 515.

## BOOK VI.

*John lands at la Rochelle*, 530.—*The emperor Otho is dethroned*, 531.—*The battle of Bouvines*, 533.—*The interdict is taken from*

*from England*, 537.—*The barons meet at St. Edmundſbury*, 538.—*Their further proceedings*. 539.—*Runnemede*, 542.—*Magna Charta*, 544.—*John meditates vengeance, and retires*, 561.—*Conduct of Innocent*, 563.—*Preparations for a civil war*, 565.—*The barons are excommunicated, and Langton goes to Rome*, 567.—*Fourth council of Lateran*, 570.—*England deſolated by the king's forces*, 571.—*The barons excommunicated by name*, 574.—*Prince Louis is invited over*, 575.—*A Roman legate obſtructs his deſign*, 578.—*The prince lands*, 581.—*His cauſe is agitated at Rome*, 583.—*He purſues his conqueſts, and lays ſiege to the caſtles of Dover and Windſor*, 587. — *John takes the field*, 588.—*Perplexity of the barons*, 589.—*The king falls ſick and dies*, 590.—*General view*, 593.—*Concluſion*, 598.

## APPENDIX I.

*Manners of the Engliſh and Normans at the conqueſt*, 603.—*Progreſſive change*, 606.—*Chivalry*, 607.—*Amuſements*, 609.—*Dreſs*, 610.—*Agriculture*, 611.—*Architecture*, 612.—*Arms and armour*, 616.—*Arts of clothing*, 617.—*Sculpture*, 618.—*Painting*, 619.—*Poetry*, 620.—*Muſic*, 621.—*Trade*, 622.—*Value of money*, 623.—*Intercourſe with France*, ib.—*General influence of Rome*, 624.—*Monaſtic inſtitutions*, 626.—*Francis of Aſſiſium*, 627.—*Dominic*, 630.—*Cruſades*, ib.—*Learning*, 631.—*Grammar*, 634.—*Rhetoric*, 635.—*Logic, metaphyſics, phyſics, ethics*, ib.—*Scholaſtic divinity*, 636.—*Canon and civil law*, 637.—*Oxford*, 640.—*Cambridge*, ib.—*Cathedral and other ſchools*, 642.—*Paris and Bologna*, ib.—*General view of learned men*, 644.—*The Polycraticon*, ib.—*Concluſion*, 645.

APPEN-

## APPENDIX II.

*His lordship's first charges*, 648.—*The question stated*, 649.—*A remarkable circumstance*, 652.—*Baronius vindicated*, 653.—*Also Christianus Lupus*, 654.—*The case of the Cottonian MS.* ib.—*Foliot's letter examined*, 655.—*And rejected as spurious*, 663.—*It's further contents*, 664.—*His lordship's charge against Alexander* III. 667.—*The fact stated*, 668.—*And the charge proved to be groundless*, 669.—*Conclusion*, 672.

THE

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# REIGNS, &c.

## INTRODUCTION.

*State of England.—State of France.—Germany.—Sicily.—Rome.*

AWFUL is the impreſſion which now falls on my mind, when, with the annals of times long paſſed open before me, I ſit down to contemplate the manners of men and the events of their days, and to trace, through the maze of its progreſs, the meandring, and often evaneſcent, line of truth. *Hiſtory* is the narration of *facts;* but we receive them on the teſtimony of men like ourſelves, whom want of evidence ſometimes miſled, or incaution, or credulity,

or views of party, or inability of diſcernment, expoſed to error. And when facts are even moſt authentic; how does attention ſlumber, with what languor moves the page, if the motives which led to action, if the views which animated, if the policy of deſign, if the miſtakes of judgment, if the workings of paſſion, are unrecorded, and the tranſactions of *man* are only *numbered* on the ſcene? We look in vain for the varied progreſs, which the efforts of mind, that is, the evolutions of rational nature are calculated to exhibit: the diſtinction only of periods, or broken dates, the names of men and places obſcurely rendered, looſe deſcriptions, battles loſt and won, arreſt the eye in a diſguſtful reiteration. When the chronicler who muſt lead his ſteps, has ſo written, what ſhall the hiſtorian do? Shall he be permitted, or ſhall he dare, from the ſuggeſtions of his own fancy, to ſupply the defects of his guide, and embelliſh the rude ſketch? Or, with patient toil purſuing the dreary track, ſhall he be accurate only and true? Fiction has its province, and truth her's; and they may not be confounded. My guides, whom the cowl covered, whom, in a dark age, genius did not illumine, nor ſcience poliſh, have no variety that pleaſes, no ſtyle that charms: but I will follow them, earneſt to bring forward their unadorned narration, to drop the tale which ſuperſtition created, and credulity wove, and willing rather to incur the cenſure of dulneſs, than to attempt amuſement by illuſive arts or the ſupplements of invention.

HENRY,

From 1154 to 1160. State of England.

HENRY, the ſecond of the name, called Plantagenet, was now in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne. He was ſon of Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, and of Matilda, daughter of Henry I. once empreſs of Germany. At his father's death, the provinces of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, had devolved on him, and he poſſeſſed Normandy in the right of his mother. Eleanor, the heireſs of Aquitaine, after almoſt ſixteen years cohabitation, was divorced from her huſband, Louis VII. of France. Within ſix weeks ſhe gave her hand to Henry, and with it the ſplendid dower of ſeven provinces, Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limoſin. This was in the year 1152[a]. — So rich in titles and in extent of territory was this favoured child of fortune, when, on the demiſe of Stephen, two years afterwards, agreeably to a convention previouſly ſettled at Wincheſter, whereby he was named ſucceſſor to the throne, Henry was ſaluted king of England. He had reached his twenty-firſt year.

Worn down by the turbulent ſcenes of the preceding reign, the people now ardently raiſed their eyes to the young prince, and they augured happineſs to themſelves, and to him glory. They knew he had been tutored in the rigid ſchool of military diſcipline; and they had been told of his martial proweſs, of his prudence in counſel, of his firmneſs in action, and of his experience in the general arts of government[b]. Nor were themſelves ſtrangers to his perſon or character. More than once he had viſited England: he had paſſed four years at Briſtol, under the eye of his uncle Glouceſter, the baſtard ſon of Henry, the firſt ſcholar

[a] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 362. [b] Gul. Neubrig. Rerum Angl. l. 2. c. 1.

and the firſt warrior of the age, the friend to Matilda, and the pillar of her cauſe; and recently he had dared to contend with the armies of Stephen, an experienced and brave ſoldier, whom he compelled to terms of honourable peace[c]. Now was Henry in the quiet attainment of every object, to which even his ambition, it ſeemed, could aſpire, being duke of Normandy, earl of Anjou, duke of Aquitaine, and king of England. His foreign territories alone were more than a third part of the whole French monarchy, and the vaſſal of Louis was more powerful than his lord.

The ſplendour of the ſtation would have dazzled another prince: it only ſerved to rouſe the active powers of Henry. It had been ſtipulated at Wincheſter, in 1153, that the foreign mercenaries, on both ſides, ſhould be diſmiſſed, and the caſtles be demoliſhed, which had been lately erected. They were the ſeats of every enormity. Soon, therefore, the mercenaries diſappeared, and the caſtles fell.—Agreeably to the ſame treaty, he reſumed the crown-lands, which Stephen had alienated, or the rapacity of the barons had uſurped; and in a council held at London, granted a *Charter of Liberties*, which confirmed that of his grandfather, Henry I. But neither this, nor the deed which it renewed, and which contained many of the laws of the Confeſſor, at that time attracted notice.—Contemporary writers draw an enchanting picture of the times, when, after the horrors of the preceding reign, peace with her attendant bleſſings was ſeen to return, amidſt the acclamations of a reviving nation. The king gave his hours to the concerns of ſtate; but, like Alcibiades, he could unbend from the important labour;

[c] Hen. Hunt. p. 227.

labour; and he committed to able hands the adminiſtration of public juſtice[d]. The earl of Leiceſter and Richard de Lucy were joined in the commiſſion of grand juſticiary, then the higheſt poſt of dignity: Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe important ſervices had bound him to the throne, was a principal adviſer: and, on his recommendation, Thomas a Becket, then archdeacon of Canterbury, whom the primate loved and honoured, was raiſed to the office of chancellor[e].

The king had now leiſure to attend to his diſtant territories, and ſailing to Normandy, he did homage to Louis for the fiefs he held under him. — *Homage* was thus performed: the *vaſſal*, on his knees, unarmed and bareheaded, held both his hands between thoſe of his *lord*, who was ſitting, and, at the ſame time, pronounced an oath of allegiance. On the part of the lord, the ceremony denoted protection and defence, and on that of the vaſſal, reverence and ſubjection.—Geoffrey, the king's brother, claimed his father's earldoms, which had been left to him, and Henry, though reluctantly, had ſworn to fulfill the will. It was, indeed, conditional, that is, if the elder brother ſhould ever poſſeſs the Engliſh throne. The youth now demanded his paternal inheritance, which Henry refuſed, having obtained, it was ſaid, from Rome, a diſpenſation from an oath, he had not freely made. The injured prince had recourſe to arms; but the airy proſpect of three earldoms ſoon vaniſhed, and the caſtles, he before poſſeſſed, were levelled to the ground. The king, in his clemency, ſettled on him a penſion, not unſuitable to his rank[f]. —

From

[d] Neubrig. c. 1. [e] Gerv. chron. an. 1154. [f] Neubrig. c. 7.

From the capital of Normandy to the Pyrenean mountains, the vigour of a ſound policy united the various ſtates; when in the ſpring of the year, 1157, Henry returned into England. Becket, the companion of his pleaſures and his toils, had attended his maſter, evincing by his conduct that the place of friend and miniſter was due to the powers of his mind and the accompliſhments of his perſon[g].

During the troubles of the laſt reign, David, the Scottiſh king, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the three Engliſh counties, which lay neareſt to him, and Henry, then on a viſit to David, had been induced to promiſe that, ſhould providence raiſe him to the throne of his anceſtors, he would never claim the poſſeſſion. David then conferred on him the honour of knighthood, a neceſſary prelude to the due diſcharge of the important duty of arms. But a territory of ſo much value was not to be loſt, and Henry now demanded its ſurrender. The power of the claimant was irreſiſtible, and to urge the circumſtance of the promiſe would avail little. Malcolm, therefore, the grandſon of David, and who had inherited his crown, did not heſitate to comply, and in return he received the earldom of Huntingdon, to which he could plead a more ancient title[h]. — He was called to the weſt.

The Welſh, whom no efforts of our kings had permanently ſubjected, availing themſelves of the diſtracted politics of Stephen, had expelled the Engliſh ſettlers, had made bolder incurſions into the neighbouring counties, and had aſſumed the independence of a free people. But unfortunately no common intereſt united the princes, or chieftains

[g] Vita S. Tho. Cant. c. 4. [h] Neubrig. c. 4.

tains of the country: they hated the Engliſh, and they were not friends to one another. The hiſtorians deſcribe them as a people, ferocious in their manners, and unquiet from barbariſm, intent on rapine, and only pleaſed with the chace or with war. The harſh features of the country well accorded with theſe habits of rational nature. Henry ſaw with pain that they, who had been tributary to his grandfather, refuſed to do him homage, and that, if the evil were not checked, his own territories muſt be expoſed to inceſſant inſults. Owen Gwyneth ruled in the north, and Rhees ap Gryffyth in the ſouth.

At the head of a large army the Engliſh monarch entered Flintſhire, where Gwyneth lay encamped, prepared, as it ſeemed, to give him battle; and with the vanguard advanced into a narrow paſs between two mountains. Inſtantly, a numerous band, which was in ambuſh, roſe with horrid cries, and from the woody ſides of the defile aſſaulted the invaders. The unexpected and fierce attack was irreſiſtible. Henry retreated; but the greater part of his followers fell, and it was reported that himſelf was among the ſlain. The report diſmayed the troops who were advancing to the paſs, whilſt the enemy poured down from the hills, and aſſailed them with impetuous fury. At the moment, the young hero appeared: he rallied his men, and led them to the charge. The Welſhmen gave way, and retired, in confuſion, to the woods.

But it was evident, unleſs they proceeded with the utmoſt caution, that no real advantage could be gained over ſuch an enemy. It was therefore reſolved, marching along the ſea-ſhore, to deſolate the plains; and a fleet received orders,

orders, as the occaſion ſerved, to deſcend on the open country. Owen retreated to Snowdon. Succeſs now attended the Engliſh arms. Roads were cut, the woods were cleared, caſtles were built. The Welſh prince then ſued for peace, and Henry was happy to grant it on terms, honourable and advantageous to England. Owen promiſed to do homage for North Wales, to yield up the lands with their caſtles, which, in the laſt reign, had been ſeized, and as hoſtages for his future fidelity, to deliver two of his ſons into the hands of the victor. The inferior princes, though Henry had withdrawn his army, ſubmitted alſo, on like terms, to the lords of the marches; and ap Gryffyth himſelf, after a vain reſiſtance of ſome months, ſullenly bowed his neck, and did homage[i].

Henry, in 1158, was again in Normandy. His brother Geoffrey was dead, on whom the inhabitants of Nantes in Bretagne had conferred the earldom of their city and its territory. This Henry claimed as his brother's heir; but he feared the oppoſition of the French king, who, with reaſon, might be jealous of his further aggrandiſement, and to remove it, opened a negociation. This was a treaty of marriage between his eldeſt ſon Henry, and Margaret, the daughter of Louis by his ſecond wife Conſtantia, princeſs of Caſtille. Henry was in his fifth year, and Margaret in her cradle. With joy the propoſal was accepted, and the kings met on the borders of Normandy. But Becket was appointed to adjuſt the treaty, while his maſter marched into Bretagne, and unmoleſted took poſſeſſion of the earldom. The able negociator was not leſs ſucceſsful.

Louis

[i] Neubrig. c. 5.

Louis conſented that three caſtles in the Norman Vexin, a frontier of great moment, ſhould be his daughter's portion, and which, till the marriage was celebrated, ſhould remain in the cuſtody of three knights of the temple. He even agreed to ſend the infant into Normandy, to be educated as Henry might direct [k].—The addreſs of the chancellor in this negociation, and his munificence in the French court, graced by a retinue more than princely, are highly extolled by the hiſtorians.

Not many months after this event, which was followed by the ſurrender to him of various caſtles, that had belonged to the demeſne of his anceſtors, we find Henry preparing for a great expedition againſt the earl of Toulouſe.—William, duke of Aquitaine, grandfather of Eleanor, having married the heireſs of Toulouſe, its earldom was annexed to the dutchy; but that, involved in difficulties which his profuſion created, he afterwards mortgaged to the count of St. Gilles, who aſſumed the title of earl of Toulouſe. The mortgage was unredeemed, when Eleanor, ſole heireſs of Aquitaine with its dependences, married the French king. In his wife's name, Louis had demanded the earldom; but the intervention of the holy war impeded the proſecution of his claim. The claim, with the hand of Eleanor, was transferred to Henry, which he now reſolved to enforce. The earldom of Toulouſe, at that time, comprehended the Querci, and the greater part of the preſent Languedoc. Cheerfully did the barons of England eſpouſe the diſtant quarrel, and ſoon Henry appeared in Guienne at the head of a formidable army. The lords of the neighbouring

[k] Neubrig. c. 27.

provinces crouded to his ſtandard; and Malcolm of Scotland was there, and a prince of Wales; but amongſt them all, foremoſt in arms and opulence, ſhone the puiſſant Berenger, duke of Provence and king of Arragon, who, in greatneſs of mind or caprice of fancy, would only be ſtyled count of Barcelona. The city of Toulouſe was ſurrounded. As the ſtorm approached, Raymond, which was the earl's name, had implored the aid of Louis, whoſe ſiſter he had married. Reluctantly did the king liſten to his prayer; but being at laſt rouſed, he marched to the ſouth with a choſen band, and entered the city. Secure of ſucceſs, the allied army lay heedleſs on the plain. With amazement did Henry hear that the French monarch in perſon was within the walls, when he ſummoned the chieftains, and demanded their advice. Becket, with his uſual fire, propoſed an immediate aſſault, urging that the garriſon was ſtill weak, and that a noble prize would grace the triumph of their arms. But his opinion did not prevail; and Henry, whoſe intereſt it was to maintain the feudal maxims, by which his own dominions were ſecured, declared he would not attack a place defended by his ſuperior lord, with whom he was not at war. He raiſed the ſiege, and retired; but he ravaged the province, and having taken Cahors, which he committed to the chancellor, withdrew with the main body of his troops into Normandy[1]. — Many noble warriors periſhed before Toulouſe, and great treaſures were expended.

A hundred and fourſcore thouſand pounds, more than two millions of our money, had been levied for this war, and the mode of raiſing it was new in the Engliſh annals.

It

[1] Neubrig. c. 10.

It was done by *ſcutage*, that is, by a pecuniary commutation for perſonal ſervice. Before this, at the prince's command, agreeably to the fees or tenures they immediately held under the crown, his vaſſals appeared in arms, bringing with them their appointed contingent of knights, retainers, or tenants. And thus the armies roſe. But on this occaſion a proclamation was iſſued, which empowered the vaſſal, in lieu of his perſonal attendance, to contribute a ſum of money, proportioned to the expence he would have incurred by ſervice. The inferior military tenants were eaſed, as it freed them from the toil and great expence of a diſtant war, and the king was better ſerved. With the money he hired a mercenary force, men well-inured to diſcipline, and whom the condition of their pay bound to permanent ſervice: whereas a feudal army, untractable and undiſciplined, headed by haughty and independent barons, ſpurned controul; and when the term of their engagement expired, uſually only of forty days, they were at liberty to withdraw. Contention and perſonal feuds attended their march, and the prince or leader poſſeſſed little more than the name of ſupreme commander.

The conduct of Becket, in the expedition I have deſcribed, drew general attention. Into his family, we are told, many noblemen had ſent their children, to receive from him the rudiments of diſcipline, and to be trained to chivalry. Seven hundred knights he led into the field, each with his attendant ſquire; and where honour invited, or danger threatened, theſe were foremoſt in the battle. Nor was the chancellor himſelf leſs forward than they. Whilſt he remained in the Querci, to defend its capital

and other conqueſts which had been made, at the head of his troops, he attempted three caſtles, which his maſter had deemed impregnable, and took them by ſtorm. He paſſed the Garonne, and inſulted the earldom of Toulouſe. But his preſence was neceſſary in Normandy. Leaving, therefore, his houſehold forces to ſecure the forts he had taken, and the king's conqueſts, he hired, at his own charge, twelve hundred knights, and four thouſand ſtipendiaries, to attend him for forty days. The knights received a liberal pay: they were fed at his expence, and often dined at his table. In ſingle combat, it is ſaid, he, one day, engaged a French knight, famous in arms: him he diſmounted with his lance, and gaining his horſe, led him off in triumph[m]. — The manners of the age, and the buoyant ſpirit of Becket, which rouſed him to achievements, and the ardour with which he ſought his maſter's glory, ſhall reconcile to the faſtidious caſuiſt ſuch unſacred and indecorous ſcenes.

A treaty of peace, ſoon afterwards, was concluded between the two monarchs, with which Henry had reaſon to be pleaſed; for he retained many of the places he had conquered, and the general rights of the dukedom of Aquitaine were ſecured to him. The primary object of the war only, that is, the annexation of Toulouſe to his dominions, remained unattained. On ſome future occaſion, fortune, he truſted, would be more propitious to his deſigns. It was the end of the year 1159.

Matilda, while Henry's reign thus opened, reſided in Normandy, the chief adminiſtration of which had been entruſted

[m] Vita c. 5.

entruſted to her care, not an unintereſted witneſs of the ſpreading glory of her ſon. Europe had not beheld a more illuſtrious woman. By her firſt marriage with Henry V. ſhe was empreſs of Germany; by her ſecond, counteſs of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; and by her father's will named ducheſs of Normandy, and queen of England. The efforts ſhe made to obtain the crown, which was her due, argued a bold and perſeverant mind; and the tiſſue of her adventures, in its purſuit, has hardly been equalled in the annals of romance. In adverſity ſhe was magnanimous; in proſperity, haughty and inſolent [n]. Diſappointment, age, and reflection, finally lowered the violence of her temper, and ſhe learned the virtues, which ſhe wanted moſt, moderation and mildneſs. Her love for Henry was maternal. With care ſhe watched his tender years; and when the death of Stephen called him to the crown, ſhe could reſign it without a murmur, and withdrew her own brows from its enchanting circle. Happy in a ſubordinate ſtation, ſhe had no ambition but in the proſperity of the king, and to promote it were all her efforts turned.

We read little of Eleanor, Henry's queen. She had borne him four ſons, William, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, of whom the eldeſt was dead, and a daughter, after her grandmother, named Matilda. The ages of the royal couple were very unequal. But though ſhe had ſeen ten years more than he, her beauty and natural vivacity were unimpaired. Theſe gained her many lovers; but ſhe wanted the addreſs, or perhaps the inclination, to hold their affections. Her temper was violent, and her paſſions head-

[n] Wil. Malm. paſſim.

headſtrong. The French monarch, it appears, ſhe never loved: ſhe ridiculed his monaſtic piety; and his ſimple and uncourtly manners were to her a ſource of inceſſant banter. I know not that, in the court of her uncle at Antioch, when ſhe accompanied her huſband to the eaſt, ſhe was guilty in the degree imputed to her; but his conduct, on the occaſion, fixed a ſtain on her honour, and poſſibly left an impreſſion on her heart, which no time could efface*. A divorce, at laſt, took place, on the idle plea of conſanguinity, for they were couſins in the fourth degree, after they had cohabited ſixteen years, and had had two daughters. A prince, leſs delicate, or more politic, than Louis, would, on no account, have adopted the fatal meaſure, when he knew that the rich provinces ſhe had brought him muſt again be ſevered from his crown. We are told that, more than once, ſhe had ſeen the ſon of Matilda, at her huſband's court. He was young and animated: his air was martial, and his manners noble. Theſe were charms for the gay Eleanor, and they diſpoſed her, it may be thought, to urge more vehemently a ſeparation from Louis. At that time, likewiſe, Henry had a crown in reverſion, and it might be no unpleaſing reflection, that ſhe ſhould have it in her power to mortify a huſband ſhe diſliked, by a tender of her dominions to his rival. No ſooner was ſhe free, than more than one ſuitor, in the true ſpirit of chivalry, preſſed for the honour of her hand. They lay in ambuſh to ſeize her, as ſhe retired towards Guienne; but ſhe eſcaped; and Henry Plantagenet meeting her at Poitiers, the nuptials were celebrated. Not ſix weeks, I have ſaid, had elapſed from

* Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 383.

from the divorce[p]. The ambition, at leaſt, of Henry was amply gratified; but with ſeven provinces ſhe brought him a world of ſorrows. Together they were crowned at Weſtminſter, and again at Worceſter.

From 1149 to 1160.

State of France.

Since the return of Louis VII. from Paleſtine, in 1149[q], no great events had diverſified the politics of France. Grieved and ſucceſsleſs he returned, having loſt a hundred thouſand men, to meet the reproaches of his ſubjects, and to witneſs the diſmemberment of his empire. Louis, if we look to the integrity of his character, may ſeem to have merited a better fate: but it was his misfortune to have been born with a mind too prone to enthuſiaſm, which hurried him into difficulties, and to have lived with Henry Plantagenet. With this youth he could not cope; though age might have taught him experience, and experience wiſdom. When Henry was born, Louis had been four years on the throne of France. But there are minds which a certain intuition guides to better policy, than by others is often learned in the ſchool of progreſſive obſervation. With Louis it ſhould have ever been a firſt deſign, when he ſaw that fortune ſmiled on this darling child, to have thrown down the ladder ſhe held before him, and to have daſhed in pieces every object of his heart; whereas, eaſy and unſuſpicious, he permitted his advance, and only then meditated oppoſition, when, riſing ſtep by ſtep, he had gained a firm footing, and could reach ſecurely to the prize he had in view.

When Euſtace, eldeſt ſon of Stephen, during the troubles in England, married Conſtantia, the French king's ſiſter,

[p] Neubrig. l. 1. c. 31.

[q] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 385.

ſiſter, he was promiſed by him the inveſtiture of Normandy. Afterwards, Louis fell from his word, and gave it to young Henry. In this there was policy, as, at the time, it appeared that Euſtace would ſucceed to his father's throne. But ſoon the earl of Anjou died, and his territories devolving on Henry, from that moment he became formidable. Yet the next year, Louis repudiates his queen. He talked of his conſcience, and of the laws of the church, and vainly fancied, ſays a modern writer[r], that the pooreſt gentleman in his dominions would not take for his wife ſo baſe a woman: then would Aquitaine deſcend to her daughters. The airy ſyſtem vaniſhed; and Louis viewing the accumulated power of the young prince, and in it the folly of his own conduct, was willing, though perhaps too late, to impede its further conſequences. He began hoſtilities againſt him, aided by a powerful confederacy, at the head of which were prince Euſtace, the earl of Blois, and Geoffrey Plantagenet. The two latter had been diſappointed in their deſigns on the perſon of Eleanor. This was in the year 1152. The unprovoked attack, owing to the good conduct and undaunted ſpirit of Henry, met with little ſucceſs; and, after ſome months, a truce was concluded, during which, news came to the French court, that the duke of Normandy had made peace with Stephen, and that he was declared ſucceſſor to his throne. Again the irritable monarch entered Normandy; but Henry, whoſe ſituation called for peace, by the warmeſt profeſſions of reſpect for his perſon, and zeal for his ſervice, ſo ſoothed the angered king, that he liſtened to terms of accom-

[r] Mezeray.

accommodation, and gave him the peace he wiſhed for[s]. It is not long after this, that we behold the ſame Henry, bareheaded and unarmed before his lord, doing homage on his knees for the faireſt portion of the Gallic empire.—Such to France were the fatal effects of the divorce, and of the eaſy and undecided character of her king.

We may now view him in circumſtances more congenial with his humour. He had no male iſſue, and his nobles preſſed him again to marry. Alphonſo VIII. king of Caſtille, who, from his ſuperiority over the other Spaniſh princes, and his victories over the Moors, aſſumed the title of emperor of Spain, had a daughter, Conſtantia. Her Louis aſked in marriage, and obtained her, flattering himſelf, perhaps, that the circumſtance might procure him an ally againſt Henry on the ſide of Guienne. They were married, and crowned at Orleans, in 1155. Soon after the ceremony, in company with his new queen, Louis undertook a pilgrimage to St. James of Compoſtella. On the borders of Spain, Sanchez, king of Navarre, whoſe queen was the ſiſter of Conſtantia, received and entertained them. They proceeded. But Alphonſo, hearing of their arrival, ſent embaſſadors to requeſt they would not return, without honouring Toledo with their preſence. The invitation was accepted. Vaſt preparations, in the mean while, were made for their reception; and the kings and princes of the land, and the prelates and great vaſſals of the crown, aſſembled. The royal travellers arrived. To the penitential and pious exerciſes of Compoſtella now ſucceeded the pomp, the amuſements, the gallantry, of the

[s] Gerv. an. 1152. Chron. Norman. ibid.

Spaniſh court. Louis, it is ſaid, viewed the ſcene with admiration, while it recalled to his mind the feſtive magnificence, with which he had been entertained at Conſtantinople, when, a few years before, he marched againſt the infidels of the eaſt[t]. In return for this munificent treatment, and the rich preſents he made to Louis and his attendants, Alphonſo only begged a portion of the relics of St. Eugenius, firſt biſhop of Toledo, which repoſed in the abbey of St. Denys. The modeſt requeſt could not be refuſed, and after the return of the royal gueſts into France, an arm of the ſaint was ſent[u].

The events of the reign of Henry, which I have deſcribed, to the concluſion of a ſecond peace, have ſufficiently developed the ſtate of France to the year 1160.

From 1152 to 1160.

Germany.

At a time, when Italy was torn by a thouſand factions; when the city of Rome was diſtracted by internal feuds; when its pontiff was aiming at univerſal empire; and when the horrors of civil commotion menaced the divided ſtates of Germany, Frederic Barbaroſſa, duke of Souabia, in a general diet of the empire, had been unanimouſly elected king of the Romans and of Germany, in the year 1152. Conrad III. his uncle and predeceſſor, had an infant ſon; but he was aware that an experienced and intrepid chief would now, more than ever, be neceſſary, to meet the ſtorm that had been collecting round the throne of his anceſtors. In his laſt moments, therefore, he recommended Frederic to the ſtates, obtaining a promiſe from him that his ſon ſhould poſſeſs the dutchy of Souabia. Frederic was endowed with ſplendid qualities. He was an able ſtateſman; his courage was

[t] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 371.

[u] Muratori an. 1155, ex Ferreras.

was heroic: and his views, it was believed, were at once directed by a thirſt of glory, and the love of his people. He had accompanied Conrad into the eaſt, and had witneſſed his overthrow in the deſerts of Cappadocia[v].

Having repudiated his wife, Adelaide, under pretence of conſanguinity, and diffuſed, as far as might be, the bleſſings of concord among his vaſſals, Frederic prepared to go into Italy. To pacify the diſturbances of Lombardy, and to receive from the Roman biſhop the imperial crown, were the objects of his journey. Adrian IV. was pope[w]. In the plains of Roncaglia, between Placentia and Cremona, (a buckler ſuſpended from a maſt, according to ancient uſage, announcing the ſolemn ceremony,) the king reviewed his vaſſals. The feudatories of the crown, with their reſpective bands, appeared before him; and they who, without permiſſion, had dared to be abſent, were condemned by their peers to the forfeiture of their fiefs.—In a public diet, he then heared the complaints of many cities, and promiſed to redreſs their grievances. They complained of the Milaneſe and their allies: againſt whom, therefore, Frederic denounced his vengeance. The deſtruction of caſtles, the pillage of towns, and the waſte of villages, followed the hoſtile declaration; after which, anxious of the imperial dignity, the king preſſed on his march towards the gates of Rome[x].

Deputies from the Roman people waited on him, as he approached; they requeſted from him the confirmation of their privileges, and of the ſenate they had re-eſtabliſhed; they demanded a ſum of money for the crown he came to receive; they intreated him to take from their biſhop the

[v] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 372. [w] Ibid. p. 353. [x] Murat. an. 1154.

temporal ſovereignty of Rome, and to leave him ſuch as he was in ancient times[y]. With diſdain he rejected their petitions. Adrian then met him, and the circumſtances of the interview were curious[z]; but the German was finally conſtrained to ſubmit to the proud ceremonial of the Roman court. They entered the city together, and Frederic was crowned amidſt the thundering acclamations of his army. Not long after this, he returned through Lombardy into Germany, towards the cloſe of the year 1155.

Now it was that, in a diet of the empire, he terminated the conteſt which had long ſubſiſted between Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, and Henry, margrave of Auſtria, concerning the ſucceſſion to the dukedom of Bavaria. It had threatened to involve all the German ſtates in war. To the duke he adjudged the conteſted territory, which his anceſtors had long held; and raiſing Auſtria to a dutchy, with it he inveſted the margrave, and conferred other rights and immunities on him and his family. Both parties, well ſatisfied, ſubmitted to the award, and diſcord ceaſed[a].

A northern prelate, returning from Rome, had been forcibly ſeized as he paſſed through Germany. The inſult was felt by Adrian, and he diſpatched two cardinals, Orlando of St. Mark and Bernard of St. Clement, to carry his complaints to Frederic, whom they found at Beſançon, receiving homage from the deputies of the kingdom of Arles; and they preſented to him the papal brief. It complained of the ſacrilegious inſult, juſt mentioned, which Frederic had neglected to puniſh: "But, my ſon," it goes on, "reflect with what pleaſure thy mother, the holy "Roman

[y] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 301. [z] Ibid. p. 356. [a] Pfeffel. Hiſt d'Allem. p. 324.

" Roman church, received thee; how kindly ſhe treated " thee; what *a plenitude of dignity and honour ſhe conferred upon* " *thee;* and how, moſt freely, *giving the imperial crown*, ſhe " ſtrove to cheriſh thee in her boſom, and to comply with all " thy wiſhes. Nor are we ſorry: even had thy excellency re- " ceived greater *favours (beneficia)* from our hands, with rea- " ſon we ſhould rejoice."—The unqualified addreſs, when interpreted to the German nobles, raiſed a general murmur, and they repeated the words with indignation. " And from " whom then," exclaimed Orlando, " has he the empire, if " not from our lord, the pope?" Otho, count Palatine of Bavaria, laid his hand on his ſword: but the preſence of Frederic ſtilled the tumult, and the legates were commanded to depart[b]. He then publiſhed a manifeſto, which ſtates the conduct of the legates, and the inſult offered to the imperial dignity, which is aſſerted to be derived alone from God and from the free election of the German people.

On the return of the cardinals, the Roman court was alarmed and divided; and Adrian addreſſed a brief to the prelates of Germany, wherein having ſaid how outrageouſly his miniſters had been inſulted, he exhorts them to admoniſh their maſter to turn from his evil purpoſes; and he ſpeaks of the ſolid baſis of the Roman church, which no ſtorms ſhall ever move.—The reply of the prelates is firm, reſpectful, and dignified. " The expreſſions," they ſay, " which your legates uttered, we neither dare, nor can, " approve; for, before that day, ſuch language had not " been heared." They repeat their maſter's anſwer to the remonſtrance which, at his holineſs's deſire, they had made to

[b] Murat. ex Radevic. an. 1157.

to him: which is, That he gave all due honour to the papal chair; that he received the crown he wore from the favour of heaven, which the prelates and princes of the empire had confirmed to him; that by the archbiſhop of Cologne he had been anointed king, and crowned emperor by the Roman biſhop; that all pretenſions beyond this ceremony were abuſive; in a word, that he would ſooner lay down his diadem than ſuffer it thus to be reduced and vilified. To theſe ſentiments, they ſay, themſelves ſubſcribe.—The firmneſs of the reply, and the unexpected concord between Frederic and his biſhops, awed into milder thoughts the high ſpirit of Adrian. He was informed, beſides, that he meditated a ſecond journey into Italy. Other miniſters were, therefore, diſpatched with inſtructions better adapted to allay animoſities; and in the name of the pontiff and their court, with a voice and attitude which ſpoke ſubmiſſion, they ſaluted Frederic. The letter they brought was read. It ſtated, in becoming language, the pontiff's eſteem for the emperor; the anxiety his diſpleaſure had cauſed him; the indignity offered to his legates for words, which the meaneſt of his ſubjects might have heared without emotion. It explained the exceptionable clauſes of the brief: that by *favour (beneficium)* was meant a *good deed*, and not a *fief*, as by ſome it had been malevolently interpreted; that by *giving the imperial crown* was only expreſſed the action of placing it on his head; and that this action, ſurely, muſt by all men be termed a good deed or *beneficium* [c]. — The artful comment was accepted: Frederic was appeaſed, and diſmiſſing the legates, he gave them a kiſs, the ſignal of reconciliation to them and to their maſter.

[c] Radev. an. 1158.

At

At the head of a vaſt army, the emperor now returned into Lombardy. The Milaneſe, regardleſs of his threats, had continued to provoke his indignation. Impatiently they had borne the yoke of a foreign prince; and it was even ſaid, that they looked to independence, and to ſovereignty over the other ſtates and cities. Thus has a contemporary writer, the uncle to Frederic, and therefore their enemy, portrayed the character of the Lombards. "At this time, they retained no reſemblance of their barbarous anceſtors; rather, in their converſation and polite manners, they might be compared with the old Romans. So high was their ſenſe of liberty, that they would not ſubmit to the government of one man; and they annually choſe their conſuls, or firſt magiſtrates, from the three orders of the ſtate, that a perfect equality might level all diſtinction. To increaſe the number of their citizens, the towns compelled all lords and gentlemen of their diſtricts to reſide within their walls, and to ſubmit to their authority; and they permitted the loweſt artiſans to bear arms, a practice not ſeen in Germany. The cities of Italy thus became more rich and powerful, than thoſe of other kingdoms: but alſo they were proud, and had little reſpect for their liege ſovereign. With pain they ſaw him enter Italy; and only an armed force could ſecure obedience to his injunctions. Such eſpecially was Milan, the firſt of theſe cities, haughty and refractory, whoſe ſtrength was great, and whoſe fighting men were numerous. Some of the neighbouring towns ſhe had ſubjected to her controul[d]."

[d] Otto de Freiſingen, Vita Frid.

As

As the army advanced, Breſcia fell before it; when aſſembling his miniſters and the great lawyers of Italy, Frederic ſummoned the Milaneſe before him, and having pronounced the ſentence of *Ban* or proſcription againſt them, he commanded his forces to march. By this time, Parma, Cremona, Pavia, Aſti, Vercelli, Como, Padua, Verona, Ferrara, Ravenna, Reggio, Modena, Bologna, with many towns of Tuſcany, had joined him with more than a hundred thouſand men. Milan could yet cope with this mighty hoſt. She truſted to the ſtrength of her walls, to the height of her towers, to the depth of her ditches full of water; but moſt to the valour of her citizens. Feats of great hardihood were achieved on both ſides; but after ſome weeks, bread began to fail within the walls, and diſorders raged. The diſtrict of Milan, at the ſame time, with all its caſtles, was laid waſte; and not a tree or vine remained ſtanding on its fertile plains. In this diſtreſs, the beſieged capitulated, Frederic having offered conditions, to which in honour they could accede. The principal were; that they ſhould give three hundred hoſtages, that the choice of their conſuls ſhould be confirmed by the emperor, and that the great regal rights *(regalia)* ſhould belong to him[e].

In the ſame year, 1158, another meeting was convened on the plain of Roncaglia, the deſign of which was to revive the ancient rights of the crown of Italy, and to fix their limits. Conſuls from all the cities were preſent, and four doctors from Bologna, renowned for legal ſcience. To theſe the important queſtion was propoſed. Whether intereſt, or adulation, or fear, or truth, moſt influenced their

[e] Radev. ib. Chron. Urſperg. p. 298.

their judgments, is not ſaid; but their deciſion was unanimous and peremptory, that the claims of Frederic were paramount; that the great fiefs and all juriſdiction emaned from the imperial crown; that the ſovereign rights unalienably belonged to him; in a word, that he was monarch of the territory. The doctrine might be agreeable to the ancient uſages of Italy; but it did not apply to the circumſtances of the times.—Awed by the deciſion, or more by the preſence of a formidable army, the lords and magiſtrates then ſurrendered their rights into the hands of Frederic, whom the acclamations of his German courtiers, and the maxims of the ſchools, had almoſt perſuaded, that he was ſovereign maſter of the world. Thus cloſed the memorable diet of Roncaglia, and with it, for a ſhort time, the boaſted liberties of the Lombard ſtates[f].

Sicily.

On the death of Roger II. in 1154, his ſon, William the bad, ſucceeded to the throne of the Sicilies. It was an extenſive territory, compriſing the iſland of Sicily, and in Italy, the provinces of Apulia and Calabria. William bore no reſemblance to his noble progenitors, the princes of the Norman line, who, by their proweſs alone, had founded a kingdom, and whoſe conduct gave ſplendour to the diadem[g]. He poſſeſſed perſonal courage; but was, in other regards, weak, cruel, profligate, indolent. His favourites governed, and the people ſuffered; while rebellions, plots, and bloodſhed filled up the meaſure of his reign[h]. Still it was the intereſt of Rome to gain the friendſhip of a tyrant, whoſe power might be ſome barrier againſt the encroachments

[f] Murat. ibid. Pfeffel p. 328. [g] Introduc. to Abeil. p. xlvi.
[h] Murat. p. 569.

of Frederic, and Adrian courted and obtained the alliance of William. The continental poſſeſſions of the Sicilian crown were held under vaſſalage of the ſee of Rome, and mutual protection became neceſſary to both. It had entered into the plans of Frederic, when an occaſion ſhould offer, to attempt the ſubjugation of Sicily. An alluring proſpect thus opened before him. The cities of Lombardy reduced, and the ſceptre of Sicily torn from the hand of a weak monarch, what remained to complete his wiſhes? He would reſtore to its proper level the aſſumed prerogative of the pontiff, and from Rome once more give law to the ſubject world. It will be ſeen how far the glittering dream was realiſed.

Rome. An event, trifling, as it may appear, in itſelf, but in its conſequences moſt ſerious, and which, for eighteen years, engaged the attention, and divided the politics of chriſtendom, now calls our thoughts. It was the election of Orlando de Sienna, cardinal prieſt of St. Mark, (whom the reader lately ſaw at Beſançon,) to the chair of St. Peter. Three days after the death of Adrian, which happened on the firſt of September, 1159, the cardinals aſſembling, choſe Orlando, who took the name of Alexander III. But three of their order, Octavian of St. Cecily, John of St. Martin, and Guido of St. Calixtus, diſſented, and the two latter nominated Octavian, who called himſelf Victor IV. —In a moment, the church of St. Peter was a ſcene of the wildeſt confuſion. The electors of Orlando put on his ſhoulders the ſcarlet mantle, (which was conſidered as the ceremony of inveſtment,) whilſt he reſiſted, and retiring declared his unworthineſs. But Octavian ſeized the

ſacred

ſacred ornament; and when his violence was oppoſed, turning to his chaplain, he called for a mantle which he had ordered him to have in readineſs. He threw it precipitately round his ſhoulders. The doors were opened, and bodies of armed men entered[i].

In tumults and mutual altercations the ſcene continued, in Rome and its neighbourhood, till the twentieth; when Alexander, who had withdrawn to ſome diſtance, was conſecrated, and ſolemnly crowned by the cardinal biſhop of Oſtia, amidſt the acclamations of a numerous clergy, and crowds of ſenators and of the Roman people.—Some days afterwards, Victor likewiſe was conſecrated by the cardinal biſhop of Tuſculum.

To form a juſt idea of the characters of theſe competitors, before their exaltation to the papacy, is not eaſy. They were both high in the eſtimation of Adrian, and of his predeceſſor, Eugenius, and were both employed in important commiſſions: but Orlando was the greater and better man. He poſſeſſed a natural eloquence, was verſed in literature, and knowing the world, had the addreſs of a courtier, and the judgment of a ſtateſman. He was beneficent and mild, temperate and forbearing, prudent and unirraſcible; but firm and perſeverant. In circumſtances leſs turbulent, Orlando had been a treaſure to the church; yet in thoſe very circumſtances, no one, it may be ſaid, could have acted better. When the tiara was firſt preſented to him, he put it by, as it ſeemed, with unaffected humility; but no ſooner had it touched his brows, than he adhered to it with the pertinacity of a man, who, through

[i] Acta Alex. ap. Baron. Radev. c. 51.

life, ſhould have made it the object of all his purſuits.—Octavian was ambitious. Noble as he was by birth, this paſſion had been pardonable, had he attempted its gratification by honourable means. His virtues were few; and as the qualities of his mind were not great, ſo were his acquirements proportionable. He had experience, however, and was verſed in policy and court intrigue. By the latter he deemed it poſſible to make his way to power; and he ſought for power through diſſentions and ſtrife. Had Alexander been unoppoſed, general harmony would have given ſtrength to his government, and ſucceſs to his plans. This harmony Octavian violated. The blow was fatal to the peace of the church, and the execrations of millions followed him to the grave[k]. — As the portraits are taken from the charged ſketches of prejudiced hiſtorians, their future conduct will beſt delineate the real characters of the men.

Aware that he would be inclined to countenance his rival, Alexander, after his enthronation, diſpatched nuncios to Frederic, who was in Lombardy, informing him of his promotion, and requeſting his friendſhip. With difficulty he was perſuaded to ſee them; but he returned no anſwer. —The cardinals in the intereſt of Alexander, twenty two in number, likewiſe wrote to Frederic. They related the circumſtances of the two elections, as given above; and they entreated him, as protector of the church, to eſpouſe her intereſt, and not to patroniſe Octavian, the ſchiſmatical invader of her holy ſee[l].

[k] Acta ap. Baron. Moreri, &c. [l] Ibid.

Victor

Victor was more ſucceſsful. In a letter, addreſſed to the biſhops and nobles at Frederic's court, he reminded them of the friendſhip he had ever manifeſted to their maſter and to them; and he intreated their good offices, at the perilous moment, when Peter's ſhip was ſhaken by the ſtorm, and the imperial dignity was itſelf threatened to be obſcured. He mentioned his promotion, without detailing its circumſtances, which was effected, he ſaid, by the choice of the cardinals, the petition of the clergy, and with the conſent of the ſenators and the people. "But ſhould any "addreſs come to you from Orlando," he concluded, "once chancellor of the Roman ſee, whom a conſpiracy "againſt the church and the empire has devoted to "William of Sicily, and who, the twelfth day after our "election, forced himſelf into our chair, reject it as full "of lies, and as written by a heretic[m]."—But the cardinals of his faction, who now were five, in a letter directed alſo to the emperor's court, entered more fully on the queſtion. They obſerved; that ſince Adrian, in 1156, formed an alliance with the king of Sicily, there had been diviſions in the ſacred college; that when Frederic with an armed force firſt entered Italy, the friends to the Sicilian had urged Adrian to excommunicate him, which blow they (the preſent party of Victor) had warded off; that the ſame faction had ſolemnly engaged themſelves, ever to oppoſe the meaſures of the emperor, and to raiſe no one to the papacy whoſe ſentiments ſhould differ from their own; that, after the interment of Adrian, both parties, notwithſtanding, had conſented to meet, and by an unanimous vote

[m] Acta et Radevic. ib.

vote to elect his ſucceſſor; that the Sicilian faction, on the third day, violating this agreement, had choſen Orlando, and that themſelves, at that criſis, had voted for Octavian; that, in ſpite of every remonſtrance, when they ſaw them preparing to clothe their favourite, (but had not done it,) they had brought forward Octavian, and inveſting him with the ſcarlet mantle, had placed him in the chair, with the applauſe of the people, the clergy, the ſenate, and the nobles; that the faction with Orlando firſt retired to the caſtle, where they remained more than eight days, and then quitting Rome, withdrew to Ciſterna; that here, on the twefth day only, they firſt cloathed him, and on the following Sunday performed his conſecration; that, ſome days after that, on the firſt Sunday in October, Octavian received his conſecration, having, on the day of election, in the church of St. Peter, been canonically inveſted with the mantle[n].

Frederic, thus made umpire, as it ſeemed, between the contending factions, with the advice of his friends, reſolved to convene a general ſynod. The meaſure did not exceed the limits of his power, as it had been before practiſed; and by what other means could the controverſy be decided? Deputies were, therefore, named to wait on the popes, citing them to appear before the council. He wrote to Alexander, and to the cardinals of his party, and to the prelates of the empire and the principal kingdoms of Europe. He tells Alexander, whom he calls Orlando, and his cardinals, that to terminate the ſchiſm which had riſen in the church, he, as the guardian of her laws, had purpoſed

[n] Acta et Radevic. ib.

purpoſed to call a ſynod at Pavia, where the prelates of chriſtendom ſhould meet, and bring the point to iſſue. He commands them to obey the ſummons, and offers them a ſafe-conduct. Should they refuſe; God, he ſays, ſhall judge between them, and he, as becomes the majeſty of the Roman emperor, will maintain the cauſe of juſtice. "God is my witneſs," he concludes, "not led by love or "hatred to any man, I ſeek only his honour and the "unity of his church [o]."

He tells the biſhops of chriſtendom, that the cardinals of Rome having choſen two heads to the church, he had deemed it his duty to oppoſe the evils which muſt enſue; that, agreeably to the judgment of the wiſeſt and beſt men, and to the decrees of former popes, and the eccleſiaſtical canons, he had ordered a council to meet at Pavia; and that Orlando and Octavian were cited to appear before it. He then begs the attendance of each biſhop, requeſting they will come with a candid mind, having permitted no prejudication to influence their deciſion [p].

The deputies, arriving at Anagni, where Alexander was, entered the palace, and without ceremony, took their ſeats in his preſence. They then announced their commiſſion, and gave him the emperor's letter. His friends were round him. As the letter was read, terror and perplexity gathered on their countenances. On one ſide, the anger of Frederic menaced; and the liberty of the church, on the other, ſeemed expoſed to danger. Finally, however, they reſolved, after long deliberation, not to deſert the cauſe of Alexander and the church, whatever perils they

[o] Acta et Radevic. ib. [p] Ibid.

they might incur; when himſelf roſe before the deputies, and ſpoke:

"I admit, he ſaid, that the emperor is the advocate "and the guardian of the Roman church, and I am diſ- "poſed to ſhew him honour above the princes of the "earth, when the honour of the king of kings is not "concerned. Surpriſed I am then, that he ſhould have "diſregarded my honour, and transgreſſed the reſpectful "limits of his predeceſſors, in convening a ſynod without "my participation, and citing me before it. To St. Peter, "and through him to the church of Rome, Chriſt gave "this privilege, that ſhe definitively ſhould judge the diſ- "putes of other churches, herſelf unjudged by all. And "her protector ſhall now himſelf infringe this privilege! "Canonical tradition and the venerable authority of the "fathers, permit me not to go to his court, or to ſubmit "to his award. Princes, in other kingdoms, take not to "themſelves the cognizance of ſuch cauſes: they refer "them to their metropolitans, or to the apoſtolic ſee. "Highly culpable, then, ſhould I be, if, from ignorance "or want of courage, I permitted the evil to begin at the "head, and the church to be inthralled. To ſupport this "liberty our fathers ſpilt their blood; and, ſhould the "times require it, I alſo, after their example, am ready "to bare my breaſt to danger[q]."

The delegates heard the bold addreſs, and leaving Alexander, repaired to Octavian at Segni. He received them with much kindneſs; and they ſaluted him, with the uſual ceremony, proſtrate at his feet.—The views and inclinations of

[q] Acta ap. Baron.

of Frederic were thus at once manifeſted, and it appeared how little he regarded the advice of diſpaſſionate judgment, which, with ſeeming candour, he had inculcated to others. —Victor, with great alacrity, received his propoſal, and conſented to ſubmit his cauſe to the voice of the council[r].

Such were the firſt acts of this extraordinary event, which, the more it is examined and detailed in its various parts, the more it ſeems involved in darkneſs. The ſcattered rays of truth, which, on other occaſions, the hiſtorian thinks he can collect, are here all diſſipated, as if the language of party and its moſt ſolemn ſtatements were the leſs to be credited, the more they bore the ſemblance of honour and veracity. — Alexander, in refuſing to appear before Frederic's council, and to await its ſentence, acted moſt impoliticly. He ſhould have known that the meaſure was not unprecedented, and therefore not inconſiſtent with the dignity of the ſtation, to which he deemed himſelf canonically raiſed. How elſe was the ſchiſm to be terminated? And who ſo competent to interfere as the emperor Frederic? That he was not his friend, Alexander, indeed, knew; and he might fear his preponderating influence. Still, as the majority of votes had rendered his election canonical, he ſhould have met his enemies with confidence. The haughty language he aſſumed, was dictated by the ſpirit which Gregory VII. had raiſed in the church[s]; but in the emergency of a competitor, at leaſt, it ill became Alexander; it irritated the emperor; and was a cauſe of triumph to his opponents.

[r] Acta ib. [s] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 23.

Victor's conduct was guided by a better policy. What truth there was in the circumstances of his election, as exhibited by his friends, cannot be ascertained; but himself seemed not inclined to rely too confidently on them. With Frederic on his side, he had reason to imagine that his cause, though weak, might finally prevail; nor would he deprive it of any adventitious strength, which lay within his own reach to give it. His will should be a law to him; he would meet him in his synod at Pavia; and profess to abide its sentence. The good sense of this determination created him many friends, and it gave an air of sincerity to his proceedings, which the cause wanted, and which the outset of the business, as generally understood, was not calculated to produce.

On the behaviour of Frederic, which many historians, partial to Alexander, have severely censured, much might be said. Agreeably to the plan he had laid for the subjugation of Italy, a pontiff, not averse from his general schemes, of some pliancy of character, and not too elate with the notions of prerogative, it was natural he should wish to patronise. To him Alexander was personally obnoxious, and he might well suspect that the sacred college meant a pointed insult, when they raised him to the chair; for he it was, who, but the year before, in the diet at Besançon, had braved him to his beard. Perhaps also there was truth in the report, that a plot, in favour of the Sicilian king, had been formed against him, and that, in consequence thereof, the votes fell on Orlando. The treaty with William of Sicily was a fact of notoriety. These things considered, a prince, less vindictive and less ambitious

than

than Frederic was, may be allowed to have favoured the rival of his enemy, particularly when it could be done under the ſhew of equity and the love of order. Let it alſo be added, that ſo complicated was the ſtory of the election, in its different views, and which the council of Pavia, as will be ſeen, did not at all elucidate, that, without any previous bias, a man of real ſincerity might have erred. That the elections of both were irregular, I have no doubt; but the reception of the chriſtian world, at length, gave validity to that of Alexander. Frederic, in the mean while, was ſtrenuous for his friend, and prepared for the ſynod of Pavia. It was the end of the year 1159.

# THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE SECOND,

With the EVENTS of the Period.

## BOOK I.

*Council of Pavia.—Alexander and Victor.—Henry and Louis.—War in Lombardy.—Alexander retires to France.—Becket choſen archbiſhop of Canterbury.—Change in his life and manners.—Council of Tours,—Diſpute between Henry and his biſhops.—Conduct of the primate.—Meeting at Clarendon.—Its conſtitutions.—Becket repents of his weakneſs.—The king applies to Alexander.—Becket attempts to leave the kingdom.—Death of Victor, and the affairs of Lombardy.—Meeting at Northampton.—Brief account of the Anglo-Norman government and polity.—Power of the king.—National council.—King's court.—County court.—Revenue of the crown.—Army.—Navy.—Laws.—Degrees of nobility.—Inferior ranks and bondmen.*



AS the kingdoms of Europe were all engaged in the buſineſs of the ſchiſm, the other concerns of policy or religion, of war or peace, ſeemed to be abſorbed in it. Embaſ-

BOOK I. Embaſſadors were ſent to the courts, particularly of the Engliſh and French kings, and ſecret emiſſaries were employed, by both parties, to forward their reſpective intereſts. The kings, in the conflict of ſuch various opinions, prudently withheld their judgment: the biſhops, as character or intereſt directed, precipitately engaged, or waited till time or better documents ſhould clear the uncertain medium; and the people, as their teachers inclined, were ſometimes for Victor, and ſometimes for Alexander. The deciſion of Europe hung in ſuſpence; but Frederic, who felt a nearer intereſt, and who moved on the ſcene, had wiſely planned his meaſures; and he now announced the opening of the council at Pavia for the fifth of February.

1160. It aſſembled. Not more than fifty prelates were there from Germany and the Italian ſtates; but abbots and other religious ſuperiors exceeded calculation[a]. Delegates from different nations, from France and England, were alſo there. Frederic took his ſeat, and ſpoke: "Although, "as emperor, I know that I have authority to convene "councils, particularly when the church is thus expoſed "to danger, (for ſo did Conſtantine and many of my pre- "deceſſors;) yet to you, fathers, I entruſt the deciſion "of this important buſineſs. The Almighty has made you "his miniſters, and he gave you power to judge me. In "the concerns of religion I pretend not to interfere: con- "duct yourſelves, therefore, and decide in this affair, as "having only God for your judge." He pronounced the ſolemn addreſs, and withdrew, leaving the ſynod to free deliberation[b]. Victor was preſent.

Council of Pavia.

[a] Radev. c. 64. [b] Ibid.

For

For ſeven days the queſtion was debated, when Victor, whoſe cauſe had been powerfully ſupported, was declared duly elected; and they condemned Alexander, who, having been canonically cited, had contumaciouſly, it was ſaid, refuſed to appear[c].

The maſs of evidence brought before the council, by the heads of the Roman clergy, and other perſons of diſtinction, who ſolemnly declared they had been witneſſes to every tranſaction, all tended to prove, that Octavian was inveſted with the ſcarlet mantle, and publicly enthroned in the chair of St. Peter, at the petition of the people, and with the conſent of the clergy, in the preſence even of Orlando, and unoppoſed by him and his friends, eleven days before the election of the latter. The circumſtantial evidence is recorded by the hiſtorian, who aſſiſted at the ſynod[d].

The ſentence of the council was carried to the emperor, who received it with reſpect, and approved it. Victor was then conducted to the church, ſurrounded by the clergy, and proclaimed by the people, *ſovereign pontiff and univerſal pope*. Frederic waited at the door, and bowed as he approached; then taking him by the hand, he led him to his ſeat, and kneeling kiſſed his ſlipper[e].—Soon afterwards he wrote to the archbiſhop of Saltzburg and his ſuffragans, informing them of the events of the council, and inſiſting principally on the conſpiracy formed againſt himſelf, during the life of Adrian, as I have related, in conſequence of which, he ſays, Alexander had been choſen, and of that conſpiracy, he adds, freſh evidence had appeared.—This circumſtance, as

[c] Id. c. 65. [d] Radevic. in Frid. [e] Id.

BOOK I. 1160.

as we learn from other letters written to the ſame German prelate, and the non-appearance of Alexander, operated principally in favour of Victor. It was prudently apprehended, ſhould the nomination of the former be confirmed, that diſcord would for ever divide the empire and the church [f].

A circular letter was alſo ſent to every chriſtian ſtate by the preſidents of the council. They detail its principal circumſtances, and conclude with a prayer, that the ſentence pronounced at Pavia may be received by the univerſal church, as fixed and irrevocable.

Alexander and Victor.

Alexander, in the mean time, ſurrounded by his friends at Anagni, waited unabaſhed the iſſue of the meeting. A ſentence of excommunication had been pronounced againſt him at Pavia, but he was prepared to meet it. He called on Frederic to repent, and when he was deaf to his admonitions, him he excommunicated; he renewed the cenſure againſt Victor and his adherents; and, in imitation of ſome of his predeceſſors, he abſolved from their allegiance the ſubjects of the empire [g]. Legates were then ſent to the different courts, and into the eaſt, and to Conſtantinople. The repreſentations from Pavia were thus powerfully counteracted. They inſiſted that the right of election, by the conſtitution and canons of the church, reſided in the college of cardinals, a great majority of whom had elected Alexander; that the ſtory of Victor's inveſtiture, as exhibited by his friends, was a notorious fable; that the meeting at Pavia was rather a German diet, called by the emperor, who had previouſly eſpouſed Octavian, and which

[f] Id. c. 71, 72. [g] Acta Alex. ap. Baron.

which was devoted to his intereſt, and awed by a military force; that deputies from Alexander would have gone to Pavia, not to ſubmit to its ſentence, but to relate the circumſtances of his election, could it have been done without the peril of their lives; that were the characters of the competitors impartially viewed, every friend to virtue and religion would declare for Alexander, and reject with horror the impudent and daring Victor[h].

In England and France great exertions were made, and Alexander at laſt triumphed. Their embaſſadors at Pavia had prudently given no opinion; but by the activity, principally of the biſhop of Liſieux, a learned man, and in great favour with Henry, whoſe ſubject he was, the cauſe of Alexander was rapidly promoted in all the dominions of the two kings. It was much the intereſt of both that no religious controverſy ſhould divide their ſubjects. The emperor had ſome intereſt in the mind of Henry, and he had even ſent his chancellor into France, that the moſt marked attention might give weight to the ſentence of the council. It did not ſucceed. The kings proceeded with great deliberation; but they were not diſpoſed to patroniſe the ſchemes of Frederic, of whoſe power they had already ample reaſon to be jealous, and they rather deſpiſed the pious affectation and the unſeemly interference of him and his German ſoldiers, in the concerns of the church. They took the ſenſe of their clergy, in two ſeparate meetings, in both of which the election of Alexander was declared to be canonical. At the ſame time, by the king's order, a council was held in England, which ended in the ſame deciſion.

[h] Baron. an. 1160.

BOOK I.

1160. On this Alexander was publicly acknowledged, and both churches, with their kings, ſubmitted to his authority[i].—The biſhop of Liſieux relates, that ſo great a horror had Henry of the perſon of Octavian, that when a letter from that ſchiſmatic was preſented to him, he would not touch it with his hand; but receiving it on a chip, which he picked from the duſt, he threw it violently behind his back, to the great amuſement of the ſpectators.

1161. We have not yet done with the firſt tranſactions of this memorable quarrel. The following year, 1161, two other councils were convened. At Toulouſe, the two kings, willing to give greater ſolemnity to the cauſe they had eſpouſed, accompanied by their barons, met the prelates and abbots of their realms. Embaſſadors from the emperor and the king of Spain attended, and legates from the popes. Cardinal Guido of Crema, the elector of Victor, and now, with John of St. Martin, his repreſentative at Toulouſe, was firſt heared. He ſpoke with eloquence, and with much addreſs ſupported his maſter's cauſe. Cardinal William of Pavia, one of Alexander's legates, replied. He had the character of a great orator, but the ſincerity of his attachment to what was deemed the orthodox party, had been ſuſpected. On a viſit to his friends at Pavia, during the celebration of the ſynod, he aſſiſted at it, and did not oppoſe the torrent, though truth and juſtice, it was ſaid, were carried down in the ſtream[k]. He was now more active. He refuted the arguments of his adverſary, and laid the evidence of truth before the eyes of the council. Alexander was declared to have

[i] Joan. Sariſb. ep. 64, 65. Arnulp. ep. ap. Baron. Neubrig. l. 2. c. 9.

[k] Baron. an. 1160.

have been canonically chosen; the kings confirmed the sentence; and Victor with his associates was again anathematised[l].

In revenge, another meeting was convened at Lodi by Victor and Frederic, wherein the proceedings of Pavia were confirmed, and a long list of censures pronounced against the adverse party. It was as numerously attended, and as respectable, as that of Toulouse[m].—Thus in mutual recriminations, and the horrid war of anathemas, passed the first years of this inauspicious period. Alexander resided at Anagni, in the territories of the Sicilian king; for he could not enter Rome, where a powerful faction opposed him: and Victor was generally in the court of Frederic, whom great concerns still detained in Lombardy.

As yet the interests of the rival popes were not unequally poised. On the side of Alexander were the kingdoms of France, of England, of Spain, as far as the christian interest then extended, and of Sicily.—With Victor stood the empire with its dependent states, and the northern kingdoms of Denmark and Norway. — Rome itself was rather with Victor; and on each side were many inferior states and prelates, of whom some remained neutral, while others, uninfluenced by the judgment of the majority, chose to think for themselves.—But it must not be forgotten, that the Latin church in Palestine adhered to Alexander, and that even the Grecian emperor of Constantinople, with his patriarchs, princes, bishops, clergy, and people acknowledged the legality of his election, though they rejected his communion, and ridiculed his claim to

[l] Neubrig. c. 9.

[m] Chron. Lauden. sub an. 1161.

BOOK I. 1161.

ſupremacy over the eaſtern church. Alexander had ſolicited the vain approbation. Emanuel Comnenus could not remain a mere ſpectator, while a queſtion of ſome magnitude agitated the weſtern world; and beſides, he was jealous of the ſpreading honours of Frederic, and idly projected, as will be ſeen, to ſtrengthen his feeble arm by the recovery of nominal empire.

Henry and Louis.

While Henry and Louis, with uncommon accord, thus laboured to pacify Europe, or perhaps only to thwart the machinations of Frederic, other events had engaged their attention. Louis loſt Conſtantia, his ſecond queen; and as a male heir was ſtill wanting to the throne, (for ſhe alſo had left two daughters only,) the lords of the council urged him again to marry. Pliant and condeſcending as he was, in leſs than fourteen days, he took to his arms Adelaide, the ſiſter of the earl of Champagne, whoſe brothers were the counts of Blois and Sancerre. The connection diſpleaſed Henry. The earls were nephews to Stephen, late king of England, who could not be his friends, as he had diſpoſſeſſed their family of a throne; and the elevation of their ſiſter would naturally draw them nearer to Louis, and give them weight in his councils.

I have related what were the conditions of the marriage treaty between the eldeſt ſon of Henry and the daughter of the French king[n]. She was to be educated under the eye of her future father, and the caſtles of Giſors, Neufle, and Neuchatel were appointed for her dower. In the ſubſequent treaty of peace, it ſeems to have been ſtipulated, that the whole Norman Vexin, with the caſtles, ſhould

[n] Page 9.

ſhould be ſurrendered to Henry, for the uſe of his ſon, within three years, or ſooner, if the parties ſhould be *eſpouſed with the conſent of the church*[o]. Henry was now deſirous that it ſhould be no longer in the power of Louis to revoke the contract. The new connection he had made gave riſe to ſome anxiety, as the prince and princeſs were as yet infants, and he ſaw that the politics of France might ſoon be turned into another channel.

The legates of Alexander were in France. To them the Engliſh monarch applied for a diſpenſation, which would at once remove the objection that might be drawn from the infant ſtate of the parties, and effectually eſtabliſh the neceſſary condition, *the conſent of the church*. It is well known of what conſequence, at that critical moment, were to Alexander the ſupport and good will of Henry. To have refuſed his petition was dangerous, and yet to grant it might be diſpleaſing to Louis. But the legates were aware, which of the two monarchs could be moſt eaſily ruled, and they granted the diſpenſation. The French king, we are told, was ſcandalized at their too eaſy conduct[p]; but probably he was not leſs affected to find himſelf thus overreached, as he might think, by the politic prince, and be compelled to ſurrender the important forts, which, in the ordinary courſe of things, ſhould have remained longer in his power. The nuptials between the infants were celebrated; and Henry demanded the caſtles, which were inſtantly delivered into his hands, by the knights templars, to whoſe cuſtody they had been committed. — Though in the tranſaction, conſidering the tenor of the treaty, there might

[o] Life of Hen. vol. ii. p. 116.

[p] Arnulp. ep. 23.

BOOK I. 1161.

might be nothing fraudulent; yet honourable ſurely it was not, and little did it accord with that open and manly ſpirit, which, as hiſtorians too encomiaſtic have proclaimed, uniformly animated the breaſt of Henry. The writers, moſt contemporary with the event, repreſent it in colours not favourable to their king, and ſeem to have known nothing of the extraordinary clauſe in the ſecond treaty, which I mentioned [q].

The honeſt Louis, rouſed by the inſult, with his uſual impetuoſity, flew to arms. His new relations joined in the quarrel, and fortifying Chaumont, a caſtle bordering on Touraine, threatened from thence to lay waſte the territory of the enemy. The enemy was prepared, and with uncommon alertneſs fruſtrated their deſigns. In the Norman Vexin, the two armies often approached within ſight, and as often retired. They feared one another; and this was a moment for the mediation of friends. The legates interfered, and a truce was concluded [r].—If theſe ſervants of an ambitious maſter, ſedulous to extend the vain prerogative of his court, be accuſed of ſowing diſcord, and of breaking aſunder the ſacred tie which binds the prince and the people, alſo it muſt be ſaid that, often they were heralds of peace, and obſtructed, by their mediation, the effuſion of human blood.

War in Lombardy.

Frederic alſo, though pledged to ſupport the ſchiſm, would not permit it to engroſs his thoughts. The plan he had formed for the ſubjugation of Lombardy, he purſued unremittingly. His officers by their exactions daily irritated the

[q] Neubrig. c. 24. Hoveden. an. 1161.

[r] Chron. Norman. an. 1161, Neubrig. c. 24.

the proud republicans, and it did not ſeem that either they or their maſter were diſpoſed to comply with the terms on which Milan had capitulated. The utter ſubverſion of their liberty, they had reaſon to apprehend, could alone gratify the ambitious monarch. He commanded the Milaneſe to ſuppreſs their conſuls, and to accept magiſtrates from him; and becauſe Crema was their ally, he inſiſted that they ſhould level their walls, and fill up their ditches. Neither of them obeyed the imperious mandate. They had no reſource but in their arms. The Milaneſe, in great force, left their walls, and falling ſuddenly on Trezzo, a caſtle where the emperor's money was kept, they took it by ſtorm, ſeized his treaſure, and with it a ſtrong garriſon of German ſoldiers[s].

The empreſs Beatrix, duke Henry the Lion, and other princes, now joined the imperial ſtandard, with great reinforcements. For agreeably to the military ſervice, in the feudal ſyſtem, an army of vaſſals, like the ocean, perpetually ebbed and flowed. Thus ſtrengthed, he marched, in fury, againſt Crema. Fourteen hundred Milaneſe had, in the mean time, flown to the ſuccour of their friends. Prodigies of valour, ſays the hiſtorian who viewed the ſiege from the emperor's camp, were done on both ſides; and the machines of war, then employed to throw ſtones, cauſed dreadful devaſtation. The men of Cremona, who fought for Frederic, and whoſe animoſity againſt the beſieged was great, filling two hundred caſks with earth, rolled them into the ditch, and on them puſhed forward a wooden caſtle. It overlooked the walls. A ſhower of broken rocks from

[s] Radevic. an. 1160.

BOOK I. 1161.

from the enemy inſtantly thundered on its ſides, and it tottered to the loweſt planks. Frederic ordered the hoſtages, he had before received from Crema, and Milaneſe priſoners, of noble blood, to be expoſed, bound, on the ſummit of the tower. The beſieged viewed the horrid ſpectacle, but did not relent in their exertions. Nine of the unfortunate men were ſlain, when the ſurvivors were withdrawn from the ſlaughter. A ſcene of dreadful retaliation enſued. The German and other priſoners were brought out on the walls, and butchered in the ſight of Frederic and his army. In ſuch bloodſhed and cruel feats did the ſiege continue for almoſt ſix months, and no efforts of the aſſailants could abate the reſiſtance of theſe deſperate men. But their chief engineer deſerted to the enemy; and fatigue, ſleepleſs nights, and unwholeſome food, wore them down. They implored the mediation of duke Henry, a prince humane and generous, as Frederic was relentleſs and ſevere, and of Peregrinus, patriarch of Aquileia, the faſt friend to Victor and his cauſe. But they could only obtain, that the allies ſhould quit the place unarmed, and the inhabitants of Crema with what each could carry. "They bad their laſt "adieu to thoſe walls they had ſo nobly defended, and came "out bearing on their ſhoulders what they held moſt "dear, their infants, their infirm wives, and aged parents." Crema was then pillaged; and the fire and the hammer ſoon laid it in the duſt[t].

Milan was yet unconquered. The emperor, with his Italian allies, fell upon their territories; but they every where reſiſted, and meeting him in the field, they defeated part

[t] Radev. ibid. Leudenſe Chron. an. 1160. Murat. ibid.

part of his army, and forced himſelf to retire. The period of ſervice being expired, the German vaſſals, as uſual, after the deſtruction of Crema, had gone home. In ſpring they returned, and with them many more princes and prelates, at the head of their contingent of troops. His brother Conrad came; Frederic, his couſin, duke of Suabia; the landgrave of Heſſe; and the ſon of the king of Bohemia. No one ſhone more brilliant than Rinaldo, the newly elected archbiſhop of Cologne, who marched with five hundred horſe. Thus reinforced, Frederic once more turned his face towards Milan, and on the laſt days of March, 1161, encompaſſed it with his mighty hoſt[v].

Experience had now taught him, that his machines againſt the walls of Milan would be ſpent in uſeleſs rage; that the courage of its citizens was unſurmountable; and that hunger and diſtreſs could alone ſubdue them. As he had done before, he therefore, fifteen-miles round, deſtroyed all the produce of the earth, and ſo guarded the paſſes that not the ſmalleſt aid could enter. He himſelf ſat down at Lodi, a town in the neighbourhood, expecting, with ſullen impatience, the dreadful effect of his meaſures. The effect ſoon took place. Want of proviſions created famine, and famine peſtilence. Deputies waited on the emperor, offering on the part of the citizens, to beat down their walls, and to fill their ditches. "You ſhall ſurrender at diſcretion;" ſaid he, adviſed to it by ſome of the princes, but chiefly by his Italian allies, who hated Milan. The next day, the four conſuls came; and they ſwore on their ſwords, which were naked in their hands, to do the

[v] Auctores ut ſupra.

BOOK I. 1161.

will of Frederic, and promiſed that the people ſhould ſwear the ſame. Early on the next morning, five hundred horſemen advanced with the banners and keys of the city, and laid them at the conqueror's feet. He demanded four hundred hoſtages; while twelve commiſſioners were ſent to receive from the people the promiſed oath of ſubmiſſion. With his court he then proceeded to Pavia, whence an order was diſpatched to the conſuls that, "within eight "days, the citizens, men and women, evacuate the city." The order was complied with. The nobility and principal inhabitants retired to the neighbouring towns: but the poor, and the diſconſolate populace, loitered about the monaſteries which were built near the walls, hoping that ſome pity might be left in the victor's breaſt, and that they ſhould be permitted to return to their houſes. The next day, he entered Milan with his troops, and, on a ſignal, conſigned it to general pillage. Nothing was ſpared; not the wealth of the citizens, nor the ornaments of the churches. This done, he pronounced the laſt fatal decree, that "the city be deſtroyed to its foundations."

But deſirous, probably, that the odium of the ſavage work ſhould not fall on his Germans, he entruſted its execution to his Lombard ſoldiers, and allotted to each diviſion the ſeveral quarters of the town. With the ferocity of their anceſtors, and the vengeance of more than human hatred, they performed their commiſſion. They were the men of Pavia, of Cremona, of Lodi, of Novara, and of Como. The proud palaces of Milan, its churches, its ancient monuments, and its walls with a hundred towers, ſoon lay proſtrate in the duſt. The metropolitan church

of

of St. Ambroſe was alone permitted to ſtand; but the Gothic ravager ordered its tower to be lowered, which for its height and exquiſite workmanſhip had been viewed with admiring wonder. The body of the church was much injured by its fall. On the following Sunday, which was the laſt of lent, Frederic entered this awful temple he had ſacrilegiouſly profaned, and, with affected devotion, amidſt its ruins, received the bleſſed olive branch from the hand of the officiating miniſter. He returned to Pavia, where, in ſolemn pomp, he kept his eaſter, and appeared before the people crowned with the imperial diadem. Two years before he had vowed never to wear it more, till Milan ſhould be vanquiſhed. The news of its deſtruction ſpread a general terror, and the towns of Italy trembled at the name of Barbaroſſa [u].

Breſcia, the ally of Milan, and Placentia, now voluntarily ſurrendered to the victor, and accepted his hard conditions. Theſe were; to receive a magiſtrate from him, to level their fortifications, to give up their caſtles, to pay a large ſum of money, and to follow him to war. Alike terms were preſcribed to Bologna, and to other towns of leſs note. — Thus from the Alps to the gates of Rome, every city, and every fortreſs, bowed the neck to this formidable prince. It was time he ſhould ſhew his laurels in Germany, and attend to the concerns of Victor.

I have been particular in detailing theſe events, becauſe they are intereſting in themſelves and in their conſequences; and becauſe the contemporary hiſtorians are diffuſe in their narrations. The adulatory praiſe they give to

[u] Murat. an. 1162. Chron. Lauden. & Urſperg. ibid.

BOOK I.

1161. Frederic I would not tranſcribe. We learn what was his real character; we ſee the ſpirit of the Lombards, and the manner in which towns were defended and attacked. The engines they uſed reſembled thoſe of the ancient Romans: indeed, till the diſcovery of gunpowder, it could only be by battering the walls, that any impreſſion could be made. When a breach was effected, they ſtormed with ſwords, battle-axes, and ponderous clubs of iron. But I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to treat more diſtinctly of the military art of thoſe days, in which the emperor, above the reſt, ſeems principally to have excelled. He was emulous of a ſoldier's fame.

1162. Alexander goes into France.

Alexander had quitted Campania, where he reſided at Anagni, protected by the king of Sicily, and had returned to Rome. But the faction of Octavian, which was powerful, the diſaffection, at that time, of the Romans themſelves to papal government[w], and the great intereſt of Frederic, ſoon forced him to withdraw. Again he retired into Campania; and as his friends urged him to depart from a country, which no longer merited the bleſſing of his preſence, he reſolved to ſeek for an aſylum in France. At Terracine four galleys were prepared, by his Sicilian majeſty, to receive him. He appointed a vicar at Rome, and ſailed. Through many perils he arrived firſt at Genoa, and thence, after a ſucceſsful voyage, landing on the French coaſt, he proceeded, with all his retinue, to Montpellier. On a white hackney, habited in his pontifical robes, and ſurrounded by a countleſs multitude, he entered the populous city. He was happy that could approach him.

[w] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 351.

him. The barons of the province were there with their vaſſals, and the governor at the head of his troops: they advanced in order, and kiſſed his feet. Stricken by the unuſual ſpectacle, a Saracen prince, who was preſent, with his attendants fell proſtrate, and "adored the pontiff, as "the god of the chriſtians." By an interpreter, he then addreſſed him in his maſter's name. Alexander returned an affable anſwer, and with the nobles, ſays my author, ordered him to take an honourable place at his feet[x]. — Many prelates of the Gallican church ſoon crowded to Montpellier. Before them, Alexander harangued the people: he related the circumſtances of his election, inveighed againſt the inſolence of his enemies, and again ſolemnly excommunicated Octavian and his adherents.

When Louis heared that the pope was in Languedoc, he ſent deputies to him. By the addreſs of his new queen, or of her brother, the count of Champagne, who were related, it is ſaid, to Victor, ſome change, it ſeems, had taken place in the diſpoſitions of Louis, and of this Alexander had been appriſed. He received the deputies coolly, which ſo far irritated the monarch, that he acquainted his brother-in-law of it, and commiſſioned him to wait on the emperor. The cloud ſoon paſſed over. Legates of great reſpect came from the pope, requeſting that their maſter might be informed, in what part of the kingdom, it would be moſt agreeable to his Majeſty, for him to reſide. They were well received, we know; for at their return, Alexander left Montpellier, and came to Clermont in Auvergne[y].

Frederic,

[x] Acta ap. Bar. an. 1162.

[y] Fleury from Ducheſne t. 4. p. 416, &c. Acta ibid.

BOOK I.

1162.

Frederic, in the mean while, adviſed by the earl of Champagne, projected a ſolemn conference, at which the prelates and lords of both kingdoms ſhould be preſent, and where the pretenſions of the rival popes ſhould again be diſcuſſed. St. Jean de Laune, on the borders of Burgundy, ſituated on the Saone, then the frontier of France, was thought the moſt proper place. The king, anxious to give peace to the church, conſented to the propoſal; but the artful nobleman was careful not to acquaint him with the articles of the convention he had ſettled with the emperor. The latter had left Italy, and now haſtened towards Burgundy, eſcorted by a noble train of princes, prelates, and a military guard. Victor alſo was with him. The French king was not leſs ſplendidly attended. On the way he met Alexander, who refuſed to accompany him to the conference, again pleading the privilege of the Roman ſee. "It is ſtrange," obſerved Louis, "that, feeling, as you do, the juſtice of your cauſe, you "ſhould decline this trial[z]."

The circumſtances of the conference, which enſued, are ſo variouſly related, that no accurate ſtatement can be made. The earl of Champagne, it ſeems, had promiſed more than his maſter was diſpoſed to comply with; and when the latter conſented to ſtand to the agreement of his miniſter, the emperor, in his turn, receded. He ſaw that it would not be poſſible to gain the point he had in view: either to ſet aſide both the popes, and elect a new one; or to confirm irrevocably the nomination of Victor. In feigned excuſes and inſincere propoſals many days thus paſſed,

[z] Fleury from Ducheſne t. iv. p. 416, &c. Acta ibid.

paſſed. The king, at laſt, availing himſelf of the non-appearance of Frederic at a certain interview, he had engaged to attend, ſuddenly withdrew, and the aſſembly was diſſolved. It is alſo related, that the approach of the king of England, with a great force, to ſupport the cauſe of Alexander, againſt the menaces of the emperor, contributed not a little to the abrupt termination of the conference[a].

Alexander, during theſe tranſactions, was at Bourgdieu, a monaſtery in Aquitaine, waiting, in anxious ſolicitude, the uncertain iſſue of the conference. Here he was viſited by Henry, who, being informed of the event of the meeting, would proceed no further. Proſtrate on the ground he kiſſed the feet of his holineſs; then riſing, he offered him rich preſents of gold, and was permitted to kiſs his lips. But he declined the honour of a chair, which was prepared for him, and, with his barons, took his ſeat on the floor. Three days he ſpent with Alexander, and left him, much charmed with the interview[b].—The two kings themſelves ſoon after met at Couci ſur Loire, where they received the pontiff. They walked on foot by his ſide, each holding a rein of his horſe's bridle, and ſhewed him to his tent; exhibiting ſuch a ſpectacle, ſays Baronius, to God, to angels, and to men, as hitherto the world had not ſeen!

And ſhall it be matter of ſurpriſe to the reader, who can at all appreciate human nature in her moſt ordinary operations, that the biſhops of Rome, when kings thus wantonly crouched at their feet, or performed the office of menial vaſſals, ſhould have thought themſelves their ſuperiors?

[a] Acta ap. Bar. an. 1162. [b] Acta ibid. Rob. de Monte an. 1162.

BOOK I. 1162.

riors? It was by a ceremony far leſs obſequious, that, in thoſe times, feudal homage was made, and ſubjection manifeſted. To have refuſed ſuch honours, came not within the reach of common nature: and hitherto it has not been proved that the popes were more than men. In proceſs of time, they demanded, I know, as their right, what, at firſt, was the effect of adulation or of a miſtaken zeal. Nor can this be deemed extraordinary. Their courtiers, beſides, and their courtly canoniſts, declared it was their due; and they upheld the aſſertion by the authority of long uſage, of ancient decrees, which a ſound criticiſm had not inveſtigated, and of paſſages from ſcripture too figuratively explained. But if events or opinions, belonging to a period ſo diſtant from our own, can really excite our wonder; the occaſion rather ſhould be, not that the popes were pleaſed with power, and aimed to retain a pre-eminence which they had once acquired; but that kings and civil magiſtrates, ignorant of their own rights, ſhould have themſelves begun and have perpetuated the extravagance. Here common ſenſe alone was a ſufficient guide; whereas, in the other caſe, it is expected that the ordinary paſſions of men ſhould loſe their character, or ceaſe to operate!

Becket choſen archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Theobald, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, had been ſome months dead, and no ſucceſſor was appointed to the important charge. Engaged in the troubles of the ſchiſm, and in other tranſactions, which detained him in Normandy, Henry was unable to attend minutely to the concerns of government at home. The nomination of a proper perſon to the primacy of England, was a matter of great moment, as, ſince the conqueſt particularly, it had been ſeen, how much

much the peace of the kingdom, and the happineſs of the prince, could be affected by its influence. That there were many candidates for the high dignity, cannot be doubted; but Henry, with great prudence, ſeems to have weighed the characters of his clergy, and to have judged for himſelf. It has been related, with what fidelity, the chancellor had ſerved his maſter, in civil and in military offices. He was with him in the field and cabinet: and as his abilities had excited his admiration, and his perſonal qualities procured his love, the whole character of the man was open to him. He was a churchman, beſides, being in deacon's orders, and the late archbiſhop, a prelate of great worth, had raiſed him to the archdeaconry of his ſee. When a primate was wanted for England, how naturally, therefore, would it occur to Henry that no one could be ſo proper as his chancellor; and he would flatter himſelf, that he, whom hitherto he had found ſo able, and ſo attached to his intereſt, would not ceaſe to be ſo when entruſted with other concerns. The worldly ſpirit he had till now exhibited, could not be a ſerious obſtacle to his promotion, as the buſineſs in which he had been engaged was of a nature to call for a diſplay, ſometimes, of martial proweſs, and ſometimes, of courtly munificence. Alſo, from the knowledge of his character, which years of intimacy had confirmed, he muſt have been aware, that the qualities of his mind which had made the ſtateſman and the ſoldier, were yet ample enough to fill the wide ſphere of the firſt prelacy in his dominions. As the object he had in view was great, and we are told that he augured much ſucceſs, from the choice he was making, in the general adminiſtration of

BOOK I. 1162.

eccleſiaſtical and civil concerns[c], it is not probable that, at that time, he had formed any deſign of breaking in upon the eſtabliſhed maxims and immunities of the church. Not to have diſcovered the real caſt of Becket's mind, while he could have no motive to diſguiſe it, argues little penetration in Henry; and if he knew it, which he muſt, how project a ſcheme for the humiliation of the church, and then appoint a prelate to be her guide, who would oppoſe that very ſcheme, and meet him, he was aware, in every attempt!

Henry took his reſolution. He was at Falaiſe in Normandy, and as ſome affairs were to be tranſacted in England, he ordered the chancellor to go over. "But," added he privately to him, "you may not know, poſſibly, what is "my principal deſign: I mean you ſhould be archbiſhop of "Canterbury." The chancellor ſmiled, and pointing to his garment, which was not very canonical, ſaid; "truly, "you are going to raiſe to that great ſee, and to place at "the head of the monks of Canterbury, a very edifying "perſonage, it ſeems. But ſhould it ſo happen, mark, Sir; "the friendſhip which is now between us will not continue "long. You will expect compliances from me, which I "ſhall not be diſpoſed to grant. Already your majeſty is "making encroachments on the liberties of the church[d]." —But when the king was once fixed, he did not eaſily recede; and the cardinal legates, who were there, joined their influence to that of the monarch. Thomas, urged by a maſter whom he loved, reluctantly conſented[e]; and orders were immediately diſpatched to the monks of Canterbury and the

[c] Hoveden. p. 292. Vita c. 6. [d] Vita c. 6. [e] Ibid.

the ſuffragans of the ſee, to proceed to his election. Matilda, it is ſaid, diſapproved of the meaſure; and among the biſhops and clergy, doubtleſs there were ſome, who, from various motives, might wiſh to obſtruct his promotion[f]. All oppoſition, however, (if any there was,) finally gave way to the poſitive determination of the king.

His election was made, unoppoſed by any, at Weſtminſter, in the preſence of the young prince, to whom he had lately been appointed preceptor, and who, on this occaſion, perſonated his father. Under this commiſſion, the royal aſſent was given, and Thomas was then declared to be free from every engagement to the court[g]. Some days after, his conſecration was performed at Canterbury, by the biſhop of Wincheſter, (with the moſt unanimous concurrence,) at which the prelates of the province and the clergy aſſiſted, with the young prince, and a ſplendid train of nobles[h]. The court, which they paid to the favourite, would be acceptable, they knew, to their royal maſter. This was in June, 1162, when Becket had been five years chancellor, and was in his forty-fourth year.

He was born in London of reputable parents. His biographers relate that Gilbert, (this was his father's name,) agreeably to the devotion of the age, made a pilgrimage into Paleſtine, where he was captured by the Saracens, and thrown into priſon. Being young and in his manners gentle, he was treated with unuſual lenity. The daughter of the chief ruler had thus an opportunity privately to converſe with him. He ſpoke to her of the chriſtian religion, and while ſhe liſtened, ſhe learned to love. Would he marry

[f] Hoved. p. 292. [g] Vita c. 8. [h] Gerv. Chron. Rad. Imag. Hiſt. an. 1162.

BOOK I. 1162.

her, ſhe one day told him, ſhe would eaſily contrive to effectuate his eſcape, and would be the companion of his flight. Gilbert would not riſk an attempt, he thought too hazardous. It ſo happened, however, that, after a year and a half, he did eſcape with other captives, and left his generous pupil behind. She followed him; wandered through many countries, and at laſt came to England. That he now married her will be eaſily underſtood; and of this marriage Thomas was the fruit[i]. — So relates the fabling Bromton.

His ſtature was above the common ſize, and his figure handſome. His underſtanding was quick and penetrating, his utterance and elocution clear and harmonious, and his manners wonderfully endearing. With facility he ſolved difficulties, which ſeemed above his reach; and ſuch was the tenacity of his memory, that he retained whatever he had learned, and could repeat it without the ſmalleſt error. The impreſſions of virtue on his mind were early; his heart was benevolent; and he could feel for the diſtreſſes of others, and relieve them. The love of popular applauſe was long his ruling paſſion, and it was immoderate[k]. — He began his ſtudies at Oxford, which, at that time, after various fates, was regaining celebrity; and continued them at Paris. Being returned home, his own acquirements, and the intereſt of friends, recommended him to the notice of the primate, Theobald. With him he lived in confidential intimacy: he employed him in the arduous concerns of office; and more than once he was deputed by him to the court of Rome. Bologna was then in high repute, and its canoniſts

[i] Chron. Joan. Bromt. an. 1163.

[k] Gervas. Actus Pont. Cant.

canoniſts and civilians were deemed the firſt in Europe. Among theſe was Gratian, and others of not inferior fame, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. It was by their lectures, and the publication of their opinions, that the ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical domination, which, for ſome time, had prevailed at Rome, now gained ſtability, and ſpread through the chriſtian churches. Theobald was deſirous that young Becket ſhould paſs ſome months in that celebrated academy. He was there, and it will ſhortly appear what were the maxims he imbibed. Soon he was promoted to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, and acquired other lucrative preferments in the church[1]. I have ſaid that, the ſame patronage of Theobald recommended him to Henry; that he was made Chancellor, and employed in important negociations; and we have juſt ſeen, that nothing could ſatisfy the unbounded opinion which his maſter entertained of him, but that in his perſon, to the firſt civil department ſhould be annexed the higheſt dignity in the church. He was chanceller of the realm, and primate of all England.

Change in his life and manners.

The awful ceremony of conſecration had no ſooner bound him to the church, ſay his biographers, than he at once quitted the world, and with it the habits of his former life. He became retired, ſtudious, meditative. But in nothing was he ſingular or affected. His dreſs was modeſt, ſuch as prelates wore; and his charities to the indigent were unbounded. His table was ſumptuous, and himſelf ate what was rare and delicate; but in the train of his attendants there was not, ſuch as had been, a courtly magnificence. Men of learning were his companions: from their intercourſe he drew

[1] Gervas. Pontif. Cant. Vita c. 2.

BOOK I. 1162.

drew inſtruction; and he rewarded their labours. The ſtudy of antiquity and the ſcriptures engaged his hours. The monks of Canterbury, inſtigated by his example, practiſed more diligently their monaſtic duties, while the clergy of his dioceſe ſaw in their primate all the virtues, which could adorn and elevate their profeſſion[m]. It was remarked that, even in the court of his prince, where virtue had few votaries, and pleaſure invited, he had been uniformly free from vice, and even free from common weakneſſes. Henry jeered his innocence, and ſometimes aimed to inſnare it. His failings were thoſe of a youthful mind, courting popular applauſe, elated by the ſmiles of his king, and immeaſurably ambitious to extend his glory.

Men, whom nature has not formed in common moulds, whoſe underſtandings are large, and whoſe hearts ſwell, can only be engaged by objects commenſurate with their capacities. When Becket was the miniſter of a monarch, whoſe empire was extenſive, and whoſe views were vaſt, the ſituation harmoniſed with his character, and he could be munificent, and oſtentatious, and ſoldier-like as he. Nor can we wonder, if the looſer manners of the age, and the occupations of the buſy ſcene, ſhould have more than reconciled him to employments, which ſeem not to have become the churchman. There were examples in the French court, and more in that of Frederic. Beſides, Theobald had himſelf raiſed him to the ſtation, who knew its offices and all its calls. But when the primacy of England was in his hands, with its ſplendid honours and its thouſand duties, the charge alone was amply ſufficient; and it could occupy and

[m] Vita c. 9, 10, 11, 12. Gervas. &c.

and engroſs his thoughts. His manners and his views would naturally bend to it; and that caſt of character which had fortunately carried him to the objects of his ambition, would now operate to ſimilar exertions in his new department. Now alſo, he might think, he was become the ſervant of a greater potentate, than was Henry Plantagenet, namely, of Alexander, the Roman pontiff. It was the prejudice of the age. And may it not be ſaid, that religion and a ſenſe of duty did likewiſe co-operate to the reformation of manners and the change of character, of which I am ſpeaking? New features of mind, and a ſternneſs of virtue might be then produced, of which before no ſymptoms had been exhibited. The mind of man is a ſyſtem of effects. To ſay then, that the archbiſhop was inſincere in his converſion, and affected new manners, from ſiniſter and inſidious views, is ungenerous and contrary to the declarations of the moſt contemporary writers; but not to be able to ſee that the tranſition was moſt natural, as agreeable to the ordinary phenomena of human nature, ſpeaks a want of diſcernment, of which who is vacant, ſhould not attempt to relate events in which *man* is a principal agent; and to be conſcious of truth, and to misſtate it, from the prejudications of low bigotry, from diſlike of characters, or from a paltry policy, is of prejudice the baſeſt ſpecies, and degrades the hiſtorian.

The duties of the new charge were ſo manifold, that the archbiſhop ſoon diſcovered how incompatible they were with the extenſive concerns of his firſt office. He reſolved to reſign the ſeals; and he ſent them to the king in Normandy, expreſſing, doubtleſs, by the meſſenger, what his motives

BOOK I.

1162.

motives were. Henry was much affected. The ſcheme of government he had projected was at once diſſolved, and in loſing his miniſter, he felt that his own ſinews were relaxed. The ſtep alſo was precipitate. The recollection of the many favours he had received, and of his maſter's unbounded confidence, ſhould have checked, he might naturally think, the haſty reſolution, till in perſon he had laid his difficulties before him. The archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne, he knew, were the emperor's prime miniſters, the one in Germany, the other in Italy[n]. His heart was heavy, and he came to England. Indeed, there was not much, at that moment, to detain him on the continent, and ſome freſh diſturbances in Wales made his preſence more neceſſary. Becket met him at Southampton. They embraced; but he turned his eyes from him, which viſibly denoted the coolneſs of his heart[o]. It was marked on another occaſion. Thomas had retained the archdeaconry of Canterbury. This office the king urged him to reſign; but as he knew it was his intention to confer it on Geoffrey de Riddel, an eccleſiaſtic whom he diſliked, he, from day to day, put off the ſurrender. The king would not be ſatisfied, and the archbiſhop finally complied. The motive of this requiſition was evident[p].

1163.

Council of Tours.

In the ſpring of the year, 1163, Alexander convened a ſynod at Tours. Seventeen cardinals, who attended the pontiff, were preſent, and a numerous prelacy from the kingdoms of France and England. The metropolitan of Canterbury was received with the moſt marked attention. Fifteen cardinals, with the biſhops who had arrived, went out

[n] Imag. hiſt. 1162. [o] Ibid. [p] Ibid.

out to meet him. Alexander welcomed him with the ſincereſt profeſſions of eſteem, and when the council opened, he ſat with his ſuffragans on the right hand. On the left was Roger, metropolitan of York, with his ſuffragan of Durham [q]. Arnold of Liſieux, who has been mentioned, the friend to Alexander and to Henry, whoſe ſubject he was, in a ſtudied and eloquent oration harangued the meeting. Who has read it, will not think contemptibly of the oratory of the twelfth century. He ſpoke of the unity of the church, which ſchiſmatics aimed to divide, and of her liberty which tyrants would deſtroy. "Frederic," ſays he, "among the princes of the earth, is famed for the virtues "of prudence and fortitude. Would to God, he were "humbled, and would confeſs that the power of the "church is above his power! By gratitude he ſhould be "compelled to own, that Rome is his miſtreſs. From her "favour alone did his predeceſſors receive the right of "empire [r]."—Alexander then himſelf related the circumſtances of his election; inveighed againſt the intruſion of Octavian; and once more pronounced anathemas againſt him and his accomplices.—Ten canons were enacted, which principally regarded ſuch abuſes as had made their way into the diſcipline of the church.

The two kings now ſignified to the pope, that if it was his intention to continue in their territories, he was free to chuſe his reſidence where it might pleaſe him beſt. He fixed on the city of Sens, in the province of Champagne, to which he retired with his court, and where he reſided for two years.

[q] Gerv. an. 1163. Vita c. 14. [r] Ap. Baron. an. 1163.

BOOK I.

1163.

Diſpute between Henry and his biſhops.

Returned into England from the council of Tours, where the converſation of Alexander and the prelates, had animated his zeal againſt the oppreſſors of the church, and the detail of abuſes, cenſured by the ſynod, had raiſed a higher veneration for its laws, its rights, and its immunities, the archbiſhop turned his thoughts to the ſtate of his own dioceſe. Many abuſes had there alſo crept in, particularly during the civil diſturbances of the laſt reign; and the rights of the ſee, which were extenſive, had been invaded[s]. We have ſeen with what activity, Henry, on his acceſſion to the throne, reclaimed ſuch parts of the royal demeſne as had been alienated, even by the grants of Stephen and Matilda. The rights of the crown, he juſtly pleaded, were ſacred, and could not be ſevered from it. And were the poſſeſſions and rights of the church then held leſs ſacred? No length of poſſeſſion, we know, could preſcribe againſt them, and no authority could take them away. On this head, all the eccleſiaſtical canons, the force of which every kingdom allowed, ſpoke uniformly the ſame language. To oppoſe the infraction of theſe laws, and to reſume ſuch rights as had been invaded or alienated, was not leſs a conſtitutional proceſs, than what the monarch had juſt practiſed. Thomas, therefore, claimed from the king himſelf the caſtle of Rocheſter, and the honours of Hythe and Sandgate, which, he ſaid, belonged peculiarly to the ſee of Canterbury. He ſummoned Roger de Clare to do him homage for the caſtle of Tunbridge, and he ſent a ſimilar citation to William de Roſs. Many more applications of the like nature were made. The anſwer in general

[s] Gerv. Pont. Cant.

general was, that they held under the king, and owned no other lord. The nobility were thus alarmed, and the king was irritated, while men evil-minded laboured to aggravate the impreſſion[t]. Yet there is little doubt but the claims were juſt. A breach was thus made between Henry and the primate, which the events of every day, as they came charged to the royal ear, only ſerved to widen. When a favourite begins to fall, nothing is more rapid than his deſcent.

By a law of William the conqueror, made with the concurrence of the nation, eccleſiaſtical courts had been eſtabliſhed, wherein all cauſes of a ſpiritual nature were to be decided, according to the canons of the church, or, as they were called, the epiſcopal laws[u]. The two juriſdictions, civil and eccleſiaſtical, were thus unwiſely ſeparated; and as the decrees of the church, under the influence of Rome, ſhould multiply, ſo would the code of the new judicature, and the number of *ſpiritual cauſes*, be extended. The import of thoſe words was not defined. — Henry I. in his *charter of liberties*, declared the church to be *free*[v]; a word of great latitude: and Stephen confirmed to it, by a ſolemn grant, "all its liberties, privileges, and ancient "cuſtoms, together with its lands and poſſeſſions." "All "power and juriſdiction over the *perſons* and *property* of "eccleſiaſtics," he commits to the biſhops; and promiſes to obſerve, and commands to be obſerved, "the good and "ancient laws, and juſt cuſtoms, regarding murders, "pleadings, and other matters[w]." — Henry, at his acceſ-

[t] Gerv. Radulph. Imag. hiſt. an. 1163. Vita c. 13.
[u] Hiſt. of Hen. II. vol. i. p. 43, 527. [v] Ibid. p. 532. [w] Ibid. p. 535.

BOOK I. 1163.

ſion, made no alterations in theſe grants or ſtatutes; though, in his *charter*, he only mentions the cuſtoms, and grants, and liberties, which his grandfather, Henry, had given and beſtowed[x]. — The immunities of the general church were, at this time, very numerous, and among theſe was the exemption of the perſons of eccleſiaſtics, whatever crimes they had committed, from all civil controul. The laws, on which theſe immunities were ſuppoſed to reſt, had, by far the greater part, no ſanction from antiquity, (notwithſtanding the bold aſſertions of ignorant canoniſts,) and from reaſon they could have none[y]. They were, however, admitted, and in our courts, as well as in thoſe of other countries, univerſally obtained the force of irrefragable decrees[z].

Henry, as became a wiſe and juſt governor, who knew that the ſtrength of his empire depended on the virtue of the community and the obſervance of the laws, was intent on puniſhing the refractory, and exterminating the incorrigible violators of the public peace. The judges complained to him that, it was in vain they attempted to execute his commands, while thefts, rapines, and murders, were with impunity committed by a claſs of men, to whom their juriſdiction did not reach. A hundred homicides, they ſaid, had been perpetrated by churchmen, ſince his acceſſion to the throne. The king was ſtricken, and talked of ordinances, "in which," ſays my author, "his zeal for public "juſtice was conſpicuous, but it exceeded the bounds of "prudence." The biſhops, he adds, were blameable: for, as the eccleſiaſtical canons ordained that, not only the more

[x] Vol. iv. p. 169. [y] Fleury diſc. 4. [z] Auct. paſſim.

more atrocious offenders, but even thoſe guilty of leſs crimes, ſhould be degraded; how had it happened that, when their numbers were ſo great, ſo few had ſuffered that ſpiritual puniſhment? It ſeems, that they rather ſcreened ſuch delinquents, and defied the arm of juſtice[a]. — The repreſentation, probably, is overcharged; but that it contained much truth, we know from certain documents.

Philip de Broc, a canon of Bedford, being accuſed of murder, and taken before a civil judge, publicly inſulted the king's miniſter. The archbiſhop, informed of the fact, deprived him of his benefice, and ſent him into baniſhment for two years. Other inſtances there were, at this time, of ſimilar canonical cenſures, where the crimes were moſt flagitious[b]. — Henry was not ſatisfied with puniſhments, which ſeemed ſo inadequate to the guilt. He therefore *ordained*, "that ſuch eccleſiaſtics, as, in future, ſhould be "accuſed of heinous crimes, ſhould be delivered into the "hands of the biſhop, by whom if found guilty, they "were, in the preſence of the kings's officers, to be firſt "degraded, and then given up to the ſecular tribunal to "be puniſhed[c]." — The biſhops oppoſed the innovation, for ſuch it was, as an infringement of the canons and the privileges of the church: beſides, they contended that no one ſhould be puniſhed twice for the ſame crime, and that eccleſiaſtical cenſures, which fell immediately on the ſoul, were of all puniſhments the moſt grievous. They did not deny but a churchman, when once degraded from his orders, was liable to be puniſhed, in the ſecular court, for any

[a] Neubrig. l. 2. c. 16. [b] Imag. hiſt. an. 1164. Vita c. 17.

[c] Imag. ibid.

BOOK I. 1163.

any crime he might afterwards commit. The primate ſtood foremoſt in this oppoſition to the royal will.

Nothing to us can ſeem more equitable than this requiſition of the king, abſtractedly conſidered. But when we know what then were the immunities and rights of the church, which his predeceſſors of the Norman line, as we have ſeen, and he himſelf had ſolemnly confirmed, could any of them be legally annulled without the conſent of the biſhops? He applied for this conſent: but ſurely they were free to withhold it; and his application was preceded by an arbitrary decree, which it was his deſign to enforce. To require that the canons of the church ſhould be ſeverely executed againſt delinquents, he had authority. He might aſk for more; but that implied a power of refuſing. Whether they were unwiſe in their refuſal cannot be aſcertained, only by our own ideas, which were not thoſe of the times I am deſcribing. The prerogative of the crown, it ſeems, muſt be deemed ſacred; ſo muſt the civil liberties of the people: the eccleſiaſtical rights of the church alone cannot be ſupported, but by a ſpirit of pride and prieſtly domination!

Conduct of the primate.

Irritated by an oppoſition, for which he ſhould have been prepared, Henry ſummoned the biſhops to meet him at Weſtminſter. They came. He propoſed to them his new reform in the laws, aſſigning for reaſon that the mild ſpirit of the canons was not adequate to check the perpetration of crimes. They repeated their oppoſition; when Becket conjured him not to attempt an innovation in his realm, to which he could not conſent. The unanimous oppoſition provoked him much, and he aſked them abruptly;

abruptly; "would they obſerve the royal cuſtoms?" adding that, "obſerved as they had been by their predeceſſors, "in the time of his grandfather, they ought not now to "be condemned."—The prelates retired; when returning, the archbiſhop, as agreed amongſt them, thus anſwered for himſelf and them. "I and my brethren will obſerve "your royal cuſtoms, *ſaving our order.*"—The king propoſed the queſtion to each biſhop, and received from each the ſame anſwer. Only the biſhop of Chicheſter diſſented. With indignation he then addreſſed them: "I ſee," ſaid he, "that you are drawn up in array againſt me: there is "venom in the expreſſion, *ſaving your order:* it is cap-"tious. You muſt promiſe to obſerve the cuſtoms with-"out any reſtraining clauſe." Becket replied: "At our "conſecration, we ſwore fealty to your majeſty, namely, "of life, limb, and worldly honour, *ſaving our order.* In "the terms, *worldly honour*, were the royal cuſtoms in-"cluded. We can promiſe to obſerve them in no other "form."—It was late in the evening, and the king had been much haraſſed, when, in great fury, he precipitately retired from the hall, without ſaluting the biſhops[d]."

The reader will have obſerved, how, on a ſudden, the firſt object in diſcuſſion being dropt, a new queſtion was brought forward. The king had propoſed to the prelates, that they ſhould admit his new ſtatute about the trial of eccleſiaſtics. They refuſe; when inſtantly he turns to the *royal cuſtoms.* He could not mean to inſinuate that there was any connection between them, (for he knew that the firſt propoſal went to the abrogation of an old law, which

[d] Vita c. 18, 19, Gerv. an. 1163.

BOOK I. 1163.

which his predeceſſors had confirmed,) and that the cuſtoms, which he now alledged, were, as he aſſerted, the ancient uſages of the realm.—Elſewhere I ſhall have occaſion more than once to remark, that the king, in this perplexed controverſy, ſeems to have acted from no premeditated plan; but to have ſhifted his ground, as the wayward paſſion led, and to have brought forward matter of freſh diſcuſſion, to eaſe reſentment, or for the unprincely purpoſe of retaliation.

The next morning he took from the primate the caſtles of Eye and Berkham, which had been given into his cuſtody when chancellor; and, without acquainting the biſhops, left London before day-break[e]. — It was in the month of October.

The report of the quarrel between Henry and his prelates excited general attention, and as intereſt, or better motives preponderated, ſo men judged. Alexander would naturally applaud the firmneſs of the biſhops; but as his obligations to the king were manifold, and he ſtill wanted all his aid, his ſituation became peculiarly delicate.—The biſhop of Liſieux, about this time, came to England. He found the nation divided into parties, the king violently agitated, and many of the epiſcopal order in great conſternation. The primate only bore his head aloft, and braved the ſtorm. The wily Norman, who well ſaw he muſt eſpouſe ſome party, was perplexed. To incur the anger of his maſter he was not diſpoſed; and he was aware how warm upon the recollection of the biſhops muſt be the harangue, on the liberties of the church, which he had pronounced at

[e] Radulph. an. 1164.

at Tours. Strenuouſly did he labour to reſtore peace; but in vain. He then adviſed the king, if poſſible, to divide the biſhops, that ſo their power might be weakened. The advice was neither generous nor honourable; but it ſucceeded. Roger of York was perſuaded to deſert the confederacy, and he was ſoon followed by others, who now enforced the propriety of the king's demand, and vehemently ſolicited the primate to reſiſt no longer. The king, they ſaid, had all power in his hands, and was inflexibly determined; and would he, for the ſake of a ſingle expreſſion, expoſe himſelf and the church to dangers, which his ſubmiſſion only could avert [f]?

Other means were alſo employed, promiſes, careſſes, entreaties. Noblemen of the firſt diſtinction, in the monarch's name, waited on him. They preſſed him by every argument, ſuch as the biſhops had uſed, and they added others. They mentioned his obligations to the king; the evils which had already followed their diſunion; and they talked of the folly of hazarding all for a trifle. It ſeemed as if England and all the foreign provinces were at ſtake! — Meſſengers from Alexander and the cardinals came to him, empowered, as they ſaid, to command his compliance. One of them, an abbot, took upon himſelf to declare that the king had ſworn, that he meant not to touch the immunities of the church, but only to be honoured before his nobles. They added, that he would therefore be ſatisfied even with the ſhadow of a promiſe, provided the point of honour were ſecured to him [g].

[f] Hoveden. p. 282. Gerv. an. 1163. Vita c. 20. [g] Ibid.

BOOK I.
1163.

Such were the means uſed to bend the primate to the monarch's will. A prince, well-adviſed, would not thus have wantonly engaged in a perſonal altercation with his ſubject, knowing it was the means to ſink his own dignity, and to exalt the primate. It poured into his mind a ſenſe of conſequence, which otherwiſe he might not have felt, and it added ſinews to his firmneſs. By conſtitutional means only, in a general convocation of the eſtates, a wiſe king would have attempted this favourite reform, and failing there, he would have reſpected the rights, which a large body of his people had been taught to cheriſh.

The archbiſhop thus, on all ſides, preſſed by men, whoſe opinions it would have been pride to undervalue, and by the entreaties of thoſe, whom he knew to be his friends, at laſt gave way. He had done enough to ſatisfy his own conſcience, it ſeemed, and reſpect was due to others. He waited on the king, and told him he would *obſerve his royal cuſtoms*. Henry's countenance cleared up; but it did not aſſume that ſimple and dovelike gentleneſs, which, we are told, it could ſometimes wear[h]. "I am ſatisfied," ſaid he; "this only I muſt further require, that the declara-"tion you have made, be repeated in a public aſſembly of "my biſhops and the nobles of my realm." They parted[i].

Henry was at his favourite palace of Woodſtock, where the charming Roſamond de Clifford ſtrove to ſooth his angry cares; and where the homage of Malcolm king of Scotland, and of the Welſh princes and chief lords, paid to himſelf and ſon[k], made ſome compenſation for the untoward conduct of his Engliſh biſhops.

[h] Pet. Bles. ep. 66. [i] Hoveden. &c. ut ſupra. [k] Diceto. ibid.

In

In this year, Gilbert Foliot, biſhop of Hereford, a man verſed in ſacred literature and of approved merit, and whom the primate on that account, warmly recommended to the king, was tranſlated to the ſee of London. The pope alſo, at Henry's deſire, propoſed him to the chapter, by which he was unanimouſly elected. He was the king's confeſſor, who wiſhed to have him near his perſon. London was, at that time, called a royal city, it being the principal reſidence of our monarchs, and there the great national meetings were chiefly held. A man of Foliot's learning, for he is ſaid likewiſe to have been ſkilled in the civil and canonical law, was judged moſt proper to rule that important ſee. The king ſeems to have urged his promotion with a partial earneſtneſs; but what is extraordinary, as the ſeries of events will ſhow, even Becket himſelf is ſaid to have taken a very active part in his favour.[1] 1163.

Three months elapſed, before the biſhops with their primate were again ſummoned to appear. It is not related, why the king was ſo dilatory in bringing a queſtion to iſſue in which he ſeemed to be much intereſted; which was to fix a bar, modern writers tell us, againſt clerical encroachments; and when the haughty Becket, with his adherents, would be humbled at his feet. As the buſineſs was important, we may fairly preſume, that leiſure was required to digeſt its ſeveral parts. The wiſe heads of the nation muſt be conſulted, that each royal and ancient cuſtom be exactly defined, and be ready to be produced, with ſuch evidence of authenticity, that cavil and oppoſition ſhall at once be ſilenced. In the confuſion, which the troubles of the civil war had 1164.

[1] De Diceto, Gervas. an. 1163.

BOOK I. 1164.

introduced, and more than that, in the colliſion of Saxon and Norman laws and uſages, it muſt be no eaſy taſk to aſcertain, with preciſion, even the limits of the civil power, much leſs to determine the exact boundaries of the two rival juriſdictions. The day at laſt was fixed, and a general council of the nation was ſummoned to Clarendon, a royal palace near Saliſbury, for the 28th of January, 1164.

Meeting of Clarendon.

They met, all the prelates, abbots, priors, earls, barons and great men of the land. John of Oxford, one of the king's chaplains, preſided; and Henry took his ſeat.—Abruptly then, it ſeems, he called on the biſhops to perform their promiſe, and with threats urged them to ſubmit. The primate who, from the beginning, had ſuſpected the king's intentions, was alarmed by this intemperate exordium, and expreſſed a deſign (*propoſuit*) of receding from the imprudent engagement, he had, in a manner, been compelled to make. At this, Henry's rage was extreme: in the eyes of the council it bore the appearance of phrenſy. He menaced baniſhment and death. Thoſe biſhops who, as yet, had not deſerted the primate, were ſtricken as by a thunder-bolt. They crowd round him, and with tears entreat that he will relent, as his perſon, the ſafety of the clergy, and their own lives were at ſtake. Robert earl of Leiceſter, and Reginald earl of Cornwall, men famed for wiſdom, and powerful in the ſtate, advance up to him: "If you refuſe to ſubmit to the royal will," ſaid they, "he "commands us to uſe force; though the event, we know, "will bring infamy on him and us." Thomas was not moved. Two knights templars, Richard de Haſtings, and Toſtes of St. Omer, whom the king greatly loved, and whoſe general talents

talents were admired, are ordered to try their influence. In a ſupplicating attitude they approach, and fall on their knees. They ſigh, and weep, and conjure, that he will have ſome ſolicitude for himſelf, and ſhew pity to his clergy. The ſtrong remonſtrance, thus pathetically expreſſed, had its effect. It ſeemed to intimate that the drawn dagger was even now pointed at his heart. Indeed, ſome of the king's guards were ſeen running through the chambers with naked ſwords, their garments tucked up, and ready for execution.—Struggling with his own reſolution, yet affected for the ſake of others, the primate now ſignified, that he would obey the king's will; and then promiſed that, "on "the word of truth, he would obſerve the ancient cuſ- "toms of the realm." The biſhops made the ſame ſolemn promiſe. Forthwith it was propoſed, that the cuſtoms be recited, and be reduced into order. But now it appeared, "that as yet it was not known, which they were." The urgency of the demand only had excited ſuſpicion. Such of the aſſembly, therefore, as, from age and experience, might be thought to know them beſt, were ordered, from memory, to collect them. They had formed a liſt, and were proceeding to others, when the archbiſhop obſerved: "I am "not among the elders of the realm, ſo as to know what "theſe cuſtoms are, nor have I been long in my preſent "office. The matter is weighty, and the day is faſt declin- "ing; let the further proſecution of the buſineſs be made "over to the morning." The motion was accepted, and the council roſe [m].

[m] Gerv. an. 1164. Vita c. 21. Neubrig. Hoveden.

Such,

BOOK I.
1164.

Such, as contemporary hiſtorians have recorded, whom I have faithfully copied, were the firſt day's tranſactions at Clarendon. On their violence and general tendency, the reader will make his own reflections. I only wiſh to ſuggeſt that, as to Becket; when he propoſed to recoil from his imprudent engagement, at the imperious mandate of the king, it was what every honeſt man ſhould have done. He ſaw there was no honour in his views. Again, indeed, he gave way, and I will call it a weakneſs; but what, in like circumſtances, would have been the conduct of the moſt reſolved patriot? Promiſes ſo extorted are not binding, if, on a cool reviſion, they diſpleaſe. I do not ſay, it was fear abſolutely which prevailed on the archbiſhop; but it was a mode of entreaty, as irreſiſtible as it.—As to the members of the meeting, the primate alone excepted, there was not a ſpark of liberty in their breaſts. — As to Henry; he came to Clarendon like a tyrant from the eaſt. It was not to ſtrengthen the arm of juſtice, to invigorate the laws, to protect the rights of the crown, that he would enforce his royal cuſtoms, or he would have come prepared to exhibit them; but to gratify revenge, and to triumph in the humiliation of a man, who had dared to oppoſe him. It appeared alſo in his intemperate rage. Henry, I own, in many regards, was a great prince, great in peace and war, and I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew it; but his greatneſs never once appears in this controverſy with Becket. — As to the biſhops; by fear, by intereſt, or by adulation, they were all unmanned, and ſhamefully deſerted their colours. Before they came to Clarendon, this had happened. Old Henry of Wincheſter, I believe, ſtood firm, and perhaps another,

another. This is truth, or all hiſtory is a fable. Yet, ſurely, the turn which the queſtion took at Clarendon, ſhould have opened their eyes, or it ſhould have made them, if they valued their characters, as wary, and as reluctant, as their primate.

The congreſs aſſembled the next morning, and the ancients reſumed their inquiry. As the king, from his youth, could know nothing of the cuſtoms, he implicitly relied on them; and it is thought, they, in many inſtances, rather, aimed to widen the breach, than to conciliate by the production of uncontrovertible facts. The committee withdrew to a ſeparate apartment, and, after ſome time, returned with the following liſt of cuſtoms[n]. They are now ſtyled the *Conſtitutions of Clarendon*, though the authors neareſt to the times, are unanimous in branding them with the moſt opprobrious epithets.

Its conſtitutions.

1. "All ſuits, concerning the advowſon and preſentation "of churches, to be tried and determined in the king's "court."

2. "Churches, belonging to the king's fee, not to be "granted in perpetuity, without his conſent."

3. "Clerks arraigned and accuſed of any matter, being "ſummoned by the king's juſticiary, ſhall come into his "court, to anſwer there, concerning that which it ſhall "appear to the king's court is cognizable there; and ſhall "anſwer in the eccleſiaſtical court, concerning that which "it ſhall appear is cognizable there: ſo that the king's "juſticiary ſhall ſend to the court of holy church, to ſee in "what manner the cauſe ſhall be tried there. And if a "clerk

[n] Ut ſupra.

BOOK I. 1164.

" clerk ſhall be convicted, or confeſs his crime, the church " muſt not any longer protect him."

4. " No archbiſhops, biſhops, or dignified clergymen of " the realm, to go out of the kingdom, without the king's " licence,"

5. " Perſons excommunicated not to make any depoſit " for appearance, or to take any oath, but only to find ſe- " curity to ſtand to the judgment of the church, in order " to abſolution."

6. " Laics not to be accuſed in ſpiritual courts, except " by reputable and legal promoters and witneſſes."

7. " No tenant in chief of the king, nor any officer of " his houſehold, to be excommunicated, nor the lands of " any of them to be put under an interdict, unleſs the " king or his juſticiary ſhall have been firſt appriſed."

8. " All appeals to proceed from the archdeacon to the " biſhop, and from the biſhop to the archbiſhop. If the " latter fail in doing juſtice, the cauſe to go to the king, " that by his precept it may be determined in the arch- " biſhop's court, ſo that it may proceed no further without " the king's conſent."

9. " Should any diſpute ariſe between a layman and a " clergyman, concerning a tenement, and it be litigated " whether it be a lay or an eccleſiaſtical fee, it ſhall firſt " be decided by the verdict of twelve lawful men, before " the king's chief juſtice, to what claſs it belongs; and if " it be found to be a lay fee, the ſuit ſhall be pleaded in " the civil court, otherwiſe in the eccleſiaſtical."

10. " If any one in the demeſne of the king be cited by " the archdeacon or biſhop on account of an offence, for

" which

" which he ſhould anſwer to them, and refuſe to appear, " he may be put under an interdict: but he muſt not be " excommunicated, before the king's officer of the place " be applied to, that he may compel him judicially to " make ſatisfaction. If the officer fail therein, the biſhop " may puniſh the accuſed by eccleſiaſtical cenſures."

11. " Archbiſhops, biſhops, and ſuch clergy, as are " tenants in chief of the king, hold their poſſeſſions from " him, as barons of the realm, and are ſubject to the ſame " duties: they muſt attend with the barons in the king's " courts, and aſſiſt at trials, till judgment proceed to the " loſs of members or death."

12. " When an archbiſhopric, or biſhopric, or abbey, " or priory, of the king's demeſne, falls vacant, it ſhall " be in the hands of the king, to receive all the rents and " iſſues thereof. And when the place is to be ſupplied, he " ſhall ſend for the principal clergy, and the election ſhall " be made in the king's chapel, with his aſſent, and the " advice of thoſe whom he called for that purpoſe. And " the perſon elected ſhall there do homage and fealty to " him, as his liege lord, of life, limb, and worldly ho- " nour, (ſaving his order,) before he be conſecrated."

13. " If any nobleman of the realm ſhall refuſe to ſub- " mit to the ſpiritual courts, the king ſhall oblige him to " ſubmiſſion: and if any refuſe obedience to the king, the " church ſhall uſe her power to reduce them."

14. " Chattels forfeited to the king may not be pro- " tected in churches or church-yards, becauſe they are the " king's wherever they be found."

BOOK I. 1164.

15. "Pleas of debt, whether owing by faith ſolemnly "pledged, or otherwiſe, pertain to the king's judicature."

16. "The ſons of villeins (huſbandmen) not to be or- "dained clerks, without the conſent of the lord, on whoſe "land they were born."

The preamble ſtates that, in the preſence of the king, was made this *remembrance* or *recognition* of ſome part of the cuſtoms, and liberties, and honours of his predeceſſors, that is, of Henry his grandfather, and of others, which ſhall be obſerved and held in the realm. And, on account of the diſſentions and diſcords, which had happened between the clergy and the king's officers, and the barons of the land, about its cuſtoms and honours, this recognition, it adds, was made before the archbiſhops, and biſhops, and clergy, and earls, and barons, and nobles. The cuſtoms being thus ſolemnly acknowledged, the prelates, it ſays, on the word of truth, promiſed to obſerve them. Then come their names: the two archbiſhops, Gilbert of London, Henry of Wincheſter, Nigel of Ely, William of Norwich, Robert of Lincoln, Hilary of Chicheſter, Jocelin of Saliſbury, Richard of Cheſter, (Lichfield,) Bartholomew of Exeter, Robert of Hereford, David of St. David's, and Roger elect of Worceſter. Then follow the names of thirty ſeven nobles, Engliſh and Norman, with a general mention of the reſt,

The ſtatute cloſes thus: "But there are many more and "great cuſtoms and honours of our holy mother the church, "and of our lord the king, and of the barons of the "realm, which are not contained in this writing. They "ſhall remain untouched to the church, and to the king

"and

1164.

" and his heirs, and to the barons, and ſhall be obſerved " for ever inviolably[o]."

The ordinances (ſuch as I have ſtated) being produced to the aſſembly, and read; the king, addreſſing himſelf to the prelates, requeſted, for greater ſecurity and to give them ſtability, that they affix their ſeals to the deed. The biſhops aſſented; but the primate expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, and ſhewed a reluctance to comply. He had not expected, having gone ſo far to ſatisfy the king, that a freſh demand would be made. " The matter," he again obſerved, " was " delicate, and he wiſhed for time to deliberate." On this, a copy of the ordinances was delivered into his hand; the archbiſhop of York received another; and a third was retained, to be depoſited among the archives of the realm[p]. The council of Clarendon was then diſſolved.

Becket repents of his weakneſs.

Becket, with a heavy heart, retired with the few biſhops who had remained ſteady to him, and his attendant clergy, and took the road to Wincheſter. It was a moment for ſerious thought. With pleaſure he felt himſelf releaſed, from the tumult and oppreſſive ſcenes he had been obliged to witneſs; ſtill he had a weighty charge, it ſeemed, to bring againſt himſelf. Contrary to the conviction of his mind, he had given way to entreaties, and involved himſelf, in difficulties, from which there was no return. Knowing, as he did, what were the king's intentions, or rather, perhaps, what were the intentions of his enemies, how imprudent was it to promiſe compliance, and that, before any ſpecification was made of the *cuſtoms*, to which it was demanded he ſhould aſſent? Primate as he was of a great

[o] Vita p. 163. ep. 12. Gerv. Hiſt. of Hen. II. vol. iv. p. 182.

[p] Hoveden. Gerv. Vita c. 22.

BOOK I. 1164.

church, no ſupplication of friends, or menaces of thoſe in power, ſhould have extorted the incautious promiſe. The cuſtoms, it was now clear, as read in the ears of the aſſembly, announced their own condemnation. They were, many of them, contrary to the known charters of the land, given by the Norman kings to the church, and contrary to the received maxims of the general canons. To them he had not fixed his ſeal; but that was a weak conſolation: he had ſolemnly pledged his word to obſerve the cuſtoms, and his name, inſerted in the ſtatute, would go down to the lateſt ages. His reverie was interrupted by the converſation of thoſe who journeyed with him, moſt of whom ſeverely cenſured his weak condeſcenſion. And may we not be allowed to think, that his ſorrow was unfeigned, for having ſacrificed, what *he* could not but eſteem, the ancient liberties of his clergy? He was ſorry; he atteſted it in a public manner; and he purpoſed to diſpatch a meſſenger to Alexander [q].

The king applies to Alexander.

But Henry, before the meeting of Clarendon, it ſeems, had employed the biſhop of Liſieux and the archdeacon of Poitiers, to ſolicit from his holineſs the legation of England for the archbiſhop of York, and a mandate to Becket and the biſhops, requiring their ſubmiſſion to the cuſtoms of the realm. Alexander, though he had reaſon to apprehend, from the lowering aſpect, that the ſtorm would ſoon reach himſelf, at that time, evaded the petition. It was now more earneſtly repeated. Geoffry Ridel and John of Oxford, the king's chaplains, went over to Sens, and having requeſted the legatine powers for Roger of York, they entreated that his holineſs would confirm the cuſtoms, which had

[q] Vita ut ſupra.

had been recorded at Clarendon, to Henry and his ſucceſſors, by the authority of the apoſtolic ſee. This part of the petition he peremptorily refuſed; and though he granted the other, from prudential motives, it was with ſuch reſtrictions, as to render it of no avail. He might have the legation, he ſaid, but not to be exerciſed againſt the perſon of Becket, or in the dioceſe of Canterbury[r]. The king, with indignation, returned the illuſory brief. This was in the beginning of March.

While Henry thus ſtrenuouſly laboured to ſtrengthen his late meaſures, by the ſanction of the court of Sens, and to procure for the rival of Canterbury the powers, which properly belonged to that ſee, he had not forgotten, that the primate had not ſet his ſeal to the conſtitutions of Clarendon; and it was reported that, not only he would never do it, but that he was reſolved to oppoſe their execution. The incompliant temper of Alexander, which by preſents he had ſtriven to ſmooth, did not a little add to his ill humour. He reſolved to haraſs the archbiſhop; and if he could not conquer, he would torment, him[s].—Becket had received letters from the pope, which were meant to quiet the ſcruples his ductility at Clarendon had excited; and while they praiſed his ſolicitude for the rights of the church, they exhorted him to give way, as much as might be, and not, by an imprudent reſiſtance, to aggravate the evils which threatened[t].

Such was the ſtate of things, during the ſpring and a part of ſummer. The king's officers, with an inſulting ſeverity, executed the new ſtatutes, and the king himſelf was unſatisfied

[r] l. 1. ep. 4, 5, 6, 7. [s] Vita c. 23. Gerv. ut ſup. [t] ep. 4, 26.

BOOK I. 1164.

unsatisfied and morose. To recover the favour of Henry, which Alexander had urged him to attempt, seemed impossible, and daily to witness scenes, which gave him pain, could but add to his misery. Perhaps, were his person out of sight, measures less intemperate might be pursued. Becket reasoned thus, and resolved to withdraw from the kingdom[u]. The step was contrary to the fourth statute of Clarendon.

Becket attempts to leave the kingdom.

He communicated his design to two confidential servants, and repairing to a neighbouring convent, he secretly escaped to Romney, where a boat waited, and sailed for France. But the captain, fearful of the king's displeasure, should he convey the archbishop out of the realm, pretended the wind was contrary, and after some hours relanded him on the coast. On the evening of the same day, he returned towards Canterbury. — The news of his departure much alarmed his friends, and they dispersed. But one of them, bolder than the rest, came to the palace. He was anxious about his master's fate, and after supper retired, thoughtful, to the primate's apartment. The first part of the night passed, and he had not closed his eyes: "Go," said he to his servant, "shut the outer gate, that we may not "be disturbed." The boy went with a light, and looking round him, discovered the archbishop sitting near the door alone. His master and some of the monks came to him. Becket related his adventure, and going in, took some refreshment, and retired to rest. — In the morning, the king's officers were announced, who, on the report of the primate's flight, had been sent with a commission to seize his

[u] Gerv. ibid. Vita c. 23.

1164.

his temporalities. The primate, at that moment, paſſed by them, going to morning ſervice. His preſence put a ſtop to their proceedings; and the king, we are told, heared of his return with pleaſure, from an apprehenſion, that his flight abroad would be aſcribed to perſecution at home, and that the cenſures of the church might fall on his kingdom [v].

They met, ſome time after, at Woodſtock, and their meeting was not unfriendly. But Henry feared he might, on a freſh provocation, again attempt to leave the country, and be more ſucceſsful. With the advice of his courtiers, therefore, and from motives not greatly honourable, he determined once more to cite him before a council of the nation, there to accuſe him of miſdemeanors, and to urge charges, from which, he truſted, neither his addreſs nor firmneſs ſhould be competent to free him. Utter humiliation, perhaps the reſignation of his ſee, would, he flattered himſelf, be the conſequence. With this view, he convoked an aſſembly of the ſtates at Northampton, for the eleventh of October [w].

Death of Victor, and the affairs of Lombardy.

Events, not unintereſting, on the continent muſt, for a moment, relieve this ſeries of domeſtic occurrences. — Victor, in the month of April, died at Lucca. He was preparing, it is ſaid, to return to Rome, and hoped that he ſhould enter it triumphant. His proſpects vaniſhed, and the prieſts of Lucca refuſed to bury him within their walls. The chair of St. Peter had not been to Victor, at leaſt, a ſeat of riches, for he died indigent, leaving all he could call his own, an oratory and a pair of horſes, to his protector

[v] Gerv. Vita ibid.

[w] Gervas. ibid.

BOOK I. 1164.

protector Frederic.—There remained but two cardinals of the faction, Guido of Crema and John of St. Martin. These assembled what prelates and clergy they could collect, who gave their votes to Guido. He took the name of Pascal III. The emperor confirmed the election, and solemnly swore on the gospels, that he would never receive any other pope than Pascal and his successors[x].

The conqueror of Milan was still in Lombardy. Deprived of their ancient rights, and insultingly oppressed, as I have said, by the exactions of their enemies, the brave Lombards, even while Frederic was among them, dared to think of liberty. The cities of Verona, Padua, Vicenza, and some others formed a secret league, and the republic of Venice, whose privileges the imperial officers had not respected, joined the confederacy. Thus emboldened, they began to speak more freely, and to resist. The emperor heared of their designs, and with the few German forces he had with him, and the auxiliaries of Pavia and Cremona, directed his march towards Verona. Its neighbouring castles fell an easy prey. But as he advanced, devoting the rebellious cities to destruction, the allies poured from all quarters into the plain, and pitched their tents before him. To retire was disgraceful, and to engage an enemy, thus resolute and superior in numbers, was not to be hazarded. He chose the former, taking this lesson with him, that men who have been free, will not long submit to oppression: they may be awed for a time, but they are not conquered. He was likewise made sensible that his Italian allies, whom hatred to Milan no longer actuated, could not be relied on. They

[x] Chron. Lauden. Acta Alex. an 1164.

They ſhewed no ardour in his cauſe. He retired therefore to Pavia, in ſullen indignation, leaving behind him in all the towns and caſtles, German governors and German garriſons. On the nobility, indeed, he could place ſome reliance, becauſe themſelves ſtood in need of his protection, againſt the democratic attempts of their countrymen. The Lombards, who had now ſeen the back of Frederic, from the ſucceſs of the Verroneſe confederacy, began to meditate greater attempts: he therefore withdrew into Germany, purpoſing, in due time, to revenge the galling inſult[y].

Meeting at Northampton

Agreeably to the royal ſummons, on the eleventh of October, the aſſembly of the nation met at Northampton. It was as crowded as that of Clarendon, and the nobles and prelates being ſeated, Henry addreſſed the primate. "I "charge you," ſaid he, "with not having done juſtice, "in your court of Canterbury, to John, the mareſchal of "my exchequer, when he there ſued you for an eſtate that "had belonged to his anceſtors; and with not appearing "in my court, when you were cited, on the appeal of my "ſervant, to anſwer before me." — The mareſchal, it ſeems, on not finding the juſtice he expected, appealed, as the law directed, from the eccleſiaſtical court, and complained to the king. — "Your mareſchal," replied the primate, "was denied no juſtice in my court, as thoſe who "tried his claim can witneſs; but he appealed, and his "appeal was informal; for inſtead of ſwearing on the goſ-"pels, to authoriſe his appeal, as the law of the realm "requires, either adviſed to it, or by his own impulſe, he "produced a pſalter or a ſong-book, and on that he ſwore.

[y] Murat. an. 1164.

BOOK I. 1164.

" —That I did not come to your majeſty's court, when " cited to appear there, was not out of contempt; but a " fevere illneſs, againſt my will, detained me. Two of " my knights, however, waited on the court with my " apology[z]."

Such was Becket's defence, as hiſtorians ſtate it; but from the ſentence, which the court pronounced, circumſtances muſt have been omitted, which to their judgment gave it leſs validity, unleſs we may ſuppoſe, that the behaviour of Henry ſuſpended the courſe of juſtice. Regardleſs of every plea, with an intemperate fury, he ſwore that judgment ſhould be paſſed, and juſtice done him[a]. The primate's defence, at leaſt, was deemed inſufficient, and the court condemned him as guilty of contumacy, for having diſobeyed his liege lord, to whom he had ſworn fealty and the obſervance of his earthly honour, and they decreed all his goods and chattels to be at the mercy of the king. The biſhops unanimouſly concurred in the ſentence with the temporal barons. Becket ſubmitted to the verdict; and as a fine of five hundred pounds (equal to more than ſeven thouſand pounds of our money) would be accepted by Henry, he promiſed to pay the ſum, and found ſureties[b]. —Thus ended the firſt day.

On the morrow, the king demanded from the archbiſhop the ſum of three hundred pounds, which, while they were in his poſſeſſion, he had levied upon the caſtles of Eye and Berkhamſtead. — " More than that ſum," anſwered he, " I expended on thoſe caſtles, and on the royal caſtle at " London, as the repairs themſelves do ſhow. But money " ſhall

[z] Hoveden. Gerv. an. 1164. [a] Hoveden. ib. [b] Hoveden. Gerv.

" ſhall be no ground of quarrel between me and my ſove-
" reign: I will pay the ſum;" and immediately he gave ſureties for it[c].—" While you were chancellor," continued Henry, " during the war of Toulouſe, I lent you five hun-
" dred pounds, which I now demand from you."—" The
" five hundred pounds were given, not lent," replied the primate. However, as it reſted on his ſingle aſſertion, the court compelled him to refund the money, and to find ſureties, which he did[d]. This was the buſineſs of the ſecond day.

The third day produced a heavier charge. During his adminiſtration, as chancellor, the rents of many vacant abbies and biſhoprics, with other revenues belonging to the crown, had been in his hands. " Of theſe," ſaid the king, " I now demand an account. The balance due from
" thoſe revenues ſhall be paid."—" When I was appointed
" to the ſee of Canterbury," replied the primate, " before
" my conſecration, by the prince, your royal ſon, and my
" lord of Leiceſter, your juſticiary, I was pronounced free
" and diſcharged from every bond of the court, and as
" ſuch the church received me. To this charge then I am
" not bound to plead. Beſides, it comes upon me unex-
" pectedly, and I am not prepared to anſwer it. I aſk for
" leiſure to conſult with thoſe who can adviſe me. After
" that I will anſwer[e]." The requeſt was complied with, and he withdrew with the biſhops into a ſeparate chamber.

[c] Vita c. 26. [d] Vita ib. Gerv. ut ſupra. Rad. Dicet. an. 1164.

[e] Rad. Dicet. Gerv. ibid.

BOOK I.
1164.

With ſurpriſe the reader will have obſerved, that no mention has here been made of the *cuſtoms of Clarendon*. The matter is all new, and unconnected with them. But already I have remarked, that the caprice of paſſion, and no conſiſtency, directed the ſeries of this ungenerous proſecution. The prelate is not accuſed of any violation of his promiſe made at Clarendon, or of having oppoſed the execution of its ſtatutes. As the temper of the king and his council was, we are therefore authoriſed to conclude that he had been guilty of neither. Such a charge, could it have been produced, would have come home with more efficacy, than ſuch as we have witneſſed.—As to the charges themſelves, the firſt excepted, which carried ſome air of juſtice with it, they were vexatious, and unworthy of a king to urge. Whilſt the tide of royal favour flowed, wealth and honours, with an unſparing hand, were heaped on the favourite; and the wealth, as we have ſeen, he expended, and the honours he employed, to promote his maſter's intereſt and glory. Thus, in truth, was an adequate return made, and there was no room to aſk for more. When the king advanced his chancellor to the ſee of Canterbury, he was ſatisfied with what he had done in his former high office, in which he meant ſtill to retain him, nor was it his intention, to demand an account of the ſums he had ſpent; for two years paſſed, and no demand was made. But they quarrel, and this great king recurs to the claims, I have related, and he makes them, unbluſhingly, as I have told it, in the eye of the nation! The prelate alone, thus aſſailed by a vindictive monarch, inſulted by his peers, and deſerted by his brethren, yet boldly ſtanding on his defence,

and

and ſubmitting to each ſentence as pronounced againſt him, calls for our veneration. In better days, or rather, in another cauſe, to ſuch heroic firmneſs the tongues of an admiring people had echoed praiſe, and to us it had been perpetuated on the rolling ſtream of time.

Being retired to an inner room, the doors of which by the king's order were locked, Becket, after a ſhort pauſe, requeſted the opinions of his ſuffragans. — The biſhop of London ſpoke firſt. "Father," ſaid he, "did you recollect from what the king, our maſter, raiſed you, the "favours he beſtowed upon you, and the danger which "threatens the church and us, ſhould you reſiſt his will, "not only would you reſign the ſee of Canterbury, but "ten times more, were it neceſſary. Perhaps, ſeeing this "your humility, he might be moved to reinſtate you in all "your poſſeſſions." — "I perceive," obſerved Becket, "that your advice is not unpremeditated."

Henry of Wincheſter ſpoke. — "The opinion, which "has been given, is of a pernicious tendency to the church, "and involves us all; for, ſhould our primate ſet us this "example, that, at the will or menace of the prince, a "biſhop muſt relinquiſh his charge, what in future ſhall "be expected, but a violation of our rights, and, as he "may direct, the ſubverſion of all order? The confuſion "of the prieſthood will reach the people."

"Unleſs the urgency of the times and the perturbation "of the church called for other meaſures, I ſhould vote "with my lord of Wincheſter," replied Hilary of Chicheſter, a man vain in words. "But when of the canons the "authority itſelf ſtaggers, from the ſeverity of diſcipline

"much

BOOK I. 1164.

" much muſt be relaxed, that moderation may effect, what " rigid diſcipline would overthrow. It is my opinion " therefore, that we give way to the royal will, but only " for a time. Inconſiderately we may adopt reſolutions, " from which to recede it may hereafter be more morti- " fying, and more galling to our pride."

" I ſee very plainly," obſerved Robert of Lincoln, " that " they ſeek the life and blood of this man. One of the " two is therefore neceſſary, either to quit his archbiſhopric " or his life. Now of what uſe his archbiſhopric will be to " him after he has loſt his life, for my part, I profeſs, I " cannot ſee."—This Robert, ſays the hiſtorian, was but a ſimple and injudicious man.

Bartholomew of Exeter, then delivered his opinion.— " That the times are evil, will, I think, be denied by no " one. And if by any ſubterfuge, we can eſcape the pre- " ſent ſtorm, unhurt, that ſurely ſhould be aimed at: but " even in this, little ſucceſs can be expected, unleſs we " give way conſiderably. The preſſure of the moment " requires it, particularly as this proſecution is perſonal, " and does not involve us all. It is better then that the " head of one man be expoſed to danger, than that the " Engliſh church ſuffer inevitably."

Roger, lately conſecrated to the ſee of Worceſter, ſpoke thus ambiguouſly.—" I wiſh," ſaid he, " to give no opinion; " becauſe ſhould I ſay that the cure of ſouls ought to be " reſigned, when the prince ſo wills it or threatens, I " ſhould ſpeak againſt my own conſcience, and my mouth " would belie my heart. If I ſay, that the king ſhould be " oppoſed; here are thoſe preſent who are devoted to him,

" who

" who will make their report. I ſhall be ranked, in future, " with his enemies, and be condemned. Therefore I wave " all deciſion, and give no advice[f]."

A pauſe enſued, and as they could not quit the room, the archbiſhop ſignified, that he wiſhed to ſpeak with the earls of Leiceſter and Cornwall. They came in haſte, and opening the doors, entered to the biſhops. " My lords," ſaid the prelate, " we have debated on the charge which " the king has brought againſt me; but as the perſons, to " whom my cauſe is beſt known, are not with me, I aſk for " a reſpite till the morrow, when I will anſwer, as God " ſhall direct me." The king aſſented to his requeſt, and the council roſe.

By the turn, which the debate took, in the private deliberation of the prelates, they ſeem to have underſtood that the king's intention, when he brought the laſt charge againſt the archbiſhop, was to force him to a reſignation of his ſee. Indeed, ſo intricate and extenſive muſt have been the accounts he demanded, and ſo uncertain the claim, that the reimburſement of any ſum might have been required. The revenues of the ſee of Canterbury were not equal to the diſcharge, and no ſureties could have been found. The king talked of forty-four thouſand marks, which, from the comparative value of money, was an enormous ſum: nothing then, it was thought, remained, but that the primate ſhould reſign his ſee, and throw himſelf on the royal mercy. He himſelf ſaw the intricacy of his ſituation, and viewing the iniquity of the proſecution, he ſeems, from this moment, to have determined to avail himſelf

[f] Vita c. 27. Gerv. ut ſup.

BOOK I. 1164.

himſelf of the ſacredneſs of his character for protection, (as juſtly he might,) and to involve his cauſe with that of God and religion. The notions of the age conſpired with his views, and his enemies, though they drew ruin on his head, had themſelves reaſon to repent their wanton and malevolent attack.

The next day was Sunday. Perceiving that the multitude of knights and others, who till now had attended on his perſon, came not near him, apprehenſive of the fate which threatened, the primate ordered the poor of the neighbourhood to be collected, and to be ſeated at his table. "By "theſe," ſaid he, "I ſhall obtain an eaſier victory, than "by thoſe who have ſhamefully deſerted me in the hour of "danger." The favour of the people was thus excited, and religion ſeemed to ſanctify his cauſe. — He had been long ſubject to a pain in his bowels, and now care and vexation conſpiring, it attacked him with violence, and he retired to reſt. The morning came, and he was unable to riſe[g].

On Monday, the council aſſembled, and having ſome time waited for the archbiſhop, the two earls, above-mentioned, were ordered to go to his lodgings, and cite him to appear. It was reported that he counterfeited ſickneſs. "You are "ſenſible," ſaid he to the earls, "what it is that detains "me. Give me but a reſpite till to-morrow's ſun, and I "will come to your court, though I be conveyed in a "litter." It was granted. In the courſe of the day, however, intimation was ſecretly given to him by thoſe, who approached the king, that, if he appeared in court, his deſtruction or impriſonment was reſolved on[h].

[g] Vita c. 28. Gerv. [h] Gerv. Hoveden.

Early

Early in the morning he was viſited by many of the biſhops, who endeavoured to perſuade him, that, for the peace of the church, and his own ſafety, he would ſubmit himſelf, without reſerve, to the king's pleaſure. He rejected their advice, with a ſevere reprimand on their own conduct. "It is," he added, "a deteſtable proceeding, "that you have not only forſaken me in this diſpute, but "now, for two days, have ſat in judgment, with the barons, "on me your father, you who ſhould have ſtood by me. "I forbid you to attend any further proceedings againſt "me. And if, as it is rumoured, violence ſhould be "offered to me, I command you, in holy obedience, by "the cenſures of the church to avenge the injury[i]." The biſhops retired; and the primate going to the church, at an altar dedicated to St. Stephen, celebrated the maſs which begins with the words, *princes ſat and ſpake againſt me;* alluding, doubtleſs, to his own ſituation, and thus invoking the aid of the firſt martyr to the chriſtian cauſe.

Deſcending from the altar, clothed in part, as he was, in his ſacred veſtments, he proceeded to the court, where the king with his barons waited his arrival; and at the door, he took into his own hand the croſs, which his chaplain carried. The action ſurpriſed the biſhops, who had come out to meet him, and they endeavoured to prevent it, knowing how much it would irritate the king. "Let me be your croſs-"bearer," ſaid the biſhop of Hereford, "for ſo it becomes "me."—"No," replied the prelate, "this croſs is my "ſafeguard; it ſhall tell them, under what prince I com-"bat."—"If the king ſees you enter with theſe arms,"

[i] Vita ib. Gerv.

BOOK I. 1164.

obſerved Gilbert of London, ſtriving to wreſt the croſs from him, "he will unſheath his own: it will then appear, "which are moſt to be relied on."—"That I leave to "God;" replied Becket.—"Hitherto your folly has "been great," rejoined the biſhop, "and, I perceive, "you are not diſpoſed to quit it[k]."

The king underſtanding, in what form the archbiſhop was entering the hall, roſe haſtily from his ſeat, and with the barons retired to an inner chamber. The prelate, with a few attendants, then took his ſeat, and on the oppoſite ſide ſat the biſhops. With the king all was confuſion. He propoſed firſt to attack the primate, on the old queſtion of the immunities of the clergy. From this he was diſſuaded, the courtiers telling him, that it would ſurely again unite the biſhops to their primate, and they ſhould have another army arrayed againſt them. The biſhops were called in. To them, in the ſtrongeſt terms, he complained of the intended inſult; that to come thus armed into his court, was to brand himſelf, he ſaid, and the whole aſſembly, with the odious charge of ſome treacherous deſign. But as his rage grew immoderate, ſtimulated by the courtiers ſpeeches, even the primate's enemies were ſhocked. They expected he would be inſtantly maſſacred. Roger of York quitted the room, ſaying to his chaplains: "Let us be "gone. It becomes not us to witneſs what will ſoon befall "the primate of Canterbury." Bartholomew of Exeter ran to him: "My father," ſaid he, "have pity on your-"ſelf and us. On your account we ſhall all this day periſh. "The king has ordered, that whoever dares to ſtand by "you,

[k] Hoveden. Gerv. Vita ut ſup.

" you, ſhall be puniſhed as an enemy to the ſtate. Jocelin " of Saliſbury and William of Norwich, who have ſpoken " in your favour, are juſt now, it is ſaid, dragged out " to puniſhment." — " Fly then; for thou knoweſt not " what appertains to God;" ſaid the primate, looking at him, firm and dauntleſs, and not moving from his ſeat [l].

The biſhops, in the mean time, who remained in the inner room with the king, ſeeing the danger which threatened, and uncertain what to do, after much altercation among themſelves, propoſed a laſt meaſure, which, they hoped, would be ſucceſsful. " We will cite our pri- " mate," ſaid they to the king, " before the pope: there " we can bring our charges; and we doubt, not ſhall pro- " cure his depoſition."—The propoſal pleaſed Henry; and the biſhops in a body haſtening to the primate, the arrogant and frothy Hilary of Chicheſter thus, in the name of all, addreſſed him [m].

" Until now," ſaid he, " you have been our archbiſhop, " and it was our duty to obey you. But as you ſwore " fealty to our lord the king, that is, to defend his life, " his limbs, and worldly honour, and to obſerve the cuſ- " toms of the realm, which he required, and now you " ſtrive to overthrow thoſe cuſtoms, which principally " regard that worldly honour; therefore we pronounce " you guilty of perjury, and to a perjured primate we owe " no further obedience. Ourſelves and our poſſeſſions we " commit to the protection of our lord the pope, and we " cite you to his preſence, there to anſwer to our charges."

[l] Hoveden. Gerv. Vita ut ſupra. [m] Ibid.

BOOK I. 1164.

Thus ſaying, he named a day.—" I hear you," ſaid the archbiſhop[n].

It is extraordinary, that the queſtion of the *cuſtoms* ſhould be here revived by the biſhops, and on it only ſhould their charge be grounded, when it had not once been publicly mentioned at Northampton, nor any accuſation of perjury been preferred againſt the primate. But the truth is; perjury was deemed a canonical crime, and could it be proved, a ſentence of depoſition, they thought, might be obtained from his holineſs; whereas the royal charges were all of them, as produced at Northampton, of a civil nature. To gratify the king's paſſion, it mattered not, how informal the proſecution was, or on what charges it was founded; and the biſhops, it ſeems, from ignorance, or fear, or malice, or intereſt, were diſpoſed to go any lengths.

After Hilary had ſpoken, the biſhops went over to the oppoſite ſeats, and a pauſe of ſilence enſued. The door of the inner room then opened, and the barons, with a great crowd, headed by the earls of Leiceſter and Cornwall, entering, walked up to the primate. The earl of Leiceſter ſaid: " The king orders, that you appear before " him to anſwer to his charges, as you promiſed: other- " wiſe, hear your ſentence."—" My ſentence!" cried the primate, riſing from his ſeat: " Yes, ſon earl, but do " you hear firſt. — You well know, my ſon, with what " friendſhip and with what fidelity, I ſerved my lord the " king. On that account, it was his pleaſure, that I " ſhould be promoted to the archepiſcopal ſee of Canter- " bury, God knows, againſt my own will. For I knew " my

[n] Gerv. Vita.

" my own incapacity; and I acquieſced, not ſo much for " the love of God, as for his love. This is ſufficiently " evident, ſince God to-day withdraws himſelf and the " king from me. At my election, in the preſence of " prince Henry, who had received orders from his royal " father, it was aſked, in what condition I was given to " the church? when anſwer was made; *free and diſcharged* " *from every bond of the court.* But if free; I cannot now " be bound to anſwer to thoſe things, from which I was " then diſcharged; nor will I." — " This," obſerved the earl, " is different from what, the other day, was reported " to the king."—The primate proceeded: " Still liſten, " my ſon. As much as the ſoul is ſuperior to the body, by " ſo much it is your duty, to obey God and me, rather " than an earthly monarch. Neither law, nor reaſon, " permits, that a child judge or condemn his parent. " Wherefore, I decline the tribunal of the king and his " barons, ſubmitting myſelf, under God, to the judgment " of our lord the pope, to whom, in the preſence of you " all, I now *appeal.* The church of Canterbury, my order " and dignity, with all that pertains to them, I commit to " God and the protection of the holy ſee. And you, my " brethren and fellow-biſhops, who have preferred the " obedience of man to that of God, I cite you to the pre- " ſence of our lord the pope. Thus guarded by the power " of the catholic church and the apoſtolic ſee, I retire " hence[o]."

The ſolemn addreſs was taken to the king; and the primate turned round to leave the hall. As he paſſed through the

[o] Gerv. Vita.

BOOK I. 1164.

the crowd, he was inſulted; and ſome called out, that he retired like a perjured traitor. Looking ſternly at the revilers, he ſaid: "Did the ſacredneſs of my character "permit it, I would by arms defend myſelf, againſt that "charge of perjury and treaſon." The outer gate was locked; but one of his attendants perceived the keys on the wall, and opening the door, they went out; and amidſt the acclamations of the clergy and people, gratulating him on his delivery, and a crowd of beggars, he reached the convent where he lodged.—In the evening, the biſhops of Worceſter, Hereford, and Rocheſter, who were attached to the primate, waited on the king, in his name, requeſting that he might be permitted to quit the realm. "To-mor-"row," replied Henry, "I will lay his requeſt before the "council." But at night-fall, two noblemen, whoſe ſolemn aſſeverations could not be doubted, informed the archbiſhop, that certain perſons of high rank had conſpired againſt his life, who were mutually pledged to perpetrate their deſign. This, it ſeems, determined him to attempt an immediate eſcape; wherefore, ordering a couch to be prepared in the church, as if he meant to take ſanctuary there, before midnight, attended by two monks and a ſervant, he left the convent, and ſoon afterwards the walls of Northampton, paſſing northward through a gate which was left unguarded[p].—It was Tueſday the ſixteenth of October.

Thus cloſed the council of Northampton, which, during ſix days, exhibited a ſcene of that violence and diſorder, which marked the judicial proceedings of the age. The meeting of Clarendon, though ſomewhat more decorous, was

[p] Vita, Gerv. Hoveden.

was not better fitted to the purpoſes of diſtributive juſtice and general legiſlation. A ſubject of ſome importance opens before me, and the obvious connection of things demands elucidation. But as ſo many authors have written on the origin of feudal government, and of its particular character, as eſtabliſhed in this country by the conqueror and his immediate ſucceſſors, for me it can only be neceſſary, briefly to trace ſome general outlines, that no want of evidence may bewilder, or obſtacles impede the eaſy progreſs of, my reader. I have no favourite theory to preſent, but ſuch as the facts of hiſtory, as they occur, have formed, and which the evolving ſeries of events may gradually tend to eſtabliſh.

Brief account of the Anglo-Norman government and polity.

That the government, introduced at the conqueſt, was not, at once, completed, and that even in the preſent reign, it was, in many inſtances, fluctuating and undefined, though a hundred years had elapſed from its firſt eſtabliſhment, will not be denied by him who has reaſoned from experience, and read with caution. The new ſyſtem, we know, reluctantly coaleſced with the Saxon laws, which breathed a better ſpirit, and to which laws even the conquerors themſelves ſoon profeſſed an attachment. Beſides, it has been often ſaid that, even in countries where it had no ſuch obſtacles to contend with, the feudal form of government never moved on any certain and unvarying principles, whereby the lives and property of the vaſſal were ſecured, or the power and prerogative of the ſovereign were aſcertained. Where not the cool deliberations of ſtateſmen, weighing the paſſions of men and calculating contingencies, had ſpoken, but the haſty deciſion of warriors,

BOOK I.

warriors, whom no foreſight guided, had ſketched the rude outline of polity and legiſlation, much neceſſarily was left to the precarious iſſue of events, to human caprice, and to ſuch circumſtances, as all the varying changes of power on one hand, and of ſubmiſſion on the other, ſhould progreſſively generate. If the advantages of the feudal ſyſtem were many, more were its inconveniences; of which no better proof can be required, than the evidence of its decline in all the kingdoms of Europe, as the rights of man, from the growing importance of every member to the greater good of the community, were more clearly underſtood. But I believe, all circumſtances duly weighed, it will be found that, at this time, the feudal polity, imperfect as it was, was beſt adapted to the general ſtate of things in this country, and on the continent of Europe. I confine myſelf to England.

Power of the king.

The power of the king was *monarchical:* he was the ſource of all dignity and command, and agreeably to the firſt principles of the ſyſtem, the whole landed property of the realm belonged to him. Originally acquired by the right of conqueſt, he had diſtributed amongſt his followers ſuch portions of it, as their ſervices or his own partiality had decided, and this on certain conditions, which ſeem never to have been ſeparated from the act of aſſignment, and on which the notion of feudal property did eſſentially reſt. The principal condition was, the return of *ſervice* for the favour or *benefice* conferred. The duties then of the ſovereign and his vaſſals were built on the noble foundation of *bounty* and *gratitude*. The property aſſigned was denominated a *fief;* and fiefs which, at firſt, were revocable at will, acquired, in proceſs

of

of time, a more permanent tenure: they were granted during life, and then became hereditary in families, ſo long as the original condition of *ſervice* was complied with. This ſervice was chiefly *military*, and the king could call for it, as the exigences of the times might ſeem to require. — In his hands was lodged the *executive* power; and without his aſſent no laws could be made or altered. It will even be ſeen, in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the royal edict alone was admitted to have the full force of law. But in the regular order of government, a more temperate form prevailed, and the conduct of the ſovereign was directed by the advice of a council.

National Council.

The reader has recently witneſſed two *national* aſſemblies, ſummoned by the king. They were what our hiſtorians call, the *great council*; and the ſtated times of its meeting were the three great feſtivals of chriſtmas, eaſter, and whitſuntide. The barons, and the immediate tenants of the crown, attended; for it was a part of that *ſervice* which, as vaſſals, they owed to their ſupreme lord. In the king and this council, agreeably to the ſpirit of the feudal inſtitution, reſided the *legiſlative* power; and for obvious reaſons, it was his wiſh, that it ſhould be often convened, and be fully attended. There, at the head of his vaſſals, he appeared in the luſtre of majeſty, ordaining laws, or demanding juſtice againſt thoſe who had violated the compact which bound them to their lord. In the firſt capacity he was at Clarendon; in the ſecond at Northampton. But often parade only and feſtivity were intended. The attendance of the vaſſal marked his ſubordination, and it ſerved to check that independence which the great barons much

BOOK I. affected, and which ever drew ſtrength from the habits of power and patronage, they contracted at their own caſtles. By the ſame meetings, as their conſent and advice were deemed neceſſary, as well in the enaction of laws, as in the infliction of puniſhment, the arbitrary power of the crown was alſo controuled. But in the ſecond caſe, unleſs when the object of proſecution was a patriotic or powerful vaſſal, the king, by his authority or his diſproportionate influence, was able to awe the meeting, to bias their ſuffrages, and to bend all to his will. This happened in the trial we have ſeen. The impetuous temper of Henry, in a cauſe, which he and his courtiers had the addreſs to render unpopular, not only expoſed the primate to his utmoſt vengeance, but it could intimidate into a weak compliance even thoſe, whom every motive ſhould have rouſed to a manly oppoſition.

The conſtituent members of this council, as I have ſaid, were the immediate tenants of the crown, which compriſed the archbiſhops, biſhops, many abbots, and ſome priors; the barons, under which denomination the earls were included; and all ſuch, whether knights, or others, who held their fees by military, or leſs honourable, ſervice. They were all the king's homagers, his men, as to life, limb, and earthly honour. When Domeſday-book was framed, the number of theſe vaſſals did not amount to ſeven hundred.—From the ſentence of this court there was no appeal, unleſs, as we have ſeen, in matters of an eccleſiaſtical complection. And that ſuch appeals were then, agreeably to the uſages of the nation, lawful, is evident from the conduct of the biſhops, who, at Northampton, with

with the conſent of the king, cited the primate before their lord the pope. Nor was the eighth ſtatute of Clarendon, as it was afterwards explained, meant to prohibit ſuch appeals. But when the cauſe was purely civil, this appeal, though practiſed, as we ſaw, by Becket, muſt have been originally abuſive. Churchmen did homage to the king for the fiefs they held of him, and by the act became his vaſſals. As ſuch, therefore, they were amenable to his tribunal, and ſhould have ſtood to the verdict of their peers. But, at this time, their great aim was to withdraw themſelves from all ſecular juriſdiction, and to eſtabliſh a new order of things. The appointment of ſpiritual courts, by the conqueror, tended to forward the new ſyſtem, and the conceſſions of his ſucceſſors helped on the ſame. The eleventh article of Clarendon, went to the reſtoration of the ancient ſyſtem, and to renew that connection between the ſecular and clerical orders, which ſeems to have prevailed before the conqueſt. But the evil, ſupported by the canoniſts of the age, had taken too deep root, to be removed by deſultory efforts. Such were thoſe of Henry.

To look for the *commons*, (as they are now denominated,) in the aſſembly I am deſcribing, that is, men who were not immediate tenants of the crown, argues little knowledge of the feudal inſtitution, in which, a gradual ſubordination uniformly prevailed. The ſubvaſſals of the realm conſtituted an inferior order of men, whoſe duty was paid to their immediate, or *meſne*, lord, under whom they held their fees, or lands; on whom they were dependent; and who was interpoſed between them and the throne. In relation to him, they ſtood in the ſame capacity, that he

BOOK I. and the other barons did to the king: theſe were peers of the realm; the ſubvaſſals, or *vavaſors*, for ſo they were ſometimes called, were peers of the barony to which they belonged. With what propriety then, might they claim a ſeat in the great legiſlative aſſembly, who already were fully repreſented there, as far as any repreſentation was, at that time, intended; and who, beſides, were members of a court, in all things, co-ordinate with their ſtation? The barons, in their caſtles, had their own courts, appointed to make ſuch arrangements, as the nature of their tenures, or the order of vaſſalage required, and to decide ſuch ſuits as aroſe among their dependents. Attended by his officers and retainers, here the petty ſovereign reſided, in his commands often more arbitrary than his monarch, and generally more ſervilely obeyed, becauſe his vaſſals had not the power of reſiſtance, which the lord himſelf poſſeſſed. But alſo, as he lived with them in ſplendour and hoſpitality, ſometimes, as the father of a family, they were much attached to him. His court, in miniature, reſembled that of his ſovereign, and his miniſters were honoured with ſimilar offices and titles. Nothing then, it ſeems, but the love of controverſy, in violation of an obvious ſyſtem, and, what is more, of the unequivocal repreſentations of contemporary writers, could have impelled certain men to draw the ſubvaſſals of the baronage from their proper ſphere, and place them in ſeats which, as yet, were unadapted to them.

King's court. Beſides the national council, which I have deſcribed, was the king's court, denominated *curia regis*, which generally attended his perſon, and wherein himſelf often

ſat

ſat to hear cauſes, and to pronounce judgment, in civil and criminal ſuits, among his barons. Here, likewiſe, were managed the concerns of the royal revenue. In the abſence of the king, the chief or *grand juſticiary* preſided, who was the firſt magiſtrate in the ſtate, neareſt to the ſovereign in power and authority. To this court, as we have ſeen, Becket was cited, in the cauſe of John, mareſchal of the exchequer, and was fined for non-appearance. Originally few appeals were made to the *curia regis*, all cauſes being determined at their proper tribunals, in the counties, and in the courts of barony; but, as the oppreſſion of the nobles grew, and the ſcience of law became more intricate, and the influence of the crown extended, appeals were common, the ſubordinate judicatures loſt their credit, and buſineſs accumulated in the hands of the king's miniſters. The reader will witneſs the progreſs of this change, which, from a combination of cauſes, tended much to increaſe the royal power. — The other officers of this court were, the conſtable, mareſchal, ſeneſchal, chamberlain, treaſurer, and chancellor. Such barons, as thought proper, might alſo attend. The *curia regis*, at this time, ſeems alſo to have been called the court of *exchequer*, *(Scaccarium,)* from a chequered cloth which covered the table, at which the officers ſat; and it comprehended the whole buſineſs, which is now ſhared among our four courts, the chancery, the king's bench, the common pleas, and the exchequer.

The name of *chancellor* having often been mentioned, it may be proper to obſerve that, at this time, he had no diſtinct court, in which he preſided. The great ſeal was in

BOOK I. in his cuſtody: he ſuperviſed all charters, and all acts and precepts, which iſſued in the king's court, and put the ſeal to them. He was chief counſellor to the king, and, as we ſaw in the caſe of Becket, generally attended on his perſon. The vacant biſhoprics and abbeys were often left in his cuſtody.

County court. A third *court* was that of the *county* or hundred, deſcended, it is thought, from the Saxons, the office of which was to judge between the vaſſals of different baronies. The ſheriff, then called *viſcount*, preſided, an officer appointed by the king, and in whoſe department, beſides, it was, to keep the public peace, to ſtock and improve the royal demeſne, and to collect the revenue. The greateſt barons were obliged to attend the county courts, and to aſſiſt the ſheriff in the adminiſtration of his office. But the reſort and buſineſs even of theſe courts, we ſhall ſee, were gradually abſorbed by the extenſion of the royal judicature, in the appointment of *itinerant judges*, by which means, the whole *judicial* power was ultimately lodged, with the *executive*, in the hands of the ſovereign.

Revenue of the crown. The power of the Norman kings was alſo ſupported by a great and independent revenue, the principal branches of which were: —

1. The *royal demeſne* or *crown-lands*, which were very extenſive, and comprehended, beſide manors, many of the towns and chief cities of England. As recorded in Domeſday-book, the royal manors, at that time, were fourteen hundred and twenty-two; and we know that their number was afterwards much augmented. This demeſne was not legally alienable; but it will be ſeen, how wantonly

wantonly it was ſometimes diſpoſed of, and how arbitrarily reſumed.

2. *Eſcheats;* under which term was comprehended, all lands which became veſted in the crown, by devolution, forfeiture, ſeizure, or ſome ſimilar title, that is, in default of heirs, or for crimes and breach of duty towards the ſuperior lord. Theſe eſcheats the prince was permitted to alienate, though gradually they were confounded with the *ancient demeſne*, which they contributed to extend.

3. *Feudal profits*; which were the reliefs to be paid, on the death of his anceſtor, by every heir that held his lands by barony, or knight's-ſervice, that is, by every military tenant *in capite*, when he took poſſeſſion of his inheritance. Before *Magna Charta*, theſe reliefs were not limited by law, and therefore often arbitrarily impoſed.—*Wardſhips* were another feudal profit. During the nonage of his vaſſals, the king received the revenues of their eſtates, allowing what he thought proper for their education and maintenance; nor afterwards could they marry, either male or female, without his conſent, to obtain which large ſums were often given.

4. The *ferms* of counties, generally let to the ſheriff; and of towns, burghs, and gilds, ſituated in the royal demeſne.

5. *Fines* and *amerciaments*, of many kinds, in civil and criminal caſes, and for foreſt-treſpaſſes. Fines were reduced to three general heads: fines *for liberties*, that is, for grants and confirmation of liberties, or for franchiſes and exemptions, of all which the inſtances were numberleſs. — Fines in *law-proceedings*, that is, fines to have juſtice and right;

fines

BOOK I. fines for writs, pleas, trials, and judgments; fines for expedition or ſpeeding the right; fines for ſtopping, or delays of pleas, trials, or judgments. Proceedings moſt iniquitous, but the ſource of great wealth, to obviate which the forty-ſeventh clauſe of Magna Charta was decreed: — Fines of a *mixed nature*, that is, for the king's favour, or that he would remit his diſpleaſure, for his aid and protection, to be releaſed out of priſon, and for acquittals in divers caſes, for leave to hold or quit certain offices, for permiſſion to trade, to open mines, and for many other things of a miſcellaneous nature. — *Amerciaments*; which were levied for crimes, treſpaſſes, and defaults, the occaſions of which were manifold, particularly under the head of the foreſt-laws, when the king poſſeſſed ſixty-eight foreſts, thirteen chaces, and ſeven hundred and eighty-one parks, in different parts of England,

6. *Aid*; which was deemed an honourable ſervice or duty, rendered by a free vaſſal to his lord, and of which were three ſorts due to the crown, by common right. Aid to make the king's eldeſt ſon a knight, to marry his eldeſt daughter, and to ranſom his perſon when taken in war. It was paid by all the king's immediate tenants, whether they held their fees by barony, or knight's ſervice, or by ſerjeanty, or by rent-ſervice, ſocage, or other ſervice, of which many inſtances will occur. The ſums aſſeſſed, generally *per fee*, and the mode of raiſing it, varied at different times.

7. *Scutage*: this alſo was a duty, or ſervice, ariſing out of baronies and knights fees. It denoted *ſervitium ſcuti*, the ſervice of the ſhield, and was rendered thus: — for every

every knight's fee, the ſervice of one knight; and as baronies were compoſed of knights fees, they were charged according to the number of fees, whereof each barony, by its original enfeoffment, did conſiſt. The ſervice of ſcutage was performed, either perſonally in the king's army, or by pecuniary commutation, as we ſaw in the war of Touloufe; and as the latter mode of diſcharging it became uſual, the term *ſcutage* is often to be underſtood to mean that pecuniary commutation only, money in lieu of perſonal ſervice. The ſums aſſeſſed on each fee, and levied by the king's commiſſioners, were likewiſe very variable.

8. *Tallage*; which was a general duty levied on the royal demeſne, ſometimes called *donum*, ſometimes *aſſiſa*, and ſometimes *hidage*, or *carucage*, that is, ſo much for each hide or caruc of land, holden by baſe or inferior tenure. —A *hide* of land is generally thought to have been as much as a ſingle plough could till in a year, or as much as would be ſufficient to maintain a gentleman's family for that time, and in this ſenſe muſt have varied according to the nature of the ſoil. A knight's fee ſeems to have conſiſted of two hides of land, or of two hides and a half.

9. *Cuſtoms:* theſe, from the obvious import of the word, were duties paid by merchants and traders, for their merchandiſes imported or exported, and for commodities conveyed along the Thames, and ſome other rivers. But as the trade of the nation, excepting, perhaps, in the article of wine, was not great, no large revenue was raiſed from this quarter.

I have ſtated the principal articles of the royal revenue, which, though conſiderable in their general amount,

BOOK I. conſtituted no fixed and ſtated income, much of it ariſing from incidental and varying profits. But the mode of aſſeſſment, as well as the ſums aſſeſſed, were generally vexatious to the vaſſals, and the majeſty of the crown was often villified by the unworthy practices, to which it had recourſe, and the extortions of its miniſters. Till the reign of Henry I. the rents from the demeſne lands were uſually paid in proviſions, and other ſupplies for the houſehold; but theſe afterwards were commuted into money, which was carried into the treaſury.—I wiſh to obſerve that, what I have ſaid of the king and his immediate vaſſals, in regard to his feudal powers, and many of the branches of revenue, muſt be applied to the barons and their vaſſals, in a ſcale of co-ordinate ſubordination. For they alſo had their tenants, who held of them by ſubinfeudation, and were therefore intitled to *eſcheats*, to *reliefs*, to *wardſhip*, to *fines* and *amerciaments*, to *aid*, to *ſcutage*, and to *tallage*, though the words themſelves are not, I believe, always applied to them. Nor were the barons leſs arbitrary, or leſs rapacious, than their ſupreme lord, by whoſe conduct they ſeemed ambitious to ſquare their general deportment.

Army. The tenures introduced by the Normans gave ſtrength to the kingdom. For the nobility were ſoldiers, paid and maintained by the lands they held; and their vaſſals were again ſoldiers, ſupported by a ſimilar arrangement. Thus, without the expence, and the danger to liberty of a ſtanding army, forces ſufficient to guard the country from invaſion, and to ſerve the crown in foreign wars, were always kept up; and the reſource ſeemed as fixed and exhauſtleſs, as the lands themſelves on which they lived. Such a force alſo,

alſo, compoſed of men, whoſe property in the realm, and whoſe rank in life, naturally intereſted in the beſt welfare of the country, was admirably, it ſhould ſeem, adapted to watch the deſigns of an ambitious monarch, and to oppoſe them: but then the ſame tenures, which gave them this power, too often likewiſe enabled them, turbulent and ambitious as they were, to diſturb the public peace, to throw off their allegiance, and, within the bounds of their own domains, to exerciſe the tyranny they would not brook in their ſovereign.

When the occaſion called for arms, the king ſummoned his barons and tenants *in capite*, holding knights fees, to be ready to do their ſervice in his army, according to the number of their fees, and quantity of their tenure. The ſummons was directed to the ſheriffs of the counties, and the place of rendezvous named, at which, on a ſtated day, they were to appear with their arms and horſes. Each baron then, in like manner, ſummoned his own military tenants; and they waited on him in arms, ready to march at his command. Thus was the feudal army formed; but the period of ſervice, at their own charges, was of forty days only, after which they were at liberty to return home, or it became the duty of the king to maintain them. Thoſe who did not obey the ſummons were amerced. But as ſuch armies were ill calculated for long wars, or for foreign ſervice, the commutation often took place, which I mentioned under the name of *ſcutage*, whereby large ſums of money were raiſed, and the prince was enabled to purchaſe a mercenary force, more ſubſervient to his will, and better practiſed in military diſcipline. When the tenant *in capite*

BOOK I. paid ſcutage to the king, he was entitled to have ſcutage from his own tenants, for the military fees they held of him, and he might compel them by diſtreſs.—The *ſpiritual* barons, whoſe fees were charged with military ſervice, were not bound to perſonal duty. They ſent ſoldiers in their ſtead, or they fined to the king, that is, they paid a ſcutage proportioned to their fees. But though exempted from the ſervice of arms, as the canons of the church alſo ordained, and the decency of their profeſſion ſeemed to require, biſhops, as we ſhall ſee, often appeared in the field, regardleſs of the privilege which conſigned them to the inglorious occupations of prayer and preaching. Eccleſiaſtics who held lands in *franc almoign*, that is, under the obligation of praying for the ſoul of the granter or feoffer, were free from every military duty. Under this tenure the church held great poſſeſſions, to obviate the effect of which, the ſtatute of *mortmain* was afterwards enacted.

Navy. The *navy*, at this time, was very inconſiderable. During the reigns of the Saxon kings, while the nation was infeſted by the northern corſairs, its maritime force is repreſented, on ſome occaſions, to have been raiſed to an unparalleled height. But we know with what ſucceſs the invaders repeated their attacks; to ſuſpend which, a compoſition was entered into, which ſubjected the nation to an infamous tribute. This tribute was raiſed by a hidage or land-tax, called *danegeld*, and which, though originally intended for the purpoſe, I have mentioned, continued to be levied, even after the conqueſt, when invaſions threatened, and by ſome moderns has been improperly conſidered as a fund for the perpetual ſupport of the navy.—The ſhips of war, of which

we

we read, were *gallies*, with one or two tiers of oars, to the prow of which was fixed a piece of wood, called a ſpur, deſigned to ſtrike and pierce the ſhips of the enemy.—The *cinque ports*, by their tenures, and ſome other maritime towns, were the principal ſupport of the navy, unleſs on alarming occaſions, when *danegeld* was levied. But the whole ſubject is very obſcurely treated by the hiſtorians of the age. During the reign of Henry, who was maſter of almoſt all the French coaſt, and when no invaſion was apprehended, little attention ſeems to have been given to naval concerns. We ſhall behold his ſon, in the pride of chivalry, ſailing to the eaſt, at the head of a puiſſant armament. BOOK I.

In times antecedent to the conqueſt, various compilations had been made of the Engliſh laws; but that of the Confeſſor, as it was the laſt, and probably the moſt comprehenſive, acquired the greateſt reputation. What theſe laws were, has never been ſpecifically aſcertained; becauſe, as it ſeems generally admitted, many of them might rather be denominated *cuſtoms*, than legal ſtatutes, and, as ſuch, would be more liable to change. That there was an *unwritten* law, received under the name of *cuſtoms*, is plain from the tranſactions of Clarendon; and to them the lapſe of years and the charters of kings, would give a more laſting ſtability. Whatever were the laws, either collected or enacted by the confeſſor, *common*, *penal*, or *mixed*, under the general denomination of *cuſtoms*, them the conqueror received and confirmed to the nation by a ſtatute, with ſuch *additions* as he deemed *beneficial*. The ſame code was confirmed by the ſucceeding charters of Henry I. Stephen, and, Laws.

BOOK I. and, as has been mentioned, of the preſent king. On this ſubject more will be ſaid hereafter. The *common law* of the land, therefore, was that of their Saxon anceſtors, with ſome additions and amendments, as the ſtate of things might require; and it is remarkable that the Norman ſettlers, with an uncommon predilection, ſoon become attached to it. So well did its ſpirit comport with liberty and the general rights of men!

Degrees of nobility.

The degrees of *nobility* have been ſuccinctly mentioned: 1. *Earls* which was an hereditary honour, originally conferred by the king, and limitted as to number by that of the counties, in which they held an official ſuperintendance. Sometimes, by marriage or the courſe of deſcent, more than one earldom united in the ſame perſon, rendering him, if factious, a vaſſal dangerous to the throne, and to the peace of the nation. Some earldoms, by original grants, were more powerful than others, as that of Cheſter, which poſſeſſed, within its limits, almoſt a regal juriſdiction. To every earldom was annexed a *barony*, whereby their feudal ſervice, with its ſeveral dependent duties, was alone aſcertained; that is, the tenure of barony, and not of earldom, conſtituted the legal vaſſal of the crown. Each earl was, at the ſame time, a baron; as were the biſhops, and ſome abbots, and priors of orders.—2. *Barons*: They were originally created by feoffment, the honour being properly territorial, and deſcending to male or female iſſue in a regular ſucceſſion, according to the right of primogeniture. Baronies were annexed to certain lands, and theſe were compoſed of knights fees, charged with perſonal ſervice and other burthens, agreeably to the number of the fees; for,

whatever

whatever it was, either extent or value of the land, which determined this number, we find that the baronies were very unequally divided. Each fee, as I have obſerved, was charged with the ſervice of one knight. We read of baronies which conſiſted of three, ten, or twenty fees, and of others, as that of the honour of Glouceſter, in the reign of king John, which conſiſted of three hundred and twenty ſeven. More than one barony might be veſted in the ſame perſon.—Beſides the military ſervice, to which every baron was obliged, in virtue of his fief, he was alſo bound to attend the king in his ſupreme court, to aſſiſt in his judgments, and to give him faithful counſel, in the concerns of ſtate and in the judicial proceedings with his peers. To what contributions, as a tenant in chief of the crown, he was liable, has been related.—Some nobles held their lands of the crown by *grand-ſejeanty*, which was not always a military ſervice, whereby they were bound to carry the king's banner, or lance, to bear his ſword at the coronation, or to be his ſewer, his carver, or his butler. This was deemed the higheſt and moſt illuſtrious feudal ſervice, and the tenure, conſequently, was moſt honourable. So exalted, in the ſpirit of the conſtitution, was the idea entertained of *royalty!*

But there was an honorary dignity, which, in thoſe days, could give a new luſtre even to the crown: I mean, *the order of knighthood*, not now a novel inſtitution, and which, in its origin and object, partook of the religious and military character. The ceremony of initiation, in various countries, was very ſimilar; the eſſential part of which ſeemed to conſiſt, in girding the knight with his ſword, in putting

BOOK I. putting on his feet a pair of gilt ſpurs, and in ſtriking him gently with a ſword on the neck or ſhoulders, whilſt the minſtrels, with their ſongs and muſic, graced the ſolemnity. At firſt, none but kings and princes, and men of tried valour and approved virtue, were admitted to the honour: but as every knight had a power to make other knights, the number ſoon increaſed, and the merits of the candidates were leſs ſcrupulouſly regarded. Their occupations, independently of the romantic engagements they entered into, were excellently adapted to give energy to the principle of honour, and to teach the duties of war: even the amuſements of chivalry, in tilts and tournaments, were a perpetual diſcipline and ſchool of proweſs.—According to the number of fees which compoſed his barony, each nobleman, as has been ſaid, was bound to furniſh his quota of knights; but from oſtentation, or when his income allowed it, he retained many more in his ſervice, as was related of Becket, in the war of Toulouſe. They were his companions in war, at the chace, and in the feſtive hours of domeſtic amuſements. The knights were attended by *eſquires*, who were themſelves candidates for, and were generally promoted, to the dignity of knighthood. It ſhould, however, be noticed, that the rank of knighthood was that of gentry, and not of nobility. In Latin they were called *milites*. — I muſt alſo obſerve that, as there were many knights-fees, that is, lands or tenements charged with military ſervice, which were not annexed to baronies, they might be poſſeſſed by the knights themſelves, or by other inferior tenants, who, in their own perſons, were bound to diſcharge the ſervice.

After

Inferior ranks and bondmen.

After the nobility and knights, came this order of men, who, as holding of the crown by the honourable ſervice of arms, were themſelves deemed honourable. They formed the lower rank of gentry; but, not many years afterwards, they were compelled, under pain of forfeiting their fees, to be girt with the ſword of knighthood. — To the ſame rank, in a lower degree, ſeem alſo to have belonged the other tenants of the crown, that is, ſuch as held lands by *ſoccage*, or *petit ſerjeanty*, and the inhabitants of cities, and boroughs, and caſtles, who held of the king, under certain ſtipulated ſervices or rents.—The tenure of *ſoccage*, in propriety of expreſſion, comprehended them all; for it has been defined, "that every tenure, which is not a tenure "in chivalry, is a tenure in ſoccage." What the word *ſoc* or *ſoccage* properly meant, has not been clearly aſcertained; but if it be underſtood in contradiſtinction to *military* or *knight's ſervice*, all ambiguity will be ſufficiently removed, and the whole property of the nation will be conceived as divided into knights fees and ſoccage tenures. *Socmen* are ſometimes ſtiled *freeholders*, *(liberé tenentes,)* not as if they held their lands free from all charge of rent or ſervice, (for, at this time, there ſeem to have been no ſuch tenures,) but in the ſenſe juſt mentioned, as not bound to military ſervice.

To this order of men, in a regularly deſcending ſcale, ſucceeded the various denominations of *ſubvaſſals*, who, in all things, were the exact counterpart of the tenants in chief of the crown. To ſay more on the ſubject would be ſuperfluous. A baron on his domain, in the diſtribution of his property, in the order of his retainers and tenants,

BOOK I. and in the exaction of rents, ſervices, and dues, was the ſovereign in miniature.

After theſe came a race of men, who, placed on the footing of domeſtic animals, poſſeſſed no better privileges than they. They were of two ſorts: ſuch as, having nothing they might call their own, termed *villeins in groſs*, were immediately bound to the perſon of their lord, and his heirs, for whom they worked, and by whom they were maintained: the others, called *villeins regardant to a manor*, to which they were annexed, rented ſmall portions of land, at the will of their lord, for which they tilled his ſoil, and performed all other predial works. From their inability to quit their ſtation aroſe the peculiar hardſhip of their ſervitude.—Theſe bondmen were, doubtleſs, of Saxon origin, having deſcended, with their lands, to the preſent poſſeſſors. But it was ſome mitigation of their ſtate, that their lives and limbs were under the protection of the king, (for a lord that killed his ſlave, was as liable to be puniſhed, as if he had killed a freeman,) and the few goods they poſſeſſed were ſecured from all hands, but thoſe of their maſters.—Every lord might infranchiſe his ſlave; and the laws and policy of the Normans were peculiarly favourable to it. One of the laws of the conqueror enacts: "If "any one is willing to free his ſlave, let him deliver him "by his right hand to the ſheriff, in the full county court, "and proclaim him diſcharged by manumiſſion, from the "yoke of his ſervitude; and let him ſhew him the doors "open and his way free, and put into his hands the arms "of a freeman, namely, a lance and a ſword: which being "done, he is made a freemen." Alſo if a villein, who had

had fled from his lord, remained unclaimed, for a year and a day, on the king's demeſne lands, he gained his freedom; or, for the ſame time, in any *privileged*, that is, chartered, town, and had been received into their community, as a citizen.—Thus, as the practice of infranchiſements grew more frequent, the ignominious ſtate gradually expired: thoſe who held in villenage became copyholders, and the domeſtic and predial ſlaves were made free ſervants and labourers. The ſun of liberty ſhone equally on all [q].

The progreſſive delineation of events, as it will receive light from the ſhort ſketch I have exhibited, of the Anglo-Norman government and polity, ſo will it ſerve to illuſtrate what, perhaps, may ſtill appear too imperfect and obſcure in the deſcription. Other matters will alſo ariſe to extend the view, to give harmony to the parts, and to complete the general plan.

[q] Madox Hiſt. of Exch. Tindall on Rapin. Hume's Hiſt. append. ii. Hiſt. of Hen. II. vol. ii. Hoveden, Gervaſius, and others.

END OF BOOK I.

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# REIGN

OF

# KING HENRY THE SECOND,

With the EVENTS of the Period.

## BOOK II.

*The primate escapes into Flanders.—Henry sends embassadors to France.—They appear before Alexander.—Becket goes to Sens, and opens his defence.—Henry's revenge.—A conference projected.—Alexander returns to Rome.—Henry suspected of inclining to the antipope, is cleared by Foliot.—War with the Welsh.—The bishop of Lisieux writes to Becket.—Heretics punished.—Becket appointed legate, writes to the king.—Henry goes to France.—Appeals to Rome.—The primate pronounces his censures.—The English bishops appeal, and address the primate.—He answers.—Writes also to Foliot.—Is driven from Pontigny.—John of Oxford's embassy.—Affairs of Italy and Rome.—Legates arrive in France.—Conferences of Gisors and Argentan.—Hostilities in France and Flanders.—Death of Matilda.—Frederic escapes from Lombardy.—Embassy from Constan-*

*Conſtantinople to Alexander.—Commotions in France, which end in a general peace.—Henry and the primate meet.—Singular behaviour of Louis, and Henry's fears.—Nuncios arrive from Rome.—Various fruitleſs conferences.—Severe edict of the king.—New commiſſioners appointed.—Prince Henry crowned.—Henry and the primate are reconciled.—Difficulties are raiſed.—The primate returns to England.—Is aſſaſſinated.—His character.*

BOOK II.

1164.

The primate eſcapes into Flanders.

WHETHER from fear, which deranges every ſettled purpoſe, or from indetermination, or from a hope that the purſuit of his enemies might be thus eluded, Becket, on leaving the walls of Northampton, took his journey northward. It would be expected, that he would make for the coaſt neareſt to the French ſhore. On the ſecond day he arrived at Lincoln, a diſtance of more than fifty miles, whence going to a hermitage in the fens, he reſted three days. The retirement of the place gave him confidence; and here he planned his new route, changed his dreſs to that of a common monk, and was called brother Chriſtian. In this diſguiſe, turning to the ſouth-eaſt, they again ſet forward, travelling only by night, through unfrequented paths, and, during the day, repoſing in the cells of the neighbouring convents. They came to Eſtray in Kent, a manor belonging to the priory of Canterbury, and not far from that city. For eight days he here remained, unknown to all but one prieſt, while Herbert de Boſeham, the companion of his flight, and his hiſtorian, was engaged in providing a ſmall boat at Sandwich. In this boat they embarked, and about the cloſe of the evening of the ſame day, landed not far from Gravelines in Flanders. It was the

the beginning of November, and about the fifteenth day ſince his flight from Northampton. They were four in company[a].

Though the diſtance from Gravelines was not more than a league, yet the mirey road, for they were forced to travel on foot, added to the fatigue of the paſſage, ſoon exhauſted all the primate's ſtrength. It blew a ſtorm of wind and rain. Cold and wet as it was, he laid himſelf down on the ground: "I can go no further," ſaid he: "get me ſome "aſſiſtance." They procured a horſe, and he entered Gravelines. At ſupper, though he ſat in the loweſt place, it was obſerved that their landlord eyed him with uncommon curioſity. His air and dignified manner, and the general caſt of his countenance and perſon, raiſed him above the level of ordinary men; and fame, beſides, had already divulged it in the country, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury was flying from the perſecution of his enemies. The good man communicated his ſuſpicions to his wife, and they began to treat him with a reſpect, that gave him little pleaſure. Their beſt fruit, and greateſt delicacies, they brought out, and placed them before brother Chriſtian. "Sit down by me," ſaid the prelate to his landlord, hoping by the familiar offer to quiet his ſurmiſes. He fell at his feet: "I thank God," ſaid he, "that your lordſhip has "deigned to honour my humble roof." "For whom then "do you take me?" replied Becket: "do you not ſee "that I am a poor monk, called Chriſtian?" "Take "what name you will," ſubjoined the hoſt, "I know you "are a great man, and I believe the archbiſhop of Canter-"bury."

[a] Vita S. Tho. l. ii. c. 2, 3.

BOOK II. 1164.

"bury." To diſſemble any longer might be dangerous: he therefore frankly owned who he was, truſting, by the confidential avowal, to ſecure his fidelity. The next day they departed, and the hoſt was their guide[b].

The reader may wiſh to know what alarmed Becket, landed as he was on another ſhore.—Philip earl of Flanders, and Matthew, his brother, earl of Boulogne, beſides being nearly related to Henry by their mother Sibilla of Anjou, had many obligations to him. To the firſt he had been guardian, during the abſence of his father on a pilgrimage into Aſia; and for the other he had procured a wife, Mary, the only ſurviving child of king Stephen, and with her the rich earldom of Boulogne. Mary had been a nun, and even abbeſs of Rumſey in Hampſhire. Becket, at that time chancellor, oppoſed the uncanonical meaſure; but the lady conſenting, ſhe was ſtolen from her convent, and conveyed out of England, with the approbation of the king.—For theſe reaſons, the primate could not rely on the protection of the earls; nor did he know but already they might have been appriſed of his flight.

After another fatiguing journey, on foot, they arrived at Clairmarais, a convent near to St. Omer's. Here they were informed, that embaſſadors from the king of England, had juſt entered the walls. The primate, therefore, inſtantly withdrew to a neighbouring hermitage, leaving two of his companions to watch their motions. The next day, the embaſſadors proceeded on their journey, and Becket, being informed that there was nothing to fear, came out from his retirement, and was received, with every teſtimony of reſpect,

[b] Vita S. Tho. l. ii. c. 3, 4.

reſpect, into the abbey of St. Bertin, within the gates of the city[c].

Henry ſends embaſſadors to France.

As ſoon as it had been known at Northampton, that the primate had ſecretly fled, Henry, much alarmed, took the advice of his council. They did not doubt but he would go over into France; and it was reſolved to ſend miniſters to Louis and to the pope, who ſhould accuſe the archbiſhop, and attempt to procure his depoſition. A ſplendid embaſſy of prelates, clergy, and noblemen, was ordered inſtantly to depart; and a proclamation was iſſued, forbidding the ſervants of the archbiſhop to be moleſted, or his effects to be touched. Charged with the important commiſſion, and loaded with preſents, which they were commanded to diſperſe freely in the papal court, the embaſſadors were on the ſea the ſame night as Becket, and on the ſame evening were on the road to St. Omer's. — They went firſt to the king, who was at Compiegne, and preſented the letters they had brought from their maſter. The letters ſtated, "that *Thomas, late archbiſhop of Canterbury*, having fled "from England like a traitor, his majeſty was requeſted "not to admit him into his territories." "*Late archbiſhop!*" ſaid the king, interrupting the reader; "and who then "has depoſed him?—I, ſurely, am a king as well as my "brother of England; yet I have not authority to depoſe "the loweſt clerk in my dominions. I knew this *Thomas*, "when he was chancellor to your king, whom he ſerved "long and faithfully; and this now is his recompence, "that, when he drives him from England, he ſhall not be "admitted into France." The embaſſadors hereon

[c] Vita S. Tho. l. ii. c. 5, 6. Gerv. an. 1164.

BOOK II. 1164.

requeſted that he would, at leaſt, admoniſh his holineſs not to give credit to the ſuggeſtions of Becket, againſt their maſter. To this Louis would not engage himſelf: they, therefore, left Compiegne, and repaired to Alexander at Sens[d].

The day after, came to Compiegne, Herbert de Boſeham and his companion, who, ſtep by ſtep, had followed the royal embaſſy. "Are you of the primate's family?" ſaid the king, as they were admitted to his preſence. "We "are:" they replied. Louis embraced them; and they began their ſtory, recounting the adventures of their journey, and what their maſter had ſuffered. The monarch liſtened with attention, and having taken the opinion of his council, he diſmiſſed them, with aſſurances to the archbiſhop, that he had his protection, and might rely on a ſecure aſylum near to his throne. They haſtened to Sens. Here were the king's embaſſadors; and their arrival brought no welcome news to the court of Alexander. The cardinals were aware how much it was their intereſt, not to irritate ſo powerful and ſo rich a prince as Henry; and they ſaw the difficulties in which, by ſhewing favour to the primate, they ſhould ſoon be involved. Beſides, to all of them, at leaſt, his cauſe did not ſeem to be the cauſe of God and their church. Already, perhaps, ſome part of the rich gifts, which the embaſſadors bore, had been diſplayed before them. But Alexander, a prelate of great firmneſs, and whoſe general conduct, through this trying controverſy, will merit praiſe, admitted the primate's friends to a private audience, and treated them with reſpect[e]. Yet never had the

[d] Vita c. 1, 7. Gerv. ib.

[e] Vita c. 7, 8.

1164.

the Roman biſhop ſtood in a ſituation, which demanded the exertion of greater policy, greater reſolution, and greater forbearance. By ſupporting Becket, he would expoſe himſelf, as things then were circumſtanced, to the loſs of the papal chair; and in deſerting his cauſe, he would ſacrifice, what were deemed, the immunities and ſacred rights of the univerſal church.

They appear before Alexander.

The next day, a conſiſtory was called, at which the cardinals aſſiſted; and the embaſſadors came to audience. They were the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of London, of Worceſter, of Exeter, and of Chicheſter, with three of the king's chaplains, and the earl of Arundel, with three attendant barons, and a numerous retinue. Gilbert of London then addreſſed his holineſs.

"It is you, holy father, whom the care of the catholic "church regards, that they who act wiſely may find pro- "tection, and the unwiſe be puniſhed. He can have no "claim to your approbation, who, confident in himſelf, "aims to diſturb the concord of his brethren, the peace "of the church, and our monarch's piety. Lately, on a "trivial occaſion, a diſſention aroſe between the king and "the prieſthood, which, by moderate means, might have "been eaſily extinguiſhed. But my lord of Canterbury, "following his own counſel, and not ours, proceeded too "eagerly, not conſidering the malice of the times, and "what miſchief his violence might cauſe. For himſelf and "us he wove a ſnare; and had our conſent gone with him, "the evil had been greater. But becauſe we would not "concur with his deſigns, he has ſought to turn the blame "of his raſhneſs upon us, upon the king, and upon the

BOOK II. 1164.

" kingdom. Even, to increaſe the odium, when no vio-
" lence was offered, or threats made, he fled, according
" as it is written, *the wicked flee when no man purſueth.*"
" Brother," exclaimed the pope, " forbear." " My lord,
" I will," replied Gilbert. " I mean not on his account,"
ſubjoined his holineſs, " but on your own." The biſhop
was abaſhed, and could proceed no farther.

The vain Hilary of Chicheſter then roſe, and urging the ſame charge againſt the primate, unfortunately, in the warmth of his invective, uſed a wrong conjugation. " A
" man of his dignity," ſaid he, " ought *(oportuebat)* to
" have behaved otherwiſe." The aſſembly laughed, and Hilary was reduced to ſilence.

The archbiſhop of York, obſerving how ill his brethren had ſucceeded, ſpoke with more diſcretion. " To no one,
" holy father, are the manners and inclinations of the
" primate of Canterbury better known, than to me.
" Such has ever been his diſpoſition, that the reſolution
" he has once adopted, he will not eaſily relinquiſh. Where-
" fore it may be believed, that he has too lightly engaged
" in this obſtinate conteſt, from which no other means,
" in my opinion, can reclaim him, than the weighty inter-
" ference of your ſacred authority."

" There is no need of many words," obſerved the biſhop of Exeter: " The cauſe cannot be determined in the
" abſence of the primate: we therefore aſk for legates,
" who may judge and decide between him and our lord
" the king."

The earl of Arundel, ſurrounded by his knights, ſtood in the conſiſtory, and when the biſhops had concluded, he

deſired

desired to be heared. Silence was ordered. He came forward, and in the English language spoke thus.—"My lord, "we illiterate laymen are utterly ignorant of what the "bishops have just said; wherefore, as well as we can, we "must ourselves declare what our commission is. We "come not here to dispute, or to cast reproaches on any "man, particularly in the presence of so great a personage, "to whose nod and authority the whole world, as in duty, "bows the head. But we come, as is manifest, to lay "before you and the Roman court, the devotion and love, "which our lord the king has ever borne, and still bears "to you. And who are we? The greatest and most noble "whom all his dominions could supply, archbishops, bishops, "earls, and barons. Greater than these he had not, or "he would have sent them, to attest his reverence to you "and to your church. To this we add, the fidelity and "respect of our royal master, which yourself, in your exal-"tation to the pontificate, first experienced, when to your "will he submitted himself, his subjects, and all his pos-"sessions. Nor is there, we believe, in the christian world, "a prince more religious or devout than he, or who more "desires, by gentle means, to maintain the blessings of "concord. And my lord of Canterbury also, in his own "degree and order, is as well instructed, and in the con-"cerns of his charge is as discreet and prudent; though, "as some have thought, he may be sometimes too keen and "contentious. Were it not for the present difference, "the church and state would be mutually happy in peace "and concord, under so good a prince, and so excellent "a pastor. It is therefore our earnest request, that you

"would

BOOK II. 1164.

" would apply your gracious endeavours to remove this " difference, and to give us back peace and friendſhip."

The addreſs, which ſpoke the good ſenſe, the conciliating diſpoſition, and the courtly character of the noble earl, was received with general applauſe. Alexander replied.—" My ſon; the manifold and great favours which " the king of England has conferred on me, I well know, " and they are ſtamped on my memory. To make a due " return for theſe is my ardent wiſh, and I will do it on " every occaſion, as far as ſhall be conſiſtent with my " duties to God. But you have aſked for legates, and you " ſhall have them." — For legates they had indeed aſked, but intending that they ſhould be ſent into England, whither the primate alſo ſhould return, and be there judged. The biſhop of London therefore, having kiſſed the pontiff's foot, requeſted to know, with what powers the legates would be ſent? " With proper powers," anſwered Alexander. " Yes;" obſerved the biſhop, " but we beg they " may decide the cauſe without appeal." " That," ſaid the pope, " is my glory, which I will not give to another. " And certainly, when the primate is judged, it ſhall " be by ourſelves. Reaſon does not allow that we " remand him into England, there to be judged by his " adverſaries among his enemies." He then propoſed, that they ſhould wait for the arrival of the archbiſhop, who would ſoon be at Sens. This they refuſed to do, alledging, that their maſter had fixed a day for their return. The embaſſadors were diſconcerted, and dropt ſome words about the ſchiſm, and the intereſt of the antipope; the cardinals were alarmed, and propoſed more lenient meaſures; but

Alexander

1164.

Alexander remained inflexible. They retired therefore, without the pontiff's bleſſing, and departed for England[f].

Becket goes to Sens, and opens his defence.

The primate having ſtaid, ſome days, at the abbey of St. Bertin, was adviſed to go to Soiſſons. Here he was viſited by the French monarch, who promiſed him his protection, and offered him the free uſe of the royal treaſury. The prelate thanked him, but refuſed, at this time, his gracious offer. He proceeded to Sens. The cardinals received him coolly; but Alexander admitted him to his preſence, ſympathiſed with all his feelings, and appointed a ſolemn audience for the next day. The next day the whole court aſſembled, and the primate thus opened his defence. —"Though I pretend to no ſuperiority of underſtanding; "yet, ſurely, I am not ſo weak, as, without cauſe, to have "quitted England and its king. Had I been diſpoſed to "gratify his will in all things, my commands through his "realm would have been cheerfully obeyed. Whilſt, in "that manner, I did ſerve him, in what did not ſucceſs "crown all my wiſhes? But when I adopted another con-"duct, mindful of my profeſſion and of the duties I owed "to God, then began to cool the affection he had ever "ſhewn me. Still, even now, were I willing to recede "from my purpoſe, I ſhould want no mediator to plead "my cauſe. The church of Canterbury was once deemed "the weſtern ſun; but its brightneſs is now obſcured. "Rather therefore I would ſuffer any torment and many "deaths, than by diſſembling, countenance the evils to "which, in theſe days, ſhe is expoſed. Leſt you ſhould "imagine, I have wantonly, and from vain oſtentation, "engaged

[f] Vit. c. 9. Gerv. Dicet. an. 1164.

BOOK II. 1164.

"engaged in this conteſt, yourſelves ſhall judge." So ſaying, he produced the copy of the *cuſtoms* he had received at Clarendon. "Behold," continued he, "what the "king of England has enacted againſt the liberty of the "church! Yourſelves will tell me, whether with a ſafe "conſcience, theſe laws may be tolerated[g]!"

The conſtitutions were read: when even they, who till now had oppoſed the archbiſhop, loudly praiſed his conduct; and the court came to an unanimous reſolution, That, *in the perſon of the primate, the univerſal church ſhould be ſuccoured.* Alexander more than once peruſed the ſtatutes: then turning, with great emotion, to Becket, he ſeverely reprimanded him for having ſo weakly promiſed to obey them. He added: "Though amongſt theſe cuſtoms, which "you have heared, there be none good, yet ſome there are "which the church may tolerate. The others have been "condemned by ancient councils, and are contrary to the "holy canons."—The court proceeded ſeverally to examine the articles, noting what they *condemned*, and what they *tolerated.* The latter are but ſix: the 2, 6, 11, 13, 14, 16, as before ſtated.—Then addreſſing the primate, Alexander ſaid: "You weakly fell, indeed, but you roſe again; "have ſince ſuffered much; and before you left England, "applied to me for the pardon of your tranſgreſſion. "Your repentance and the ſacrifices you have made, merit "indulgence."

On the following day, as the pope and cardinals were in a more private room, the archbiſhop entered, and thus accoſted them. "My fathers and lords: It is no where "lawful

[g] Vit. c. 10, 11. Gerv. ib.

" lawful to ſpeak untruly, much leſs in the preſence of " God and you. Wherefore I confeſs it freely, but with " tears, that it is my own guilt which has brought theſe " troubles on the Engliſh church. I aſcended into the " fold of Chriſt, not by the door, for it was not a canoni- " cal election which called me, but the terror of ſecular " power which forced me in. Unwillingly, it is true, I " accepted the charge, yet it was the will of man, and not " of God, which induced me. What wonder then, if I " have ſucceeded ſo ill. However, as my brethren urged " me, had I ſurrendered my ſee, when the king threatened, " how pernicious an example ſhould I have left to the " church. I deferred it to the preſent hour. And now, " making the acknowledgment you have heared, and " fearing for the event; ſenſible, likewiſe, how unequal " my ſtrength is to the burthen, leſt the flock, by my " means, ſhould periſh, which it is my duty to feed, into " your hands, holy father, I reſign my ſee." He took the ring from his finger, and gave it to the pontiff. The aſſembly was much moved.

A fair occaſion was now offered for the termination of this unhappy controverſy, and Alexander withdrew with the cardinals. — Were his reſignation accepted, he might be provided with another ſee, and the king's anger being appeaſed, he would be more eaſily managed. Such was the opinion of many. Others contended that, the example would prove fatal to the church, if he who had protected her liberties, and withſtood every allurement, ſhould be thus ſacrificed. Rather, they ſaid, he muſt be compelled to reſume his charge, and we will ſupport the champion

BOOK II. 1164.

who has fought our battles. The majority approved this opinion, and the primate was called; when Alexander told him, how much they were now convinced of his zeal for religion, and of the purity of his motives; that what fault there might have been in his promotion, was cancelled by its acknowledgment and by the reſignation he had made; that he reſtored him to all his functions, which he might exerciſe with ſecurity; that practiſed as he had been in the ſchool of adverſity, they viewed him as a model for imitation, dear to God and men, dear to himſelf and to the Roman church; in a word, that as he had been his fellow-ſufferer and his aſſociate in perſecution, he would never deſert him, as long as God ſhould give him life. "But as "hitherto," he concluded, "you have lived in affluence; "and it is proper you ſhould learn the leſſons which poverty "only can teach, I commend you to this holy perſon, "(ſhewing him the abbot of Pontigny who ſtood near,) that "under his roof you may live in that ſimple form, which "becomes an exile and the ſoldier of Chriſt. There, con-"tent with little, paſs the days which remain, till conſo-"lation come, and peace once more reviſit us. In the "mean time, be firm, and oppoſe them manfully who ſhall "diſturb the general concord." He gave him his benediction; and the primate, ſoon afterwards, leaving Sens, with the abbot of Pontigny, retired with him to his convent, a houſe of the Ciſtercian order, ſituated on the confines of Burgundy. He put on the coarſe habit of the order, and entered into the diſcipline of the monaſtic life[h]. It was about the beginning of December.

[h] Vita c. 11, 12, 13. Gerv. ib.

I have

I have been minute in relating theſe tranſactions, becauſe they lead to a long ſeries of events, and becauſe, beſides that they are curious, they ſerve to develope the characters of men, with whom the reader muſt wiſh to be acquainted.—When the primate arrived in France, the proſpect before him was uncertain; rather he had every reaſon to apprehend, that the power and influence of Henry would raiſe up new enemies againſt him, and cool the ardor of his friends. The benign countenance of the French king diſſipated, in part, theſe alarms; but he knew the temper of the papal court, where his cauſe muſt be ultimately decided. Was he ſure that Alexander himſelf, in the criſis I have deſcribed, would riſk ſo great a ſtake, when a temporary connivance, perhaps, might avert the evil? With a mind thus agitated, he opened his defence at Sens, and few orators, I think, have equalled him. He ſays nothing of the charges exhibited at Northampton, becauſe they were of a civil nature, and as they principally regarded himſelf, might, he feared, excite but a cool intereſt in the breaſts of his hearers. The ſtatutes of Clarendon he brings forward. Well was he aware of their oppoſition to ſome favourite maxims of the Roman court. But on them even he does not pronounce: he refers the deciſion to their own judgment. At once all minds are with him, and his cauſe is pronounced to be their cauſe and the cauſe of God.

When we ſee how peremptorily, and without diſcuſſion even, the major part of thoſe ſtatutes are pronounced to be contrary to the evident diſcipline of the church, all ſurpriſe, ſurely, muſt ceaſe, that our primate ſhould ſo reluctantly have ſubmitted to them. And if, after this ſubmiſſion, he

BOOK II. 1164.

repented, and ſought for pardon, in what was he cenſureable? Ignorantly, or from motives of intereſt, or of policy, or of adulation, it was aſſerted, that they were the ancient cuſtoms of the realm. It could not be; nor was there any preſcription in their favour. The temper of Lanfranc, (in the reign of the conqueror,) is well known; but more than that, can it be imagined that Anſelm, firm as he was for the immunities of the church, would have given his ſanction to theſe pretended cuſtoms? Yet from his time principally, the reign of Henry I. it is ſaid, they claimed their origin. I touch not the ſpirit of the ſtatutes, nor their rational tendency. The maxims of the twelfth century, in church as in ſtate, are not to be eſtimated by ſuch meaſures, as ſucceeding ages or ourſelves have thought it expedient to adopt.

Becket having engaged the Roman court to condemn the cuſtoms of Clarendon, and to eſpouſe the general quarrel, thought the moment favourable to a more perſonal enquiry. He knew how much it was his enemies wiſh to procure his depoſition, and that every artifice would be uſed to effect it. Nothing could ſo radically obſtruct their deſign, as a ſolemn confirmation of his election, by the pontiff and the Roman court. He reſigns, therefore, the ſee of Canterbury into their hands, and does it in a manner to rouſe their feelings, and to command their intereſt. In a moment of depreſſion, ſome remorſe might have ariſen from the undue influence, which, he ſays, raiſed him to the ſee; but it will appear that, he did not always view it in ſo unfavourable a light. It might alſo be that, fatigued by troubles, and ſeeing no proſpect of happier days, his mind recoiled

1164.

recoiled from the conteſt, and wiſhed for repoſe. However this may have been, he was reinſtated in all his honours, applauſe was given to his conduct, he was pronounced the champion of the church, and the pontiff, by a ſolemn promiſe, engaged to be his protector. — If the primate's mind, naturally inflexible, from this accumulation of incidents, became more firm; if, from this time, more than ever, he conſidered the cauſe as highly ſacred, in which he was embarked; if a tincture of holy zeal or of enthuſiaſm, to which, before, he was perhaps a ſtranger, began to warm his thoughts, to invigorate his expreſſions, and to precipitate his actions, the effect was but natural, and ſhould cauſe no ſurpriſe. The retirement of Pontigny would co-operate with the general impreſſion.

Henry's revenge.

The return of his miniſters from their ineffectual embaſſy, but more than that, the news of the protection the primate had received from the French monarch, and from the papal court at Sens, blew into a flame the fiery ſoul of Henry. He confiſcated the eſtates of the archbiſhop, and of thoſe who had followed him, or had abetted his cauſe. To correſpond with him, or to aſſiſt him in his exile, was declared to be criminal; and he forbad his name to be mentioned in the public prayers of the church. Nor was he yet ſatisfied. By a general proſcription, all his relations, friends, and dependents, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were exiled, to the number of nearly four hundred perſons. Their lands alſo and goods were ſeized; and an oath was exacted from them, that they would go, without delay, to the archbiſhop, that he might be burthened with the charge of their maintenance, and ſuffer from the ſpectacle of their diſtreſs.

BOOK II.

1164.

diſtreſs.—The exiles crowded to Pontigny, and its ſolitude was diſturbed by their cries. Soon, however, a general compaſſion was raiſed. The pope uſed his intereſt; the king of France gave them his protection; Becket wrote letters to all his friends; and even as far as Sicily, an aſylum was opened to the diſtreſſed[i]. — Wonderful, indeed, it was, that the king, in his anger, ſhould ſo far have loſt ſight of the moſt obvious policy, as to adopt a meaſure, which could only exalt the primate's cauſe, and bring down infamy on his own. I ſay nothing of the cruelty of this indiſcriminate proſcription.

1165.

A conference projected.

A rupture was now apprehended between the kings of France and England. The countenance ſhewn to Becket had much irritated the latter, and beſides, Louis having married his other daughter by Eleanor, to his brother in law, the count of Blois, had inveſted him with the high office of ſeneſchal, regardleſs of the rights of the earl of Anjou, to whom it belonged. Henry was earl of Anjou. Leſs provocations than theſe were, at that time, ſufficient to kindle the flames of war, and to lay kingdoms waſte: but, fortunately, ſuch quarrels were as ſuddenly terminated, as they were precipitately begun. Matilda who, as has been ſaid, reſided conſtantly in Normandy, ſaw the riſing ſtorm, and wiſhed to avert it. She ſent a meſſenger to Alexander, requeſting that he would mediate between her ſon and Louis, with an intimation that peace, ſhe doubted not, might thus be reſtored to the Engliſh church. The pope accepted the chriſtian office, and prevailed on the kings to meet at Giſors: but the interview was fruitleſs.

Among

[i] Vita c. 14. Gerv. Hoveden. Neubrig.

1165.

Among other matters of diſcuſſion, they debated the affair of the primate. Henry inſiſted, that his ſubmiſſion ſhould be abſolute, and that Louis ſhould no longer protect him. To this the latter would not conſent: they parted therefore.—A conference was then propoſed between Henry and the pope; to which the king agreed, provided Becket were not preſent. The archbiſhop, however, by letter, diſſuaded his holineſs from the interview, aſſuring him that, without an interpreter, ſkilled in the king's language, and acquainted, as himſelf was, with his character, he would be circumvented by his ſubtilty. "Give this anſwer to "your king," then ſaid Alexander to the meſſengers who waited, "that the Roman church has never, at the com-"mand of princes, refuſed her protection to any one, "particularly when exiled in the cauſe of juſtice. To ſuc-"cour the oppreſſed, againſt the violence of their enemies, "however great and powerful, is a privilege granted from "above to the apoſtolic ſee[k]." The proud reply, which a fortunate turn in his circumſtances ſeems to have dictated, put an end to the projected conference. Henry haſtened back into England, whither affairs of moment called him; and Alexander prepared to return to Rome.

Alexander returns to Rome.

The Romans, ſenſible, at laſt, that the abſence of their biſhop with his court, was prejudicial to them; urged, beſides, by the admonitions of the cardinal vicar, and by the ſums of money he largely diſtributed; ſoon after the death of Octavian, had requeſted Alexander to return to the chair of St. Peter. He took the advice of his court, and of the kings who had protected him in their territories.

The

[k] Vit. c. 16. Joan. Sariſb. ep. 31. Dan. hiſt. de Fran. p. 320.

BOOK II.

1165.

The latter particularly, whoſe realms had felt the burthen of his preſence, were of opinion, that he ſhould inſtantly comply with the wiſhes of the Roman people. He left Sens, in the beginning of the month of April, immediately after the feaſt of eaſter, and paſſing ſlowly through the provinces to the ſouth, by Paris, Bourges, Clermont, and Pui, came to Montpellier, which he left in the month of Auguſt, and embarked, with his court, at Maguelone. The elements, it is ſaid, and the machinations of his enemies, obſtructed his voyage; but he landed ſafe in the port of Meſſina. His friend and vaſſal, William of Sicily, received him with his wonted kindneſs, loaded him with preſents, and ordering a red-painted galley to be prepared for his holineſs, and four others for his attendants, he ſent the archbiſhop of Reggio, with a train of his nobles, to eſcort him triumphantly to Rome. The Roman people came out to meet him, and he entered the city amidſt the warmeſt congratulations of the ſenators, citizens, and clergy. But it was the 21ſt of November, after a journey of more than ſeven months [1].

Henry ſuſpected of inclining to the antipope, is cleared by Foliot.

In the month of May, Frederic had held a diet at Wurtzbourg in Franconia, where himſelf, the princes of the empire, and many of the German prelates, ſolemnly pledged themſelves by oath, to ſupport Paſcal, and never to acknowledge Alexander. Embaſſadors from Henry were at Wurtzbourg, Richard of Ivelcheſter, archdeacon of Poitiers, and John of Oxford, a chaplain to the king. In a moment of irritation, Henry had propoſed, it ſeems, to ſend a more ſolemn embaſſy. What inſtructions his meſſengers

[1] Acta Alex. an. 1165. Neubrig. c. 17.

meſſengers had received, or what they propoſed, in their maſter's name, to the diet, is uncertain. The emperor, indeed, in a circular letter, aſſerts, that they took the oath, juſt mentioned, and renounced all obedience to Alexander, for the king and the realm of England. But this is afterwards contradicted, on ſuch good authority, as to make it evident, either that the embaſſadors exceeded their commiſſion, or that Henry was aſhamed of an order he had precipitately given, to frighten the pontiff into a weak compliance with his wiſhes [m].

Alexander, while on his journey, heared at Clermont of theſe tranſactions, and immediately wrote to the biſhop of London, the confidential friend and ſpiritual director of Henry. He complains that the king, by communicating with ſchiſmatics and men notoriouſly excommunicated, had abandoned the church, which he perſecuted in the perſon of the primate of Canterbury. He therefore orders Gilbert, that he join the biſhop of Hereford, (the learned Robert de Melun,) and that they both labour to reclaim Henry to his former veneration for the holy ſee, that he neither hinder appeals or journeys to Rome, and that he reſtore the archbiſhop [n]. It is dated the tenth of July.

Gilbert replied; That with his brother of Hereford, agreeably to the orders of his holineſs, he had waited on the king, even when, at the head of his army, he was marching into Wales, and had laid his paternal remonſtrances before him, in all their truth and ſtrength of colouring. With many thanks, ſays he, he received your correction, and replied with great modeſty to each article:—that his

[m] Ep. S. Th. Ed. Brux. ep. 69, 70, 71, 72, 102.

[n] Ib. ep. 37.

BOOK II. 1165.

mind has never been turned from you; and that while you continued to behave as a father to him, he would make a filial return, and would humbly obey you, not forgetting, at the ſame time, what he owed to himſelf, and the dignity of his crown: — that if he has not ſhewn you the ſame reſpect as formerly, the reaſon was; that, having aided you, as he had done, when you wanted his ſuccour, you, in return, had hardly complied with a ſingle petition he had made:—that ſtill he remained immoveably fixed in his obedience to you; wherefore, that he will hinder no one from viſiting the Roman court, nor hitherto, he ſays, has he ever done it.—With regard to appeals; That he conſiders it as an ancient privilege of his realm, that no clerk, in a civil cauſe, ſhall go out of his kingdom, unleſs he ſhall have firſt endeavoured, by his authority, to obtain legal juſtice, but that, when this has been done, he may freely appeal to you, nor will he oppoſe it. — That, though he knew the emperor was a ſchiſmatic, he had not, till now, heared of his excommunication; that in his tranſactions, however, with him, he would abide by the judgment of the Engliſh church.—That he had not expelled the primate from his realm; and that he was free to return as he had freely departed, whenever it ſhould pleaſe him, provided he were diſpoſed to make him the ſatisfaction he had demanded, and to obſerve the royal cuſtoms to which he had ſworn.—The biſhop concludes by entreating his holineſs to proceed with the greateſt moderation; and he tells him that ſeverity may drive the king and many of his people to withdraw from his obedience[o]. The king, he obſerves, may

[o] Ep. 38.

may be ſoftened by mildneſs, and be conquered by admonitions and patience.

About the ſame time, another letter, nearly in ſimilar terms, was written to the cardinals by the king, or rather, by Foliot in the king's name.—The pope was pleaſed, and, in a ſecond epiſtle, thanking the biſhop for his ſervices, he entreats him often to repeat his good advice to Henry, and to take for his co-adjutors the archbiſhop of Rouen, the biſhop of Hereford, and the empreſs Matilda; nor does he forget again to recommend to him the cauſe of the primate. He was then juſt embarking on the Mediterranean ſea.

The archbiſhop of Rouen thus wrote to Henry, cardinal prieſt of St. Nereus: "For our lord, the king of England, "I can ſecurely anſwer, that by himſelf, or by his meſ- "ſengers, he never ſwore or promiſed to the emperor, to "adhere to the antipope, and to relinquiſh Alexander. "And this I alſo know, that, in regard to the matrimonial "treaty, to effect which the Germans laboured much, "Henry would make no conceſſions, but what ſhould be "conſiſtent with his obedience to Alexander and the "church. The empreſs, however, and myſelf, have ſtre- "nuouſly inſiſted that he make all haſte to remove this "ſtigma from his honour."

The marriage, here ſpoken of, was between Matilda, the eldeſt daughter of the king, and Henry, ſurnamed the Lion, whom I have more than once mentioned, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, to whom, in the luſtre of his family, and extent of his dominions, few kings were equal. But in perſonal endowments of mind and body, perhaps, he ſurpaſſed them all. An embaſſy waited on the king, at the

BOOK II. 1165.

head of which was the archbiſhop of Cologne, the favourite of Frederic, and his principal miniſter. They were received with extraordinary honours, and the duke's propoſal was accepted. It is alſo ſaid that an alliance was, at the ſame time, agreed on between the emperor and Henry. The earl of Leiceſter only, the grand juſticiary, either becauſe he diſliked the match, or probably from a conſcientious motive, refuſed all communication with the embaſſador, who was the chief abettor of the ſchiſm, and then excommunicated by Alexander. After his departure, the altars, on which he or his chaplains had officiated, were overturned by the people. So much was the nation attached to the cauſe of Alexander [p]. — The princeſs, now an infant, was not conducted to her huſband till three years afterwards.

War with the Welſh.

Impatient of further controul, but pretending that the earl of Chepſtow had aſſaſſinated his nephew, and forgetful of the fealty he had lately ſworn to Henry, Rhees ap Gryffyth, king of South Wales, a fourth time drew the ſword againſt his lord, and, by his ſpirited exertions, ſoon united into one grand confederacy all the princes of the land. Such unanimity, for many years, had not been ſeen. The powers of North Wales were commanded by Owen Gwyneth; thoſe of the South by Rhees ap Gryffyth; and under the ſtandard of Owen Cyveliock and the five ſons of Madoc ap Meredyth, ſtood the men of Powis-land. Henry had been appriſed of the ſtorm, but well aware how difficult it would be to ſtem its fury, he had taken time to collect a large army even from the diſtant provinces of his dominions. With this formidable hoſt, he entered Wales, in the month of

[p] Diceto an. 1165.

of July. Hoping that the terror of his approach might break the confederacy, and induce ſome of the princes to join him, he encamped near Oſweſtry. But they remained all conſtant, all intrepid; in numbers little inferior to the king, and by the natural ſtrength of the country decidedly his ſuperiors. The two armies approached. Henry advanced to the river Ciereoc, and fearing ſome ambuſcade, he ordered the woods to be cut down, which covered its banks. His vanguard, in which he had poſted the flower of his army, was inſtantly attacked, and a bloody action enſued. But the Engliſh prevailed, and gaining the river, the king paſſed it, and again encamped at the foot of Berwin, one of the higheſt mountains in Wales. On the top of this mountain, and on its ſides, as a lowering cloud, hung the Welſh army. Henry was ſoon ſenſible, how imprudently he had advanced: the enemy would not come to action; but they cut off his proviſions, and flying parties haraſſed his troops whenever they attempted to move. A want of victuals and forage was ſoon felt. In addition, violent and inceſſant rains fell for ſome days, which in torrents poured down into the vale, where the Engliſh lay. They were compelled to retire; and, in his retreat, Henry acted a ſcene of impotent cruelty, which would have diſgraced a tyrant. The hoſtages he had received, at the laſt ſubmiſſion of the Welſh princes, were ſtill with him: the eyes of theſe unfortunate youths he now ordered to be put out; and among them were two ſons of Rhees ap Gryffyth, and two of Owen Gwyneth.

Made ſenſible, at laſt, which experience ſhould have ſooner told him, that the Welſh could not be conquered by

BOOK II. 1165.

by the mode of attack he had adopted, the Engliſh monarch reſolved to revert to the plan of operations, which he had before practiſed with ſucceſs. This was, to land his troops along the coaſt, and deſolate the country. He marched to Cheſter, commanding his ſhips to be collected. But, in the midſt of theſe preparations, ſuddenly he broke up his camp, and diſcharged his army, leaving his caſtles in Wales, and the neighbouring counties, expoſed to the fury of an inſulting and exaſperated enemy. What were his fears, or what his motives, the hiſtorians of the age do not tell us; nor can it be at all conjectured, from any circumſtances of the times. It ſhould ſeem, as if he preferred the war of controverſy with his primate, to the bold reſiſtance of ap Gryffyth and his hardy allies. But his reputation and intereſt ſuffered by the event: for the Welſh princes, ſeparating their forces, marched againſt the different caſtles which belonged to the Engliſh, and ſome they demoliſhed, and ſome they preſerved. Wales was again independent [q].

Henry ſoon experienced another mortification. Ambitious as he was of his own aggrandiſement, and that of his family, his mind had long indulged the pleaſing hope, that the united crowns of France and England might poſſibly deſcend to his children. His eldeſt ſon was married to the princeſs of France; and Louis was advanced in years, and had no male iſſue. But the airy dream now vaniſhed. On the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt was born Philip, ſurnamed Auguſtus, a prince ſent by providence to exalt the French name, and to humble even Henry, in his latter days, and the houſe of Plantagenet. The joy of France, on the event, was unbounded. The

[q] Welſh Chron. an. 1165. Neubrig. c. 18. Gerv.

The bishop of Lisieux writes to Becket.

The order of time, and the important contents, permit me to give the substance of a letter, which the bishop of Lisieux, with whom the reader is acquainted, a prelate well versed in the politics of the court of England, wrote to Becket. He, whom the controversy interests, will pardon the abrupt insertion.—"Men," says he, "who pre-
"tend to fathom the intention, did once believe that you
"were actuated by ambition, and that your object was to
"extend your own power, and to vie with majesty: that,
"therefore, you had resisted your sovereign's commands,
"hoping that others might be awed by your example. It
"was reported, that you had said among your friends,
"that his inconsiderate youth was not to be flattered,
"but to be vigorously repressed: that you were best ac-
"quainted with his dispositions, and that he was conscious
"how necessary you were to him. These reflections were
"repeated to his majesty; when he angrily observed, that
"as his dignity was at stake, he must exert all his power
"and address; for that you were not a man to recede
"from your purposes.—But every doubt, which was on
"our minds, is now dissipated, and the purity of your
"motives is become so evident, that honest men are
"rejoiced, and your enemies are confounded. Justice
"and the liberty of the church you preferred to every
"earthly emolument; for had you consented to these *new*
"*abuses*, not only might you have lived in peace; you
"might have reigned with your prince. Yet even in the
"cause you supported, you would have proved invincible,
"had not they deserted you, whose duty it was to have
"remained firm. Their weakness gave courage to your
"adversaries.

BOOK II. 1165.

" adverſaries. You even expoſed your life: but it ſeems " that there the king was indulgent, and had not loſt all " affection for you. He ſtrove to intimidate you into " compliance. He could have hindered your eſcape from " England; and remaining there, nor would you have had " ſo much power againſt him, nor would his enemies have " had occaſion to revile him.

" Often conſider what your cauſe is; who is your oppo- " nent; and who are your protectors. Your cauſe is " manifeſtly juſt, ſince you contend for the liberty of the " church, which cannot be attacked without intereſting " our faith.—But you have an opponent, who cauſes diſ- " tant nations to tremble by his policy, his neighbours by " his power, and his ſubjects by his ſeverity: whom proſ- " perity has rendered ſo irritable, that a common failure " in politeneſs he deems an inſult. By ſubmiſſion, indeed, " and patient forbearance, he may, ſometimes, be ma- " naged; but he will not brook the leaſt conſtraint, that " his own will may ſeem to be his only guide. So much " does he look for praiſe, as even to be charmed by flat- " tery. — This it was that drew your ſuffragans ſo baſely " from you. Rely not, therefore, on them, for having " cauſed the diviſion; they are not inſtruments to effect a " reconciliation. — The inferior clergy, for the moſt part, " love you much; but the fear of baniſhment withholds " them; and they are contented to ſigh, and in ſecret to " expreſs their wiſhes for your ſafety.—As to the nobility, it " is well known, that they have formed, as it were, a con- " ſpiracy againſt the church, in all things to oppoſe her " honour and advantage. At their expence, they are

" perſuaded,

" perſuaded ſhe acquires wealth and dignity. When an " occaſion, they deem favourable, offers, then appears " their ardour; while they pretend, it is the intereſt of " the ſtate only, which they contend for. They ſay; the " king ſhould not govern with leſs dignity than his prede- " ceſſors, who were leſs powerful than he; and every " attempt they made, however contrary to religion and " reaſon, theſe men pretend was a part of the royal pre- " rogative. By flattery they prevail on him to engage in " conteſts, hoping in fact, that his power may be weakened " in the quarrel; and that themſelves ſhall recover their " loſt privilege of tranſgreſſing the laws with impunity.

" When you conſider the aſſiſtance you may draw from " ſtrangers, with me you muſt allow, that their firſt offers " are gracious and abundant; but that the warmth of " their friendſhip ſoon cools. Great moderation, there- " fore, and abſtemiouſneſs, are neceſſary.—Loſe not cou- " rage from the view of a probable continuation of adverſe " fortune; nor let a conſciouſneſs of the equity of your " cauſe, give obſtinacy to your reſolution. What is not " criminal, and really dangerous to religion, that bear " with. When you cannot correct, diſſemble for a time. " Things do not always remain in the ſame ſtate; and " God, as he pleaſes, turns the hearts of kings. Should " a favourable occaſion offer, receive it with open arms; " and if an accommodation be propoſed, diſcuſs not its " terms too nicely, leſt it generate altercation. Reſt on " general conditions; and be ſatisfied, if nothing be ex- " preſsly mentioned, which may affect the liberty of the " church. Look not for triumph in the eyes of men: on

BOOK II. 1165.

" the contrary, permit his majeſty to enjoy the honour of " victory, provided your own conſcience give you praiſe " before God.

" As to myſelf, be perſuaded, I will ſerve you faithfully " and as a friend; for I know that you ſacrifice your fortune " and your perſon for us. But it will be neceſſary that, " outwardly I appear your enemy. If thought your friend, " I ſhould neither be believed nor be attended to. By " counterfeiting I ſhall ſerve you more effectually. Do " not loſe courage. The king is ſoon to return into Nor- " mandy, when your friends will be better able to manage " your concerns with him. They ſay, he is become more " tractable, owing to ſome apprehenſions he entertains of the " French monarch and of his ſubjects here. Nor is he in- " different to the indignation of the pontiff, whom his " conduct has irritated. In England, ſo diſturbed, by your " abſence, is the ſtate of government, that neither civil " concerns, nor thoſe of the church, are duly adminiſtered. " The whole order of things is confounded. Farewell; " and if you mention the contents of this letter, take care " to conceal my name[r]."

The good ſenſe of this epiſtle, the advice it conveys to the primate, the view it exhibits of the king's diſpoſitions and of the general ſtate of parties, and its uncommon perſpicuity of ideas and preciſion of language, are admirable. The cauſe of Becket, when thus delineated by one who knew it well, and who was attached to Henry, will ceaſe, I truſt, to preſent thoſe odious features, with which it is generally portrayed. The original, which I have greatly abridged, in every view is an excellent compoſition.

Nor

[r] Ep. 85.

1166.

Hereticks puniſhed.

Nor can I omit another event.—Certain German heretics were examined before a ſynod at Oxford, which had been convened for the purpoſe. They were of the ſect of thoſe, who, in the ſouth of France, ſoon acquired the name of *Albigenſes*, and had come into England, about thirty in number, men and women, to diſſeminate their doctrines. At their head was one Gerard, whom they regarded as their maſter, a man of ſome learning; whereas his diſciples were illiterate and ſimple ruſtics. One proſelyte they had made, a female, though they had been ſome years in the country, when they were apprehended and caſt into priſon. The king would not releaſe them, nor puniſh them, unexamined; but convoked a ſynod. Before it the Germans were brought, and being aſked, what their belief was? Gerard, in the name of the reſt, anſwered; "that they were chriſtians, "and venerated the doctrine of the apoſtles." They were then examined particularly, on the ſeveral articles of faith; when, by their anſwers it appeared, that they rejected baptiſm, the euchariſt, and marriage. Regarding the perſon of Chriſt, their belief was orthodox. Being preſſed with texts of ſcripture, they ſaid, "that they believed as they "were taught; but would not diſpute about their faith." Admoniſhed to repent, they deſpiſed the counſel; and when menaced with puniſhment, they ſmiled, and replied: "Bleſſed are they who ſuffer perſecution for the ſake of "righteouſneſs, for their's is the kingdom of heaven." The biſhops, therefore, condemned them as heretics, and delivered them to the king to be puniſhed. He commanded them to be branded on the forehead with a hot iron, to be publicly whipt, and be expelled from the town; and he

BOOK II. 1166.

forbad his ſubjects to receive them into their houſes, or to give them any relief. They ſubmitted to their ſentence with wonderful alacrity; and Gerard received an additional ſtigma on the chin. Their cloaths being then torn off to the waiſt, the remaining part of the ſentence was cruelly executed. It was winter, and no one giving them the leaſt aſſiſtance, they all periſhed miſerably. Our countrywoman, by a timely recantation, eſcaped the threatened puniſhment. Theſe, ſays the hiſtorian, were the firſt ſectaries, who, ſince the expulſion of the Britons, had come into England; and the *pious rigour*, he thinks, would prove a bar to the ingreſs of others[s]. At that time to become a reformer, demanded the ſpirit of a hero or of a madman.

The primate appointed legate, writes to the king.

Alexander, ſoon after his return to Rome, mindful of the champion he had left at Pontigny, appointed him his legate in England, thus inveſting him with all the powers, which belonged to his immediate repreſentative. Only the dioceſe of York was exempted from his juriſdiction. The notification of this appointment was immediately ſent to the biſhop of London, by the primate, and with it letters from himſelf, addreſſed to many of his ſuffragans. The packet, while Gilbert was at the altar, was put into his hands by a ſtranger. Alarmed at the contents, he wrote to the king, expreſſing the anxiety of his mind. "But "when the pope commands," ſays he, "no appeal can "avail; nor is there any remedy: we muſt obey. We "are commanded to ſubmit to his legate; to oblige thoſe "to reſtitution, who, by your order, have received the "revenues of his clergy, abſent with him; and to collect "the

[s] Neubrig. c. 13.

" the peter-pence which is due to his holineſs. We throw " ourſelves at your feet, requeſting we may be permitted " to obey theſe orders. But I adviſe, ſhould the primate's " letters be found to contain any thing contrary to the " cuſtoms of the realm, that your majeſty command the " biſhops inſtantly to appeal to the pope, or to the legates " he ſhall appoint[t]."

The primate's life in his convent is warmly delineated by his hiſtorians. The day he ſpent in prayer, in the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, and in the religious exerciſes of the monaſtic life. With reluctance did he ceaſe from theſe occupations, and cloſe his eyes to reſt. But when the buſineſs of the field called the monks to labour, he alſo went out with them, and he helped to make their hay, and to reap their corn. His health declined much. The ſtudy of eccleſiaſtical polity was a favourite purſuit with him; and he ſpent much time in examining the laws and canons of the church[u]. In them he had been initiated at Bologna; but the diſputes he was engaged in, now reanimated his ardour. Unfortunately, the reſearch would but confirm his firſt ideas, and open higher views of the rights and immunities, for which he had deemed it his duty to contend. There was then no clue to lead to the detection of the ſpurious canons, which were every where circulated, and every where obeyed; how then was our primate to eſcape from the mazy labyrinth? His friend, however, and ſecretary, John of Saliſbury, ſtrongly diſſuaded him from the ſtudy, aware, from the diſpoſitions and circumſtances of his maſter, of its obvious effect. The primate, rouſed by reflection, convinced

[t] Ep. 131.

[u] Ep. 31. Gerv. an. 1166.

BOOK II. 1166.

convinced daily more how unjuſtly he was perſecuted, ſolicited by his friends in exile, elated by the protection of the French king, but more by that of the pontiff, and ſenſible that the legatine powers were not given to remain idle, began to conclude, as well from character as from conſcience, that his own and the church's cauſe ſhould be more actively ſupported. He reſolved to write to the king.

He wrote an *admonitory* letter, in terms gentle and unaſſuming, wherein he repreſents that his duty can no longer permit him to be ſilent, and exhorts the king to reſtore to the Engliſh church the liberty he had taken from her. The letter was ſent by an abbot of the Ciſtercian order, who returned with a verbal reply, harſh and reproachful[v]. — He wrote a ſecond letter, *commonitory* as the firſt; but more full, ſcholaſtic, and pointed. He expreſſes an earneſt deſire of ſeeing the king: he ſpecifies what are his own duties to him, as to his lord, his king, and his ſon: he tells him that he is a king by the grace of God, to improve his own character for the edification of others, and to reward and puniſh, by the power he received from the church at his coronation, and by the ſword he bears to cruſh her enemies. The church, he obſerves, is compoſed of two orders, the clergy and the people; that to the firſt belongs the general adminiſtration of all eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual concerns, and to the ſecond, which compriſes kings, barons, and their officers, civil and ſecular affairs, to the end that all things may tend to the peace and unity of the church. He repeats it as a certain truth, that kings derive their power from the church; and therefore, when by his cuſtoms of Clarendon

[v] Ep. 63. Gerv.

Clarendon he preſcribed certain duties to the biſhops, that he tranſgreſſed the obvious order of things. He puts him in mind of his coronation-oath, whereby he engaged to protect the liberty of the church. He entreats him to reinſtate the church of Canterbury in her former condition and dignity; to reſtore all her poſſeſſions, her caſtles, manors, farms, his own property and that of his friends, all which he had ſeized and diſtributed; and to allow him to return to his ſee, freely and peaceably: "Then," ſaid he, "I "am ready to ſerve you, as my deareſt lord and king, "with fidelity and attachment, in all things I may be able, "ſaving the honour of God, of the Roman church, "and of my own order; otherwiſe be aſſured, that you "will experience the ſeverity of heaven and its vengeance[w]." —The reader will not be ſurpriſed, that the monks who bore this letter, were treated with ſome aſperity: but the ſubject is curious, as it diſtinctly marks the leading maxims of the church, which then prevailed, and the terms, on which the primate ſeemed to think, a conciliation only could be effected.

Henry goes into France.

That Henry was abroad at the beginning of this correſpondence, does not appear; but we are told that he quitted England towards the end of winter. The queen had been left regent in Maine and Aquitaine, and ſome of the barons had diſobeyed her commands. Theſe he puniſhed. An affair of great moment then called him into Bretagne. —The duke Conan, long haraſſed by his turbulent nobility, and unable to reſiſt a powerful confederacy formed againſt him, had recourſe to Henry, who, as earl of Nantes, already

[w] Ep. 64.

BOOK II. 1166.

already had ſome intereſt in the province. Conan had an only daughter, Conſtantia, heireſs to all his poſſeſſions. It was propoſed that ſhe ſhould marry Geoffry, the king's third ſon. No propoſal could be more alluring; and Henry inſtantly marched with the troops he had with him; laid waſte the lands of the rebellious barons; demoliſhed their caſtles; and ſoon reduced them to ſue for peace. The grateful Conan then, not only ſurrendered his daughter into his hands, but with her the whole dutchy of Bretagne, which he was to adminiſter till Geoffry ſhould be capable of governing, reſerving only to himſelf the earldom of Guingamp. To this the Bretons themſelves readily conſented; and Henry, in his ſon's name, taking poſſeſſion of the province, received the homage of his new vaſſals. It was to his own power a vaſt acquiſition, and the Bretons had reaſon to rejoice in the change. A deſolated country, and an unhappy tenantry, ſoon recovered from the oppreſſion of their lawleſs barons; while the ſtrong arm of Henry gave inhabitants to the towns and villages, and culture to the plains. They are the words of the hiſtorian[x].

News being brought into Europe of the diſtreſſed ſituation of the chriſtians in Paleſtine, Louis, with the advice of his council, laid a tax on all the effects of his ſubjects, to be levied for five years, and ſtrongly exhorted Henry to imitate his example. He took his advice, and ſummoned a meeting of his vaſſals at Mans. They agreed to the regulation; and a ſtatute was made, whereby each perſon, on all his poſſeſſions, was to pay twopence in the pound, for the firſt year, and a penny for the four years enſuing. The regulation

[x] Neubrig. c. 18. Chron. Norm. Diceto.

regulation affected all orders of men, from the higheſt prelate and baron, to the loweſt peaſant. The king firſt ſwore to obſerve the ſtatute, and then the archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, barons, knights, and vavaſors, engaging themſelves that all under their power ſhould ſwear the ſame. He who failed in the payment, incurred excommunication; but a third part of the penance, due to ſinners, would be remitted to him, who faithfully complied. Meaſures were immediately taken, to extend the ſame regulation to England. But when the firſt remittance was to be made to Paleſtine, the pious monarchs quarrelled about the form of doing it; and their own ſubjects narrowly eſcaped the horrors of a deſtructive war![y]

Appeals to Rome.

The primate's laſt letter had left an impreſſion on the mind of Henry, which public report had ſtrengthened, and he was alarmed leſt it might be followed by a ſentence of interdict on his territories, and excommunication on himſelf. He ordered his barons and confidential friends to meet him at Chinon in Touraine; when he earneſtly requeſted their counſel, and complained of Becket, who, (and he ſaid it with tears,) "tore his body and ſoul from "him." "But you are all traitors," exclaimed he, "who "will take no pains to free me from the annoyance of that "man."—The haſty charge roufed the archbiſhop of Rouen, who gently checked its intemperance. But the artful and politic Arnulph of Liſieux adviſed, as the only meaſure which could avert the impending ſentence, that the king ſhould interpoſe an *appeal*, in his own name, to the pope. He aſſented. And thus, ſays the hiſtorian, while Henry,

[y] Gerv. Diceto an. 1166. Chron. Norm. ib.

BOOK II.

1166.

by his *ancient cuſtoms*, wiſhed to ſuppreſs the right of appeal, himſelf, in his own defence, had recourſe to it[z]. — The biſhops of Seez and Liſieux were inſtantly diſpatched to notify this appeal to the primate: but he, a few days before, had left Pontigny, when they returned to the king.

The primate pronounces his cenſures.

His apprehenſions were well founded. Becket had determined to excommunicate him and his abettors. — In Soiſſons were ſome churches of great repute, but one, in particular, dedicated to St. Drauſinus, the patron of combatants. To this place many champions, even from diſtant countries, reſorted; for it was believed, that the protection of the ſaint could render them invincible. At the eve of a ſpiritual combat, the primate, therefore, repaired to Soiſſons; and there he was, when the king's meſſengers did not find him at Pontigny. Three nights, in the true ſpirit of chivalry, did he watch before the altars of the ſaints, and then returned, full of holy ardour, and armed for battle. It was in the church of Vezelay, not far from his convent, on whitſunday, that he meant to pronounce the ſentence: but two days before, a meſſenger from the French king informed him, that Henry was dangerouſly ill. The awful ceremony, in his regard, it was thought proper to defer.

On the morning of the feſtival, fame had drawn together a great concourſe of people. The archbiſhop aſcended the pulpit, and preached. At the cloſe, a ſolemn pauſe enſued; when the torches were extinguiſhed; — the bells tolled; — the croſſes were inverted; and he pronounced his anathemas. He excommunicated John of Oxford, for his behaviour

[z] Joan. Sariſb. ep. 140.

behaviour in the diet of Wurtſbourg, for having aſſociated with ſchiſmatics, and for intruſion into the deanry of Saliſbury. He excommunicated Richard, the archdeacon of Poitiers, for a ſimilar communion with ſchiſmatics, and for machinations againſt the church. He excommunicated Hugh de St. Clare, Thomas Fitz-Bernard, and Ranulph de Broc, for having ſeized the poſſeſſions of the church of Canterbury, and all thoſe who hereafter ſhould dare to lay their hands on her poſſeſſions. He excommunicated Richard de Lucy, and Joceline de Baliol, as the favourers of the king's tyranny, and the contrivers of thoſe heretical pravities, the cuſtoms of Clarendon. The cuſtoms he then read, and condemned, particularly ſix of them; he annulled the ſtatute whereby they were enacted, he excommunicated all perſons whatſoever who ſhould abet, obſerve, or enforce them, and he abſolved the biſhops from the oath they had taken. He named the king; mentioned the letters he had written, and the meſſengers he had ſent to him; and he now publicly called on him to repent, and to make ſatisfaction for the injuries he had done to the church; or that ſpeedily the ſentence, they had heared pronounced, ſhould fall on his head[a].—Thus ended this aſtoniſhing ſcene.

The effects of theſe cenſures were, in many circumſtances, ſeriouſly alarming, as they reached to the concerns of civil life. Not only was an excommunicated man ſhut out from all the offices and benefits of religion; but he became an alien in ſociety. Intercourſe ceaſed; his friends turned their backs; and to bid him God ſpeed! was to partake of his guilt, and incur his puniſhment. Therefore

[a] Joan. Sariſb. ib. Gerv. Dicet.

BOOK II. 1166.

did crowned heads fear it moſt, unleſs their power and influence were able to avert its effects. For they alſo, under this anathema, were not approached by their ſervants, conſulted by their miniſters, or obeyed by their ſubjects. Beſides, it was often accompanied by a ſentence of depoſition; and when this was not the caſe, ſtill much diſorder was the obvious conſequence. The diſaffected and ill-diſpoſed availed themſelves of the circumſtance, to practiſe their deſigns with impunity, and to foment rebellion. The neighbouring princes alſo did not neglect the favourable opportunity, whether of retaliation, or of conqueſt, while the allegiance of the ſubjects ſtood thus ſuſpended. We now ſee why Henry was ſo much alarmed, as even to recur to the humiliating expedient of an appeal to Rome. His poſſeſſions on the French continent were numerous, and the allegiance of the inhabitants could be eaſily ſhaken, particularly as Louis, their ſuzerain or ſupreme lord, was at hand, to whom many of the great barons were attached, and who would encourage their diſaffection, and protect their arms. That he urged the primate, from motives of ambition or revenge, to excommunicate Henry, we may preſume; at leaſt we know, from the circumſtance of his having informed him of the king's illneſs, that he was no ſtranger to his deſign.

Having gone ſo far, the primate was not of a temper to relax from his purpoſe. He returned in haſte to Pontigny, and wrote to his ſuffragans in England, and to Alexander, informing them of what he had done. From the latter he hopes to receive a ſolemn confirmation of his meaſures; and he orders the biſhops to attend to the execution of the

cenſures

cenſures he had pronounced. "Who doubts," ſays he to them, "that the prieſts of Chriſt are the fathers and "maſters of kings, and princes, and of all the faithful[b]?" —So far was the humility of the goſpel, and the lowly ſpirit of its founder, abſorbed in the pride of ſpurious canons and the wild maxims of the age! But they were the maxims of the age, and a man of unaffected probity might then maintain them.

The Engliſh biſhops appeal, and addreſs the primate.

Nor was the king, on his ſide, idle. He ſent orders into England, that all communication, under the ſevereſt penalties, ceaſe with the archbiſhop; that the ports be diligently watched; and that the prelates of his realm immediately renew their appeal to Rome[c]. They aſſembled at London, and with them many abbots, and inferior perſons; when it was reſolved, in the form of a remonſtrance, to appeal to the pontiff, and to ſignify the ſame by letter to the primate. The biſhops of Exeter and Rocheſter refuſed to ſign it; and Henry of Wincheſter excuſed himſelf, ſaying, "that he was ſummoned by the ſovereign biſhop, "(meaning his maker,) and that he would not appeal." —The remonſtrance to Alexander is artful and impoſing. "It muſt be within your holineſs's recollection," ſay they, "that, now ſome time ago, you admoniſhed our king to "correct ſome abuſes in his realm, which diſpleaſed you. "With reſpect he received your injunctions, declaring "that, agreeably to the judgment of his church, he was "ready to reform all diſorders; for, indeed, orthodox as "he is in faith, *true to his marriage vows*, and ſtrenuous in "the cauſe of juſtice, he has no wiſhes but what tend to "the

[b] Ep. 138, 96.

[c] Gerv. ut ſup.

BOOK II. 1166.

" the extirpation of ſcandals, and to the eſtabliſhment of " general concord. He knew that the peace of his realm " was ſometimes diſturbed by the enormous exceſſes of " churchmen. Not to infringe their privileges, he reported " theſe crimes to the biſhops, their eccleſiaſtical judges. " They puniſhed them conformably to their canons. But " this puniſhment of degradation, the king deemed inade- " quate to the offence, (homicide for inſtance,) and inſuf- " ficient for the public ſecurity. Hence, between the " clergy and his majeſty, aroſe a *holy ſtrife*, from the pure " intention of both parties, excuſeable, we hope, before " God: the one contending for the arrangement *divinely* " *eſtabliſhed*, and the other zealous to repreſs ſin, and to " extend the bleſſings of peace. His majeſty was therefore " deſirous to collect the ancient cuſtoms, which had been " obſerved by the clergy, in the reigns of his predeceſſors, " and to make them public, that all contention might " ceaſe. This was done. The moſt ancient among the " biſhops and the nobles of the land, on oath, produced " theſe cuſtoms, and they were publiſhed. And this is " now, far and near, proclaimed to be the king's cruelty " againſt the church of God; this is called his perſecution, " and the malevolence of his works. — But, ſhould thoſe " cuſtoms contain any thing, dangerous to conſcience, or " diſhonourable to the church, he has long ago, in obedi- " ence to you, promiſed to correct it by the judgment of " his own church. The peace we wiſh for, holy father, we " had, before this time, obtained, had not the provoca- " tion of our lord of Canterbury rouſed anew the king's " anger, which was ſtilled, and nearly extinguiſhed.

" From

" From him we hoped for concord and the recovery of loſt " favour. Inſtead of admonitions and gentle words, " whereby he might have overcome, harſhly and irreve- " rently he has aſſailed him in furious letters, which breathe " nor the benevolence of a father, nor the patience of a " biſhop. He threatened him with excommunication and " his realm with an interdict. Nor did he ſtop there. The " king's ſpecial friends, the firſt noblemen of the realm, " his confidential miniſters, in whoſe hands are his own " and the public concerns, he has excommunicated, not " cited before him, not conſcious of any crime, not con- " victed of any, not permitted to make their defence, " Even lately he ſuſpended the biſhop of Saliſbury, without " any judicial proceſs, or our participation. Of ſuch " proceedings what muſt be the event? Either that the " concord between the kingdom and the prieſthood ſhall " be broken, and we, with our clergy, be exiled; or, " which heaven avert! that we renounce obedience to " you, and join the ſchiſm. To avoid ſo great evils, we " have appealed to your holineſs againſt any ordinances of " the archbiſhop, which may affect the king, the realm, us, " or our churches; and we have named the feaſt of the " Aſcenſion next, for the term to our appeal. Rather we " ſubmit to be humbled under your injunctions, whatever " they may be, than, from day to day, without any cauſe, " to be tortured by the paſſion of our haughty primate[d]."

How far the firſt part of this remonſtrance accords with the truth of hiſtory, as before related, the reader muſt be competent to judge. It was little calculated to impoſe on the

[d] Ep. 128.

BOOK II. 1166.

the pontiff, who had himſelf ſeen, and formally condemned the conſtitutions of Clarendon. The remainder is all penned in the ſtrong ſpirit of enmity to the primate. We had not before heared of the ſuſpenſion of the biſhop of Saliſbury; but it was for having admitted John of Oxford to the deanry of his church[e].

Their addreſs to the primate is in a ſimilar ſtyle, the ſubſtance of which is: That they had hoped, by humility and prudence, he would have repaired the diſorders which his ſudden retreat had occaſioned, and that the news they had heared of his way of life, in retirement, had given them comfort: that the fruits of ſuch behaviour would have been, indeed, ſalutary: but that now, his late attack on the king had reached their ears, which muſt for ever baniſh peace, and generate contention. They deſire him to reflect on the end he has in view, and to conſider, whether the means he has adopted can lead him to it. They counſel him as their father, not to create new difficulties, but, ceaſing from threats, to try the effects of patience and humility. "It would have been better," they tell him, "to have "aimed at praiſe by the poverty, he had voluntarily em- "braced, than to have incurred the general cenſure of "ingratitude. The world cannot forget, how kind the "king was to you, to what glory he raiſed you from a low "condition, and took you ſo near to his heart, that, from "the northern ocean to the Pyrenean Hills, his wide domi- "nions were ſubject to you. They only were deemed "happy, who found favour in your ſight. And becauſe "earthly honours are liable to fade, he would fix you in "the

[e] Ep. 127.

" the immediate concerns of God. His mother diſſuaded, " the nation loudly objected, the church, as far as might " be, ſighed and groaned, but he left no means untried to " effect your exaltation, hoping that his reign would " become more proſperous, and that by your aid and " counſel nothing would diſturb his repoſe. Have ſome " concern then for your own fame, and by ſubmiſſion and " kindneſs ſtrive to conquer."

If their admonitions have no effect, they hope, that the intereſt of the church and of the pontiff may move him. For what; if, provoked by him, the king, whom ſo many nations obey, ſhould withdraw his obedience? He has been ſolicited, they ſay, by gifts and promiſes; but has ſtood firm on the rock, ſpurning, with a great ſoul, all that the world could offer. They fear that reſentment may alone be able to overcome him; and ſhould he be the occaſion, torrents muſt ever flow from his eyes. But his wiſe counſellors, perhaps, exhort him to uſe his power againſt the king and his ſubjects. That power, they obſerve, is formidable to obſtinate ſinners, which his majeſty, they pronounce, is not, though he may have often fallen. He conſults, they ſay, the good of his people, and the peace of the church; and therefore he requires, that the reſpect which was ſhewn to his predeceſſors be ſhewn to himſelf; that he had promiſed to refer the matter in litigation to the judgment of his church; and for what then had he merited eccleſiaſtical cenſures? They intreat, that he will proceed with caution, and with paternal gentleneſs; they mention, with indignation, the ſuſpenſion of the biſhop of Saliſbury; and they announce their appeal to Rome[f].

[f] Apud Hoved. ep. 126.

BOOK II.

1166.

The primate anſwers.

The primate anſwered in a long and laboured, but a full and juſtificatory, addreſs, which to give entire is unneceſſary, and to abridge is difficult. — Unexpectedly, he ſays, he had received their epiſtle, which, he cannot perſuade himſelf, was written with their general approbation: that it contained more of ſatire than of conſolation; and, he thinks, was dictated rather by command, than ſuggeſted by views of charity, He reproaches them with their little zeal for the liberty of the church, and for their own real intereſt. They turned their backs in the day of battle, and he had waited till God perhaps might have inſpired them with better courage: may he take the veil from their hearts, that they may know their duty! If, ſince the day of his promotion, he had injured any one of them, let him ſpeak: he would make him ample reparation. But if not; why had they thus deſerted him? He exhorts them to repent, to rejoin the banners of the church, and with him ſtoutly to oppoſe her enemies.—He juſtifies his flight from England, which, after the injuſtice and violence their own eyes had beheld at Northampton, was become neceſſary, in order to ſecure his own life, and to purſue his appeal; had not his retreat been *ſudden*, as they call it, it would have been impeded. "But if it *occaſioned any diſorders*," he remarks, "his be the blame, who cauſed it. I preſented "myſelf in the court of his holineſs; I laid before him the "injuries which myſelf and the church had ſuffered; I "explained the motive of my appeal, and of my journey: "but no one appeared to anſwer me, or to urge any thing "againſt me. Soon, however, my ſervants were forbid-"den to obey me in their temporal concerns, or to ſend

"me

" me any ſupplies, without an order from the king, " by the ſentence, ſeems, of my lords of York and " London. Without judgment pronounced againſt " me, without cauſe, to the prejudice of my ap- " peal, the church of Canterbury, my friends, my- " ſelf, were deſpoiled; clergy, laics, men with their " wives, women with their children, were indiſcri- " minately proſcribed. The effects of the church were " confiſcated to the royal treaſury: one part of the money " was applied to the king's uſe, and the other to yours, if " I have heared rightly, my brother of London, and to " that of your church. If ſo, I order you to reſtore it " within forty days. On what grounds are theſe uſurpa- " tions juſtified? Is it, perhaps, under the pretext of an " appeal? See to what you expoſe yourſelves and your " churches, if they who invade their rights be permitted " thus to cover their enormities." — He adviſes them to take care how they lead others into error, by allowing a prerogative to princes, which is not theirs, and by confounding the diſtinct rights of church and ſtate: and he admoniſhes them not to hold truth from the king, leſt he periſh in his evil doings. He that has authority to diſſemble, he ſays, may do it; for his part, he will not incur the guilt.

" You declare, that, at my promotion, the nation *loudly* " *objected*, and that the *church groaned*. And do you know " then what ſhould be the truthful character of the words " of a prieſt? Good God! ſurely the meaneſt peaſant " would bluſh to ſay it. Aſk your own conſciences; recol- " lect the manner of my election, the conſent of all whom

BOOK II.
1166.

" it regarded, the aſſent of the king ſignified by his ſon " and by his meſſengers, and of the prince himſelf with " all the nobles of the realm. If any one of them contra- " dicted it, if he oppoſed it in any thing, let him ſpeak " who knows it, who is conſcious of it. If any particular " man, indeed, was in his own heart troubled, let him " not therefore ſay, that an injury was done to the king- " dom and to the church. As to yourſelves: conſider the " letters which, with the king, you all ſent to the pope, " earneſtly requeſting the *pallium* (the archiepiſcopal man- " tle) for me, which was granted. This is the truth."— " His majeſty," you ſay, " raiſed me to eminence *from a* " *low condition*. Indeed, I did not ſpring from royal an- " ceſtors: but I would rather be he, whom greatneſs of " ſoul ſhall ennoble, that who degenerates from the blood " of his fathers. Say I was born in a poor cottage: yet, " by the kindneſs of heaven, in my low condition, before " I entered into the king's ſervice, I lived among my " neighbours of every deſcription, as you well know, in " ſufficient affluence and with honour. David was but a " ſhepherd's boy, and Peter, called from his nets, was " raiſed to the primacy in the church of Chriſt. By his " blood he acquired a crown in heaven, and his name is " glorious upon earth. We are the ſucceſſors of Peter, " and not of Ceſar. With what views the king ſought my " promotion, God beſt knows. His own heart can tell " him: but what his duties are, I, as my office directs me, " will lay before him, with ſome ſeverity, but more ſin- " cerely than they, who flatter him with lies. The blows " of a friend are preferable to the treacherous kiſſes of an " enemy.

" enemy. You charge me with ingratitude. It is the mo-
" tive which conſtitutes the crime. I know what I owe to
" the king, as his vaſſal and his ſubject; and if I have en-
" deavoured to turn him from his evil ways, I have rather
" merited his thanks, than deſerved to be called ungrateful.
" At all events, I more fear to be ungrateful to him, who
" is the maſter of us all, and who threatens thoſe with his
" indignation, who miſuſe the powers with which he has
" entruſted them."

As to their inſinuation, that his conduct might impel the king to join the ſchiſm: he truſts, that no temporal motive can draw him from his allegiance to the church; that in him it would be more criminal, as it would involve many in his guilt. The thought ſhould be entertained by no one, much leſs by a biſhop: let themſelves be aware therefore leſt their words infuſe poiſon into others, and their own deſigns be manifeſted.—The church, they need not fear, will gain ſtrength from oppreſſion: they may tremble, who ſeek her ruin.—In the ſuſpenſion of the biſhop of Saliſbury, no judicial proceſs was requiſite, becauſe his crime was notorious. Such is the eſtabliſhed order. He admitted John of Oxford to the deanery of his church, after a ſolemn prohibition from himſelf and the pope.

Their appeal, he then tells them, is nugatory, becauſe, in their own regard, they have no cauſe to fear; but if they think thereby to ſuſpend his lawful authority, ſhould an occaſion be given, ſuch as that he juſt mentioned, it muſt be deemed ſubverſive of all canonical right. " God forbid," ſays he, " that I ſhould attempt any thing inordinate againſt
" my king or his kingdon, againſt you and your churches."

—If

BOOK II.
1166.

—If it be in the king's name they appealed; what intereſt can they have to impede the courſe of juſtice, when the liberty of the church is at ſtake, and the vindication of its rights againſt rapine and oppreſſion? He remarks, how irregular all their proceedings had been, when, after their mutual appeal at Northampton, which ſhould have ſuſpended every proſecution, himſelf and his friends had been deſpoiled, and lately an edict publiſhed denouncing priſon or mutiliation againſt all, who ſhould entertain his meſſengers, or receive his inſtructions. Some of them, he ſays, he has reaſon to ſuſpect, if not all: they are not therefore qualified to judge between him and the king.

He concludes: "May my king liſten to the requeſt of his "ſervant, to the counſel of his biſhop, to the exhortation "of his father, that God may bleſs him, and prolong his "days, and the years of his children unto many ages! "Under him, as a king moſt chriſtian, may the church "enjoy peace and liberty: may the Roman ſee exerciſe "that right within his realm, which belongs to her, and "ſhe has in other kingdoms! To the church of Canterbury "and to me let him reſtore our privileges, with peace and "ſecurity, and the poſſeſſions we have loſt. Then, under "him, I will ſerve my God without fear; and as he wills, "ſo he ſhall uſe my ſervices, ſaving the honour of God, "and of the Roman church, and of my order. Thoſe are "the royal dignities, and the excellent laws, for which a "chriſtian king ſhould petition, and which he ſhould ob-"ſerve.—And to ȳou, my brethren, I have not written to "bring ſhame to any of you; but that, convinced by my "arguments, you may be willing and be able, with greater

"force

" force and courage, to perform your duties. The effect " will bring a ſpeedier peace to me, and ampler liberty to " the church. Pray heaven, for me, that, in this tribula- " tion, my faith may not be ſhaken. Fare ye well in the " Lord[s]!"

Writes alſo to Foliot.

Viewing the biſhop of London, as the real author of the addreſs from his ſuffragans, to which he had juſt replied, Becket, in the warmth of reſentment, wrote to him. The letter is in ſubſtance, the ſame as that I have given, only more pointed, more ſevere, and more animated. Foliot he conſidered as his declared enemy, and as the engine which gave motion to the whole ſeries of oppreſſion: as ſuch he addreſſes him.—Aſtoniſhing, indeed, he ſays, it is, that a man of his erudition and calling, ſhould be ſuch an enemy to truth and juſtice, as to wiſh, by every means, to overthrow the church: that the attempt proved the derangement of his mind, for it reſembled a man who ſhould tie a ſtring round a huge mountain with intent to pull it down. " You may think," he obſerves, " that anger or diſlike " dictated this ſevere reflection. By no means: your own " letter ſuggeſted it." Which, he tells him, is of the ſcorpion-make, with a ſting in the tail, profeſſing, at firſt, great ſubmiſſion and obedience, and then appealing that he may not obey. And yet, this very obſtacle to obedience, he can unbluſhingly term a *remedy!* " The repulſes, you " have twice experienced in that quarter, (Rome,) might, " I think, have checked this forwardneſs, when you tried " in vain the force of entreaties, of preſents, of threats, " and of promiſes. But a third attempt may perhaps be " more

[s] Ep. 127.

BOOK II. 1166.

" more ſucceſsful, for which you have allowed yourſelf " almoſt twelve months."

" As to the king's favours," he ſays, " which you have " ſet before my eyes in a large heap, it was a uſeleſs labour. " For I call God to witneſs, that, under the ſun there is " nothing ſo dear to me as his favour and well being; pro- " vided the concerns of religion and the church be unim- " paired. Without this his reign cannot be happy or ſecure. " All then you have ſaid of his royal bounty to me, I am " ready to allow: I know, indeed, that his kindneſs has " been greater, than even you have commemorated. But " for this was I to ſacrifice the liberty of the church? " Much leſs for my own reputation, which you are pleaſed " to obſerve, has ſuffered by the imputation of ingrati- " tude. Should an angel from heaven adviſe diſſimulation " to me, I would tell him to begone; that he knew not " the things of God." — If the king's mother diſſuaded his promotion, he can only ſay, that it was not publicly known. But there might, he ſignificantly remarks, be ſome eccleſiaſtical perſons, who, diſappointed in their hopes, did repine on the occaſion; and who knows, but they may be the authors and adviſers of the preſent unhappy diſſentions?

" But you very confidently aſſert, that the king has ever " been diſpoſed to make ſatisfaction: then anſwer to a few " queſtions;" and he details the ſufferings of his friends, (many of whom were even ignorant of the controverſy,) of his family, of himſelf, and of the church of Canterbury. " And not to repair theſe evils, and daily to add to them, " ſhall it be called ſatisfaction? But perhaps to comply

" with

" with the deſires of the malevolent is what you term ſatis-
" faction." He writes, that the king would abide by the judgment of his realm; as if, he ſays, the concerns of the church were amenable to that tribunal. " My brother;
" rather uſe your intereſt in perſuading him to preſerve
" the peace of the church, not to covet thoſe things which
" do not appertain to his adminiſtration, to honour the
" prieſts of God, and not to mind who they are, but
" whoſe ſervants they are. This would be better for
" you both."

Mentioning the ſuſpenſion of the biſhop of Saliſbury, he obſerves: " But at this," you ſay, " you are alarmed.
" What? does the fire in your neighbour's houſe make
" you tremble! If ſo, be alarmed to ſome purpoſe for the
" evil you have done. And then intimate to the king,
" that God has eſtabliſhed two diſtinct powers upon earth,
" one ſpiritual, the other temporal; and that the rights of
" neither can be infringed, without oppoſing the order of
" heaven.—On another occaſion, recommend to him the
" behaviour of the emperor Conſtantine to his biſhops,
" which hiſtory has recorded, and which merits to be imi-
" tated."—He concludes, by ſeriouſly entreating him and the other biſhops, not to permit ſchiſms to divide them, or ſecret malice to cloud their minds, but to aim to acquire one heart and one ſoul in the lord. " Nor let us forget
" that tremendous judge, before whoſe tribunal, the fear
" of earthly power and all reliance on it then removed,
" truth alone ſhall plead our cauſe[h]."

[h] Ep. 108.

BOOK II.

1166.

To this ſpirited and ſarcaſtic addreſs, which ſhews that neither the auſterities of Pontigny, nor its heavenly contemplations, had unedged the primate's reſentment, Gilbert is ſaid to have replied. The reply lay, for centuries, enveloped in its own duſt; but it was diſcovered, and on it has been built a life of Becket[1], contradicted by the notorious facts of hiſtory, by the declarations of his ſuffragans, in ſome inſtances, and by other witneſſes, in all, and by the well-known character of the man. I cannot admit it here; but it ſhall have its place.*

Is driven from Pontigny.

The king, in the mean time, had ſent an embaſſy to Rome, not ſo much with a view of proſecuting the appeal he had announced at Chinon, as to ſooth the pontiff, to bribe the cardinals, and to procure a deputation of two legates from his holineſs, on terms moſt favourable to himſelf. At the head of this embaſſy, to the ſurpriſe of all men, was John of Oxford, now dean of Saliſbury, then excommunicated, denounced as a ſchiſmatic at Rome, and the notorious enemy of Alexander and the primate. The event, however, will ſhew, how wiſe was the choice of Henry. — Seeing with pain the undiſturbed life which his enemy was permitted to lead at Pontigny, in the arms of the Ciſtercian order, and protected by Louis, Henry ſent a letter to the general chapter at Citeaux, forbidding them to harbour him any longer, if they valued the lands and houſes they poſſeſſed in his territories. The primate generouſly withdrew. But the French monarch diſpatched a nobleman, with three hundred men, to eſcort him: "Let him come to me," ſaid he, "and experience the "benevolence

[1] Hiſt. of Hen. II.

* See Appendix ii.

1166.

"benevolence of my people;" requeſting, at the ſame time, he would chuſe the place of his reſidence. He choſe Sens, or rather, the convent of St. Columba near its walls, which he entered, and was received with joy, the biſhop of the city and its people welcoming his arrival. It was the month of November[k].—This further inſtance of vindictive proſecution, ſtill more exalted the fame of the ſufferer, and, as the appeal was pending, it was deemed a glaring violation of eſtabliſhed equity. The meaſure was barbarous and impolitic.

John of Oxford's embaſſy.

Triumphant in his embaſſy, John of Oxford now returned from Rome. He proclaimed, as he paſſed the towns, that two legates would ſoon follow, to give glory to Henry, and to humble his haughty adverſary. In truth, the gold of his maſter he had largely diſtributed with both hands, and but few of the ſacred college had refuſed it[l]. They eſpouſed his cauſe.—Admitted to the preſence of the pope, he firſt ſwore, that, when he was at Wurtzburg, in the diet of the empire, he had done nothing againſt the faith of the church, or the honour and intereſt of his holineſs. He then preſented a letter from the king. It ſpoke the bearer's praiſes, and entreated that all credit ſhould be given to his word. "In my maſter's name then," ſaid the embaſſador, "I ſubmit the controverſy concerning the cuſtoms of "England, which has ſo long ſubſiſted between him and "the primate, to the judgment of your holineſs: confirm "them, or annul them, as it ſhall ſeem beſt; and pre-"ſcribe the terms of peace." The extraordinary declaration was followed by another oath; when he prayed that

[k] Gerv. Hoved. Vita c. 17, 18, 19.

[l] Ep. 54. ap. Baron.

BOOK II. 1166.

legates might be ſent, with full powers, to hear the appeals, and terminate all diſputes. "The difference," he then ſaid, "between the king and our archbiſhop, might, I "think, be accommodated, were there an honeſt man to "mediate. To the utmoſt I will exert my poor abilities." The inſidious offer was believed. "And now," concluded he, "the deanery of Saliſbury, for which I have ſo much "ſuffered, I reſign to your holineſs." Alexander, naturally ſincere and unſuſpicious, was deceived by theſe impoſing profeſſions, accompanied, probably, by the acclamations of the cardinals, and he granted all he aſked. He abſolved him from the ſentence of excommunication pronounced by the primate, he reinſtated him in the deanery of Saliſbury, and he promiſed that legates ſhould be ſent, naming one, in particular, whom Henry had requeſted. As a final mark of favour, he preſented him with a ring, and diſmiſſed him[m].—He brought letters, confirming, in part, his boaſting aſſertions, which ſuſpended the powers of the archbiſhop, till the whole cauſe, as it regarded himſelf and the king, and the appeal of the biſhops, ſhould be examined, and canonically decided by the legates[n].

Nothing could exceed the aſtoniſhment of the primate and his friends, when this humiliating news reached them. He wrote letters, expreſſive of ſtrong indignation, cenſuring the weak pliancy of the pontiff, and the venality of the ſacred college. "If the reports be true," wrote Becket to a friend, "he has not only choked and ſtrangled me; "but himſelf, all eccleſiaſtics, and the two churches of "France and England." Louis was not leſs irritated, and he

[m] Joan. Sariſb. ep. 97, 98, 163. apud Baron. [n] Ep. 157, 164, 165, 166.

he declared that the legates ſhould not enter his kingdom. "Had he ſent them," ſaid he, "to take the crown "from my head, I ſhould not have been more troubled;" alluding to the ſuſpenſion of Becket's legatine powers, and his ſubjection to the legates[o]. — Henry, and his courtiers, on the other hand, were not leſs elated. "I have the pope "and all the cardinals in my purſe;" ſaid he, "nor need "you fear any of their threats;" and he then told them, from his embaſſador, what cardinals had taken money, and by what means, they had been bribed[p]. His chief deſign, it ſeems, was, to gain time, thinking that Alexander might die, in which caſe, he would acknowledge no ſucceſſor, who ſhould not be favourable to his views: he alſo hoped to procure the depoſition of the archbiſhop. If he empowered John of Oxford to ſubmit the cuſtoms of Clarendon to the judgment of the pope, it was, indeed, an extraordinary meaſure, for which the blind admirers of Henry muſt account. To me the whole tranſaction is mean and unprincely.—With regard to Alexander; he was undoubtedly impoſed on. His intentions were upright, and he hoped, by the conceſſions he made, to conciliate all parties, and to procure peace to the church of England. Of all, whom the action concerned, he was the freeſt from blame, and even the king's agent could but ſay he had, by his arts, deceived him. He pretended not that he had offered him gold; yet at the time, his exigences were great, and his alarms were greater. Frederic Barbaroſſa, with his antipope, approached towards the gates of Rome.

[o] Ep. 164, 165. [p] Ep. 179.

Since

BOOK II.

1167.

Affairs of Italy and Rome.

Since the month of November, the emperor, with a large army, had been returned into Lombardy. To break the confederacy of Verona, or, at all events, to deſolate their territories, and to ſeat Paſcal in the chair of St. Peter, was his principal deſign. His miniſter, the archbiſhop of Cologne, he detached before him into the neighbourhood of Rome, while himſelf, with the reſt of his troops, ravaged the plains of Bergamo, and deſtroyed many caſtles of the Breſcians. He then followed; but Rinaldo had made good uſe of his German ſoldiers, and of the treaſures he carried with him. To the firſt the towns had ſubmitted; and Rome, it ſeemed, would not long withſtand the powerful influence of his gold. The venal people took money from both parties, and ſufficiently declared that they ſhould have their fealty who would reward it beſt. Alexander was ſtrongly patronized by ſome noble families. The emperor was on his march, blaſting, like the breath of peſtilence, the productions of the earth, and exacting from the people contributions and hoſtages. He halted long in Romania, and then laid ſiege to Ancona, which belonged to the emperor of the eaſt. The garriſon made a ſtout reſiſtance: and after three weeks he retired, under the ſpecious diſguiſe of a feigned capitulation. Apulia, he meant, ſhould next feel the terror of his arms; and it ſeemed, as if his intention was to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom of Naples. Long, we know, he had meditated war againſt the new throne, which the children of the Norman Tancred had erected there. But having advanced to the Tronto, he ſuddenly turned northward, ſolicited by Paſcal, whoſe intereſt for a time he had neglected

neglected, and, with his whole army, appeared within ſight of Rome [q].

Alexander, in the mean time, had reſiſted the attacks of Rinaldo of Cologne, and oppoſed his gold by greater largeſſes to the people. He alſo repaired the battered walls, ſtrengthed the towers, armed the citizens, and prepared for a vigorous defence. But Frederic loſt no time. He aſſaulted the caſtle of St. Angelo, which the family of the pontiff defended, and the next day, with all his machines, and the flower of his troops, opened his attack on the church of St. Peter. It was well fortified, and well manned. Vain, for a whole week, were the efforts of the aſſailants. Their *baliſtæ* had thrown darts, their *petrariæ* ſtones, their rams had battered, and their moveable towers had aſſaulted. On the eighth day, the Germans ſet fire to a church contiguous to that of St. Peter. The flames raged, and threatened univerſal deſtruction, when the beſieged capitulated. On Sunday, which was the following day, Paſcal, in great pomp, entered the church, where he celebrated maſs, and put a golden wreath round the brows of Frederic, the emblem of his patrician dignity. But on Tueſday, he was crowned as emperor, and with him Beatrix, his auguſt conſort. It was now his wiſh rather by addreſs and treaty, than by any further efforts of force, to induce the Romans to adopt his meaſures. His miniſters held conferences with the nobles, and he ſent a deputation to the cardinals, propoſing that both the popes reſign the pontificate, and that a new one be choſen; adding that, there was no other method of reſtoring peace, and that himſelf, were

[q] Murat. an. 1167.

BOOK II. 1167.

were the terms accepted, would no more interfere in the election of the Roman biſhops. The propoſal in general pleaſed; but the dignitaries of the church peremptorily rejected it; and Alexander, quitting the Lateran palace, where, till now, he had reſided, was received by his noble friends into the towers they had fortified, in the heart of the city.

Now did two galleys ſecretly come up the Tiber, ſent by the young king of Sicily, who the year before had ſucceeded to his father, bringing treaſure to Alexander, and commiſſioned to reſcue him from his perilous ſtation. With tears he thanked his noble benefactor; accepted the money; but refuſed to quit the city. The galleys returned; and Alexander, the ſame day, diſtributed his new wealth, part to the leaders of his party, truſting that it would bind them more firmly to his intereſt, and part to the guards at the ſeveral gates. The emperor ſtill enlarged his offers, and gained on the multitude. He promiſed to confirm the ſenate, and to allow them many immunities through all his dominions; in return, only aſking for the rights of their ſovereign for himſelf, and admiſſion for his friend to the chair of St. Peter. In deſpair of longer ſucceſs, Alexander was prevailed on to retire; and in a pilgrim's habit he eſcaped, accompanied by ſome cardinals, and after various journeys by ſea and land, entered the city of Beneventum. The imperial miniſters then croſſed the Tiber, and received, in the name of Frederic, the ſolemn homage of the Roman people. All did not ſubmit; and many, while they conſented to receive Paſcal within the walls, refuſed to withdraw their obedience from Alexander.

The

The viſitation of heaven now came, ſays the hiſtorian. Great rains fell, ſucceeded by violent heats, and, in a few days, a peſtilential fever attacked the imperial army. It was the beginning of the month of Auguſt. So furiouſly did the diſtemper rage, that, within ſeven days, a great part of the army periſhed, and with them many princes, prelates, and nobles, who attended the expedition. Frederic retired, leaving the ſick behind; but the contagion purſued him: more than two thouſand died on the march, and the ſurvivors, for many months, remained wan and feeble. Through many difficulties, for the Lombards oppoſed his return, himſelf arrived in Pavia[r]. It is related, that the bones of the German nobility, dried by boiling, were carried back to their own country[s].

No ſooner had Frederic, in the preceding winter, begun his march towards Rome, than the Lombard cities, whom new oppreſſions daily irritated, entered into a more extenſive confederacy. The Milaneſe were invited to join them; who, though diſperſed in four villages and in hovels round their late city, had not, even in this ſtate, been permitted to breathe unmoleſted. They acceded to the propoſal; when a general meeting took place, and the confederates bound themſelves by oath, to defend one another againſt the oppreſſion of the emperor and his miniſters. It was alſo agreed, that, on a certain day, they ſhould reconduct the Milaneſe into their deſerted city, and remain with them, till they were in a condition to protect themſelves. On the appointed day, the cities which were charged with this commiſſion, ſent out their troops. They found the

[r] Act. Alex. Chron. Lauden. an. 1167. [s] Chron. Urſperg.

BOOK II. 1167.

Milaneſe, in anxious expectation, waiting their arrival, and at their head they entered the ruins of the fallen city. All hands, in a moment, were employed. They cleared away the rubbiſh, opened the ditches, repaired the walls and demoliſhed towers; and, in a ſhort time, houſes were made habitable, and its riſing baſtions lowered defiance. The confederates then retired; but they were ordered to attack ſome places, devoted to the emperor, and particularly the caſtle of Trezzo deemed almoſt impregnable, where a vaſt treaſure was kept. The caſtle was taken, however, and burned to the ground.

Thus were things ſituated, when Frederic returned from Rome. To recruit his enfeebled army, he called on the few cities, which remained in his obedience, to ſend in their forces, and he aſſembled a diet of his friends. In great irritation, he expreſſed his anger; by name ſummoned the confederated cities; ordered their hoſtages to be hanged; pronounced the ſentence of *ban*, that is, of proſcription againſt them; and throwing his glove into the air, defied them to arms. Collecting then what troops he could, he laid waſte the lands of the allies; but they met him in the field, oppoſed his devaſtations, and, near Placentia, offered him battle. He retreated precipitately, and ſhut himſelf up within the walls of Pavia[t].

Legates arrive in France.

Though the legates, for whom Henry had petitioned, had left Rome as early as the month of January, they did not arrive in Normandy before the end of ſummer. They were two cardinals, William of Pavia, who has been already mentioned, and Otho of St. Nicholas. The ample powers,

[t] Chron. Lauden. ibid.

powers, with which, at the inſtigation of John of Oxford, they had been firſt entruſted, were, before their arrival, conſiderably abridged. To this, the letters of the primate and his friends, and the anger of the French monarch, which I related, had moved Alexander. He therefore commanded his embaſſadors to effect a reconciliation, if poſſible, between Henry and the archbiſhop, and, till that were done, not to touch the other matters in debate. The boaſtings of John of Oxford, gave great pain to the honeſt pontiff. He wrote to the primate, earneſtly begging, that he would diſpoſe his mind for concord, and not weigh too nicely the terms on which it ſhould be propoſed. He tells him to truſt to the legates, and to entertain no doubts of William of Pavia [u].—He wrote to the kings. To Henry he recommends his legates, as the true repreſentatives of himſelf, veſted with full powers, and he begs he will acquieſce in the inſtructions they have received from him.—To Louis he ſpeaks in high terms of the primate, and thanks him for the great kindneſs he had ſhewn him in his exile: he likewiſe requeſts, that he will uſe his good offices to promote the reconciliation, which he ſo ardently deſired: "But ſhould our efforts fail," he adds, "might it be "agreeable to you, and not offenſive to the dignitaries of "your realm, I ſhould be happy to appoint the archbiſhop "my legate in the kingdom of France. Let this be "ſecret [v]."

Much was the primate's mind diſaffected to William of Pavia. He deemed him his enemy, and he had reaſons for the ſuſpicion. Henry, who had known him, when he

[u] L. ii. ep. 1, 23. [v] Ep. 2, 43.

BOOK II. 1167.

was before in France, had particularly requeſted that he ſhould be one of the legates; and it was now confidently reported, that, could he procure the archbiſhop's depoſition, the ſee of Canterbury had been promiſed to him by the king. On his arrival in the ſouth of France, he wrote to Becket, ſaying that, from motives of ſound policy he had hitherto diſguiſed his good will towards him; that he came to terminate the points of litigation between him and his maſter; and that he adviſed him to avoid diſcuſſions, and only to aim at concord. Becket prepared a reply, pointed and bitter; but, at the repreſentation of his ſecretary, he did not ſend it, and wrote another in terms more gentle and reſpectful. With Otho he was better ſatisfied[w].

The legates, being come into Normandy, waited on the king. They found him at Caen, ſullen, irritated, impetuous. He had lately been at war with Louis; and the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, not long before, for reaſons I will explain, had threatened to invade England. Becket, he ſaid, was the author of all the evils; it was he who had animated the princes againſt him—They preſented letters from his holineſs, which he read with attention, and then obſerved, that they agreed little with ſome inſtructions, which, he knew, the primate had, ſince their departure, received from Rome. "The pontiff," ſaid he, "has been "deceived about the cuſtoms of my realm: if, in my time, "any have been introduced, adverſe to the laws of the "church, he may annul them." He was perſuaded, however, to permit them to treat with the archbiſhop; and they ſent meſſengers to him, appointing a day of conference[x].

But,

[w] Ep. 9, 10, 11, 18. [x] Gervas. an. 1167, ep. 28.

Conferences of Giſors and Argentan.

But, on no ſide, were the tempers properly diſpoſed to concord.

On the eighteenth of November, they met near Giſors. With the legates came the archbiſhop of Rouen only, for the prelates and abbots who had been ordered from England, were not allowed to attend. Becket was accompanied by ſome of his friends. — The legates opened the conference. They ſpoke of the pope's kindneſs, of his attention to the primate, of the fatigues of their own journey, and of the perils they had undergone: they repreſented the calamitous ſtate of the church, the miſeries of the times, the power of the king, his attachment to the Roman ſee, and the favours and honours he had heaped on the archbiſhop: but they alſo enumerated the king's complaints againſt him, and particularly that of his having been the inſtigator of the late hoſtilities. "And by what means then," ſaid they to the primate, "ſhall his anger be appeaſed? We recommend "moderation and humility." — "I am ſenſible," replied the primate, after ſome pauſe, "of the pope's goodneſs to "me, and of your's. The king I have not injured; but he "has injured the church of Canterbury, and me. He "accuſes me of having inſtigated the princes againſt him. "The king of France knows that it is not true. Whilſt I "have ſpiritual arms at my diſpoſal, I ſhall not be ſo incon-"ſiſtent as to recur to others. You ſpeak of moderation "and humility. I am ever ready to ſhew the moſt obſe-"quious ſubmiſſion to my king, ſaving the honour of God, "the liberty of the church, and my own rights. Will you "add to or take away from, theſe conditions?"—"Theſe "are general declarations," obſerved William of Pavia; "let

BOOK II. 1167.

" let us come to particulars. You are not a better man " than your predeceſſors. Will you promiſe the king, " before us, to obſerve all the *cuſtoms*, which, in their " days, his anceſtors enjoyed, and thus recover your ſee " and your maſter's favour?"—He anſwered: " No king " ever exacted that promiſe from any of my predeceſſors; " nor will I ever engage to obey *cuſtoms*, which are mani- " feſtly adverſe to the liberty of the church, to the privi- " leges of the holy ſee, and to the law of God. In your " hearing, I was releaſed from them at Sens. You like- " wiſe heared the ſolemn declaration of his holineſs, that, " ſooner than ſubmit to ſuch abuſes, the paſtor of the flock " ſhould preſent his throat to the executioner. Again you " ſhall hear them." — They were read. — " And now," continued Becket, " what is your opinion? Can the " prieſt who values his order and his ſalvation, ſubſcribe to " them, or even connive at their obſervance? I did " homage to the king, *ſaving my order*, and under that " reſerve, will I bear true fealty to him." — The cardinal inſiſted, that it would be better to give way in all things, than thus expoſe the church to perpetual vexation; and he uſed many arguments to induce him to compliance. " The " example," replied Becket, " would be pernicious, and " draw after it the ruin of diſcipline and of eccleſiaſtical " liberty. I cannot comply."—Would he abide by their judgment, they then aſked, in his general diſpute with the king? If he declined it, the temper of his mind would be evident, and the king would be juſtified.—Determined not to truſt his cauſe to the deciſion of William of Pavia, he anſwered with caution; That were he and his friends

reſtored

reſtored to their poſſeſſions, which had been violently ſeized, they would ſubmit to any judges, whom his holineſs might appoint; but were an expenſive ſuit to be incurred, it muſt be evident, in his preſent indigence, that he could not ſupport it.—In the cauſe of the appeal, they finally propoſed, would he accept their judgment?—"On this head," he replied, "I have received no commands from Rome, nor "can I defray the expences which ſuch a proceſs muſt "neceſſarily entail on me[y]."—The conference ended.

Becket, in the relation he gives to the pope, ſays, that he acted with all poſſible caution; but that, knowing the influence the king had gained, and the diſpoſitions of one, at leaſt, of the legates, common prudence forbad him to riſk a cauſe of ſuch importance in their hands. Should the addreſs, the eloquence, the authority, he obſerves, of William of Pavia, but once be allowed to co-operate with the power and untractable ſpirit of Henry, his holineſs, as well as himſelf, muſt expect an attack, from which they would not be eaſily extricated.—The next day, the legates ſaw the king of France, who aſſured them on oath, that the primate had ever adviſed him to cultivate a good underſtanding with the Engliſh monarch[z].

From Giſors they proceeded to Argentan, where Henry was. He met them, with great affability, on the road, and conducted them to their lodgings. Early, after maſs, the next morning, they were admitted to audience, where many prelates and abbots were preſent. What paſſed, is not known; but, in about two hours, they came out, and the king walked with the legates to an outer door: "May "my

[y] Ep. 28, 30.

[z] Gerv. ut ſup.

BOOK II. 1167.

" my eyes never look on another cardinal!" ſaid he aloud, as he turned from them. They retired precipitately, and the biſhops returned with the king to his chamber. It was almoſt evening before the council broke up, when the biſhops, ſeemingly in much agitation, waited on the legates. —The next day, the biſhops were again a long time with the king, and many ſecret meſſages paſſed between him and the legates: but, on the following morning, by break of day, he went out with his dogs and hawks, purpoſely, it was thought, to be abſent. The biſhops then met, and, after ſome conſultation, adjourned to the church, where they requeſted the attendance of the legates. The legates took their ſeats between the archbiſhops of Rouen and York. The biſhops of London, Saliſbury, Chicheſter, and Worceſter, were there, with two French prelates, many abbots, and a great concourſe of laity[a]. Gilbert of London addreſſed the legates.

" Underſtanding, that you came with full powers to ter-
" minate the diſpute between our lord the king, and the
" primate of Canterbury, as alſo to hear our appeal, we
" have waited on you prepared to anſwer or to accuſe;
" and we will abide by your ſentence. The king makes
" the ſame offer; he will adhere to your judgment, what-
" ever it may be. If then the inſtructions of the pope are
" not executed, neither we, nor you, it ſeems, are in fault.
" The blame muſt fall where it ſhould. But the primate is
" precipitate and headſtrong; we therefore again renew
" our appeal, and we mean it ſhould include all England.—
" This is the quarrel between the king and him. The king
" demands

[a] Ep. 6.

" demands from him forty thouſand marks of ſilver, a ſum " he received when chancellor. He replies, that he was " diſcharged from this debt at his promotion, as if it had " the effect of baptiſmal water, which remits ſin.—We " appealed to Rome, becauſe we were oppreſſed by his " power, and leſt, had we ſubmitted to his ſentence, the " king ſhould have been induced to join the ſchiſm."— The appeal was accepted, which extended to November in the following year, and the parties diſpatched meſſengers to Rome and to the primate[b]. Thus were all proceedings again ſuſpended.

The legates preparing to depart, had private conferences with the king, from which it appears that his mind was ſtrangely agitated, and that he had involved himſelf in difficulties, out of which, neither addreſs nor violence could draw him. He told cardinal Otho, that he would permit Becket to return peaceably to his ſee; and as to the cuſtoms, if he would not be ſatisfied with the opinion of any hundred men in his dominions, or of the biſhops, to whom he was ready to refer the queſtion, he would then leave it to the pope, with this only reſerve, that his children ſhould not be diſinherited: " For in my own life-time," he added, " I can readily permit his holineſs to reject what ſtatutes " he pleaſes." He confirmed all this with many and extraordinary oaths; and, as they took leave, he ſaid: " I beg " you will acquaint his holineſs with my ſubmiſſion and " the equity of my cauſe; and intercede with him to free " me, at all events, from the primate." He wept, and ſo ſeemed William of Pavia: but his colleague, with

[b] Ep. 6.

BOOK II. 1167.

ſome difficulty, abſtained from laughing[c]. The legates then wrote to the primate, informing him of the appeal, and forbidding him, in the pope's name, to pronounce any cenſures on the kingdom of England[d]. It was the middle of December, when they departed towards Italy.

Seldom had a more ſolemn farce been exhibited. Henry had exerted every nerve, in the embaſſy of John of Oxford, to procure legates devoted to his intereſt; and the pope, deceived by the proteſtations of the envoy, had delegated to them ſuch powers, as could anſwer every wiſh of the king. But theſe powers, on the repreſentations I have mentioned, were either recalled, or he marked out another line of conduct to his legates. The diſcovery of this change it was, which ſo much irritated the king, in his firſt interview at Argentan. William of Pavia, notwithſtanding, was well-diſpoſed to favour the monarch, and to go all lengths in his ſervice; only he would not ſacrifice his maſter, or rather, he would have been moſt willing, by ſerving two maſters, to have conciliated the favour of both. Henry was no match for theſe Italian politicians; yet unwarily, or forced by the circumſtances of the times, he had laid himſelf at their mercy. He threatened, at a diſtance, the court of Rome, as he did the primate: but he feared, either from conſcience or other motives, to relinquiſh the communion of Alexander, and how to free himſelf from Becket he knew not. His biſhops, though they went with him in oppoſing the primate, would, that moment, have turned their backs, had he joined the ſchiſm. The reiteration of appeals may ſeem futile and inefficient; but it was, in truth,

[c] Ep. 6. [d] Ep. 29.

truth, the only means whereby the dreadful powers of excommunication could be ſuſpended. Becket, throughout, was the only firm and conſiſtent character. He never deviated from what ſeemed to him the line of rectitude, and he might have ſmiled, had his ſituation been attended with eaſe, at the perplexities of Alexander, the violent, but impotent, anger of Henry, the vain policy of the legates, and the obſequious ductility of the Engliſh prelates. He wrote again to the pope and cardinals, with the moſt free and independent ſpirit, (it was after the charge he had juſt received from the legates,) and to judge from his language, he felt the ſuperiority of his own character. "It is not by diſſimulation and artifice," ſaid he to them, "that the church ſhould be governed, but by juſtice and "truth[c]."

Some hoſtilities have been mentioned. They were of little moment, originating from a feudal diſpute between the kings, which almoſt daily happened, and terminating, as uſual, in the deſtruction of caſtles, and the burning of villages. Seeds of unceaſing enmity were ſown on the very limits of their reſpective empires; their vaſſals, as intereſt, or paſſion, or partiality, inclined, ſuggeſted perpetual motives for war; and the protection ſhewn to Becket irritated, from night to morning, the hot ſpirit of Henry. Louis, on the other hand, religious and fond of churchmen, viewed his rival in the light rather of a heathen and unbeliever. A truce, however, was agreed on.

Hoſtilities in France and Flanders.

[c] Ep. 46, 47.

BOOK II.

1167.

Another diſpute threatened to Henry more ſerious evils. The earldom of Mortagne in Normandy, which had belonged to king Stephen, was claimed by the earl of Boulogne, in the right of his wife, that king's only ſurviving child. Under the ſame title, he likewiſe pretended to ſome revenues in England. His brother, the powerful earl of Flanders, ſupported theſe claims; and as Henry rejected the demand, they had recourſe to arms. Six hundred veſſels were equipped; for they meant to invade England, during the abſence of the king. The armament was great, and England had not then, it ſeems, a naval force to oppoſe againſt it. In the inteſtine broils of the late reign, commerce had been neglected; and, as Henry was in poſſeſſion of ſuch an extenſive coaſt on the French continent, all fear of invaſion, from that quarter, had ceaſed. Flanders was a maritime and commercial country. But the earls, in queſtion, were his near relations, and bound to him by many favours ſhewn them, in their minorities. The blood of princes is no laſting tie, and favours are brittle, in the competition of intereſt. The militia of England became its bulwark, that is, ſuch vaſſals as the laws of the age had trained to arms, and whom the crown could call to its aſſiſtance. Richard de Lucy was regent of the kingdom, and he ſo diſpoſed his troops, that the earls were deterred from landing; and on Henry offering an annual penſion of a thouſand pounds, in lieu of all claims, (equal to fifteen thouſand now,) the brothers declared themſelves ſatisfied. The earl of Boulogne thus became vaſſal to the king; for the penſion was deemed a *benefice*, which, agreeably to the feudal tenures, demanded a return of homage and fealty [f].

[f] Gerv. ut ſup.

At

Death of Matilda.

At this time died Matilda, and ſhe died regretted, principally by the Normans, and the inhabitants of Rouen, in which city ſhe had long reſided, and where her munificence and benefactions had been great. She built a ſtone bridge over the Seine, (where the bridge of boats now is,) eſteemed one of the nobleſt works of the age. She erected churches and founded convents, and diſplayed her bounty in other pious and charitable donations; and, at her death, left large ſums to be diſtributed among the ſick and indigent. In the diſpute with the primate ſhe had taken no decided part, but the pope had enjoined her to mediate between him and her ſon, and meſſengers, from both parties, had endeavoured to conciliate her favour. She diſliked many of the cuſtoms of Clarendon, and ſhe blamed the king for having reduced them to writing, and inſiſted that the biſhops ſhould ſwear to obſerve them. This, ſhe ſaid, his predeceſſors had not deemed neceſſary[g].—Matilda, as I have before obſerved, in the laſt acts of her life was truly great. To her ſon ſhe relinquiſhed the ſceptre of England, to ſecure which ſhe had gone through a world of perils; and with it the rich domains of her huſband, retiring herſelf to privacy, and never, as it ſeems, caſting a repentant look back on the brilliant poſſeſſions ſhe had left behind. Yet Matilda was a woman; and Matilda was arrogant and ambitious, fond of power, and of the thouſand charms which wait on royalty! She was buried in the abbey of Bec, and on her tomb was written,

Ortu magna, viro major, ſed maxima partu,
Hic jacet Henrici filia, ſponſa, parens[h].

Fortune,

[g] L. 1. ep. 52, 53. [h] Mat. Par. ſub. an. 1186.

BOOK II.

1168.

Frederic eſcapes from Lombardy.

Fortune, which hitherto had generally favoured the ſchemes of Frederic, now choſe to make him the ſport of her moſt playful moods. We left him ſhut up in Pavia, having retired precipitately from before the confederated army. But in Pavia he did not think himſelf ſecure. All the winter he roved from place to place, ſeldom ſleeping more than two nights in the ſame town or caſtle. The number of his enemies encreaſed, and it was reported that the Lombards, with an army of twenty thouſand men, were ready to march againſt him. He reſolved ſecretly to withdraw into Germany. The marquis of Montferrat was his only friend. In his caſtles he diſtributed the numerous hoſtages, he had before received from the Italian cities, and having obtained permiſſion to paſs through the territory of Savoy, he ſet out, eſcorted only by thirty horſemen, and taking along with him ſome of the pricipal hoſtages. It was the month of March. Approaching to Suſao, he ordered Zilio de Prando, a noble Breſcian hoſtage, to be hanged, charging him with having been active in the confederacy; and he entered the city. The citizens, ſoon informed of the cruel act, reſcued the other hoſtages, and with arms in their hands, went in ſearch of the emperor. He had been appriſed of their deſign, and having left in his bed, it is ſaid, one of his officers, who in features reſembled him, he diſguiſed himſelf as a ſervant, and in company with five others departed, pretending they belonged to the retinue of a great nobleman who would ſoon follow. Thus they travelled through unfrequented roads, and after ſome days arrived on the confines of the kingdom of Burgundy[i]. This Frederic,

[i] Chron. Lauden. an. 1168. Joan. Sariſb. ep. 62.

Frederic, in the habit of a menial ſervant, was he, at whoſe name, not long before, the cities of Italy had trembled, and whom the learned doctors of Bologna had pronounced to be maſter of the world!

The confederates, hearing of the retreat of their mighty enemy, laid ſiege to a caſtle, where many of their hoſtages were confined, and took it. They attacked Pavia and the marquiſate of Montferrat, on account of their friendſhip to the emperor; and that they might fix an eternal thorn in their ſide, the men of Milan, of Cremona, and of Placentia, marched into the plain between Aſti and Pavia, which three rivers encircle, and where the lands of the latter city and of Montferrat confine. Here they laid the foundations of a new town, which roſe ſo rapidly, that, in a ſhort time, it could receive inhabitants and defend itſelf. The people of ſeven neighbouring villages they compelled to become its citizens, and they named it Alexandria, to ſignify their reſpect for the pontiff, and their contempt of Frederic Barbaroſſa. So haſtily, however, was the plan conceived and executed, that, for want of ſufficient materials, many of the houſes were covered with *ſtraw*, a circumſtance which gave occaſion to their enemies, to affix that epithet, in deriſion, to its name, which it retains to the preſent day. It is a proof of the extraordinary population of the country, if there be truth in the narration, that, within the year, Alexandria could ſend out fifteen thouſand fighting men, horſe and foot. The conſuls then, waiting on the pope at Beneventum, made a tender of their city to him, and doing homage, bound themſelves to an annual tribute[k].

The

[k] Act. Alex. an. ut. ſup. Murat. ib.

BOOK II.

1168.

The league, which had begun at Verona, now compriſed almoſt all the cities of Lombardy, and the nobility, for their own ſecurity, daily acceded to it. In the abſence of the emperor they had no protection, and late events had ſhewn, that on him they could not much rely. Alexander was himſelf become the animating ſoul of the confederacy, and the Lombards had lately petitioned, that he would reſide amongſt them. As they withdrew from Frederic, it was natural they ſhould relinquiſh the ſchiſm; and, in the new archbiſhop of Milan, whom he had appointed his legate, the pontiff had a friend, who warmly patroniſed his intereſt, and whoſe virtues even his enemies were compelled to praiſe. This was Galdinus, a Milaneſe citizen, long famed in the churches of Lombardy[1].

Embaſſy from Conſtantinople to Alexander.

In this year, came to Beneventum, where Alexander reſided, a ſplendid embaſſy from Conſtantinople, ſent by Manuel Comnenus, the emperor of the eaſt. Long had he cultivated the friendſhip of the Roman pontiff, and, two years before, a ſimilar embaſſy had waited on him. It was to offer him aſſiſtance againſt the power of Frederic, to propoſe an union between the churches, and to aſk for himſelf the imperial crown of the weſt. Laying their treaſures at his feet, the embaſſadors ſpoke: "Ardently has "our maſter long wiſhed to exalt the Roman church, his "mother, and to do honour to you. Frederic, he hears, "who, by his office, ſhould be her protector, is become "her enemy: now, therefore, does Manuel ſeek to help "her. It is time, he ſays, that there be one fold and one "ſhepherd. The church of his dominions, as it was in "ancient

[1] Chron. Lauden. Joan. Sariſb. ep. 61.

" ancient times, he will reunite to yours; provided his " own rights be reſtored to him. Give him the crown, of " which the German is unworthy, and which is his by " right: his treaſures are open to you, and his armies ſhall " march at your command."

Alexander withdrew with the cardinals and the noble Romans who attended, when, having taken their advice, he returned, and ſaid: " I thank his imperial majeſty for " the intereſt he has often expreſſed in our concerns, and " for the good will he now ſhews to the Roman church " and to me. His kind profeſſions I have heared with " pleaſure, and what he aſks, as far as my duties to God " permit, ſhall be granted. He aſks for the crown of the " weſtern empire. It is a momentous point, indeed; " involved, on all ſides, in perils and perplexities. The " ſacred deciſions of the holy fathers forbid me to aſſent to " it, particularly as thoſe muſt be the terms, you men- " tioned. By my office, I am to procure peace to the " chriſtian world, and be the guardian of its concord. The " treaſures you have brought muſt return, not touched " by my hands, to Conſtantinople[m]." He ſoon after deputed two cardinals to Manuel.

And now died Paſcal, the antipope, in the Vatican palace, indeed, where the arms of the emperor had placed him, but not reſpected, or obeyed, by the Romans. The faction choſe him a ſucceſſor, John, abbot of Strume in Hungary, whom Alexander had lately promoted to the ſee of Tuſculum. He took the name of Callixtus III.

[m] Act. Alex. Murat.

BOOK II.

1168.

Commotions in France, which end in a general peace.

The truce of the laſt year, concluded between Louis and Henry, was to expire at Eaſter. In the mean time, a treaty of peace was propoſed, under the mediation of the earls of Flanders and Champagne. But many obſtacles ſtood in the way of its completion: inſurrections in Poitou, not diſcouraged by Louis; and when the conditions of the treaty were adjuſted, and an interview appointed, the murder of the earl of Saliſbury, Henry's general in Aquitaine, by one of the diſaffected barons. The murderer was Guy de Luſignan, and the earl was returning from a pilgrimage to Compoſtella. Dreading the vengeance of Henry, Luſignan fled from Poitou; and we ſhall hear of his adventures in the kingdom of Paleſtine. His accomplices found an aſylum in the court of France.—There was a rebellion alſo in Bretagne. Uſed as they had been to anarchy, the great barons ſubmitted reluctantly to the reſtraints of order, and often thought themſelves oppreſſed, becauſe they were governed. Henry, with his uſual celerity, quelled theſe licentious troubles. But again Louis received the malcontents, and liſtening, in the quality of ſupreme lord, to their complaints, promiſed them protection and redreſs. The diſpoſitions on neither ſide were well formed to peace; though Henry ſeemed moſt to deſire it. He had moſt reaſon. Commotions in France detained him from England, where his preſence was always neceſſary, while in the provinces themſelves, they could only generate confuſion and bloodſhed; and his diſpute with the church became every day more alarming. The ſentence of excommunication once pronounced had releaſed every diſcontented baron from his allegiance. The day of meeting was at laſt named[n].

[n] Gerv. Hoved. ut ſup. ep. 32.

Louis

Louis was at Chartres, and Henry at la Ferté Bernard; and the place of conference was on the banks of the Huines, in the neighbourhood of both. Difficulties ſtill remained. The revolted barons made many demands, which the Engliſh monarch would not ſatisfy, and meſſengers, to no purpoſe, paſſed between them. Eudo of Pontieure, with too much truth, it ſeems, had publicly accuſed Henry of having ſeduced his daughter, a young lady, whom he had delivered to him as his hoſtage, and he demanded juſtice. Henry was chagrined and irritated; and when Louis ſent a meſſenger to let him know, that he waited his coming, he did not move. A great part of the day the king ſpent at the appointed ſpot, when, as Henry did not arrive, he croſſed the river, in the preſence of his nobility, waſhed his hands in the ſtream, and drank of its water, proteſting aloud, that he had diſcharged his plighted faith. A ſecond meſſenger was then diſpatched, ſummoning Henry to give ſatisfaction for the faith he had broken, and Louis diſmiſſed his nobles; but he remained himſelf near the place, with a few attendants. It was almoſt night. Suddenly, as the king was retiring, Henry galloped up to the river, armed, and accompanied by a body of armed knights. The warlike approach alarmed the French, and the hiſtorian remarks, that an action would have enſued, had not darkneſs prevented it [o].

What were Henry's motives for this extraordinary behaviour, cannot be conjectured, as it is certain that he ſincerely wiſhed for peace. Louis reſented it with a becoming ſpirit, and declared, he would hear no more of

[o] Ep. ut ſup.

BOOK II. 1168.

the treaty, unleſs ſatisfaction were made him for the inſult. —About this time, it appears, he was viſited by embaſſadors from William the Lion, king of Scotland, and from the Welſh princes, offering to him aid from their maſters againſt the king of England[p]. This circumſtance, if true, might ſtill more contribute to alienate the French monarch from the treaty of peace. He marched into Normandy, and burnt a ſmall town and two caſtles. Henry retaliated. —But now, in all the pomp of German magnificence, arrived at his court, Henry duke of Saxony, his ſon in law, with three great prelates, ſent by Frederic Barbaroſſa. They offered him aid againſt his enemies; and would he join the ſchiſm, they promiſed to lead an army into the heart of France. He received them with great reſpect; to their noble offers returned them an anſwer, prudent and courtly; and when they left him, he preſented them with gifts, declaring his grateful ſenſe of the honour they had done him[q].—Thus had all the ſummer and autumn paſſed, when mutual friends again interfered, and the kings were brought to an amicable interview.

On the ſixth of January, they met at Montmirail in Maine, where peace was concluded on the following terms. —1. That Henry ſhould renew his homage and fealty for Normandy, in the accuſtomed form.—2. That he ſhould ſurrender the earldoms of Anjou and Maine, and the fealty of the vaſſals thereof, to prince Henry, his eldeſt ſon, who ſhould pay homage and fealty for them to the king of France. —3. That Richard, Henry's ſecond ſon, ſhould, under the ſame conditions, be put in poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Aquitaine,

[p] Ep. ut ſup. [q] Gerv. ut ſup.

Aquitaine, and marry Adelais, the youngeſt daughter of Louis, but without any ſtipulated portion.—4. That Henry ſhould hold Touraine, as a fief from the earl of Blois, the latter ſurrendering to young Henry, the office of Seneſchal, to whom, as earl of Anjou, it properly belonged.—5. That the revolted barons of Poitou and Bretagne ſhould be taken into favour, and their caſtles and lands reſtored[r].

Such was this memorable treaty, every article of which retrenched ſomething from the power and dignity of Henry, without any return. Circumſtances there muſt have been, which hiſtory has not recorded, that impelled him to it. The earl of Champagne, on the ſide of Louis, had been the principal negociator, and a contemporary writer ſays, ſpeaking of the treaty, that "he and Henry were contending which ſhould outwit the other[s]." Which was outwitted, the treaty itſelf tells; and how fatally he was outwitted, a ſeries of ſad events too ſoon announced to Henry.—Then the young princes, who were preſent, approached, and did homage to Louis for their reſpective fiefs; and their father for Normandy.

Henry and the primate meet.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury was perſuaded to preſent himſelf before Henry at Montmirail, and, without reſerve, to ſubmit to him, himſelf and the deciſion of his cauſe. With infinite reluctance he had conſented, and he went in company with ſome noble and religious perſons. The kings were yet together, and the courtiers ſtood round. The primate threw himſelf at Henry's feet, who inſtantly raiſed him. He then ſpoke, beſeeching him, with much humility,

[r] Ep. 66. Chron. Norm. Hiſt. of Hen. II. p. 498.

[s] Joan. Sariſb. ep. 66.

BOOK II. 1168.

humility, to conſider the forlorn and troubled ſtate of the Engliſh church, which, for his demerits, he owned, had ſo long ſuffered. "To your majeſty's judgment," continued he, "here in the preſence of our lord the king of "France, of theſe prelates, and puiſſant nobles, I ſubmit "the whole cauſe which has divided us, *ſaving the honour* "*of God.*"—The fatal words, as might have been expected, rouſed all the fury of Henry: in the moſt violent and pointed terms he upbraided him, calling him proud, and arrogant, and ungrateful. "When he was chancellor," ſaid he, "by all his diſplay of magnificence, he only aimed "to caſt me from my throne."—Becket's behaviour was cool and reſpectful, and to the laſt obſervation, as he could, he replied with firmneſs and propriety. "My "liege," ſaid Henry to the king of France, interrupting the primate, "attend, if you pleaſe: whatever ſhall diſ-"pleaſe him, he will ſay is againſt the *honour of God*, and his "claims will be endleſs. But that you may not think, I "require any thing contrary to this honour, I make him "this offer. Before me there have been many kings in "England, ſome greater, and ſome leſs, than myſelf; "and before him have been archbiſhops of Canterbury, "great and holy men: what, therefore, the greateſt and "holieſt of his predeceſſors did for the leaſt of mine, let "him do that for me, and I am ſatisfied."—The aſſembly loudly declared, that the king had ſufficiently condeſcended; and as Becket was ſilent, Louis, with ſome emotion, ſaid: "My Lord archbiſhop, would you be greater or better "than thoſe holy men? Why do you heſitate? See! your "peace is at hand."—"It is true," he replied, "my "predeceſſors

" predeceſſors were greater and better men than me; but " all of them, in their days, cut off ſome abuſes, though " not all. Had they done it, I ſhould not have to ſtand in " the preſent conteſt. If any of them were too cool, or " too immoderate, in their zeal, we are not bound to copy " their example. Freely I would return to my church, " were it poſſeſſed of that liberty, which, in the time of " my predeceſſors, it enjoyed; but admit *cuſtoms*, which " are adverſe to the decrees of the holy fathers, I will " not[t]."

He was proceeding, when they who had brought him thither, forcibly drew him from the ring in which he ſtood, urging him by every entreaty to drop that obnoxious clauſe, *ſaving the honour of God*. " And I muſt ſacrifice that ho- " nour," ſaid he, " to regain the favour of a mortal? " Away, away!" — Many noblemen, French as well as Engliſh, now reproached him ſeverely, ſaying, his own arrogance was the only bar to peace, and that as he oppoſed the will of both monarchs, he no longer deſerved the protection of either; but ſhould be expelled from their territories. The day was cloſing, when the kings mounted their horſes, and withdrew. Becket ſoon found himſelf almoſt alone, the few friends who remained hanging their heads in diſmay, inwardly reprobating his pertinacity, and concluding that all was loſt. Himſelf only was not moved[u]. But if, as he journeyed back to Sens, his mind, reſtored to cool reflection, never whiſpered to him, that a little more pliancy might have anſwered better, ſurely his views differed much from thoſe of other men! But ſo long now had he

[t] Vita l. ii. c. 25. Gerv. an. 1169. [u] Ibid.

BOOK II. 1168.

he dwelt on the object, and so much had the praise of some and the opposition of others pressed it on his conscience, that he deemed himself a sufferer for justice-sake, when, in truth, it was to a certain punctilious pride, or to obstinacy of character, perhaps, that he sacrificed his own peace, and the welfare of the church of Canterbury. So men would reason. It may be said, indeed, that he knew the king, and the suspectful insincerity of his professions.

Singular behaviour of Louis, and Henry's fears

The day after the conference, he returned to Sens. But the king of France, as he had done before, neither visited him the night he remained at Montmirail, nor supplied him with necessaries from his kitchen. This was considered as a certain token of his displeasure. His friends were much cast down, and they looked with anxiety to the near day, which, they concluded, would expel them from France. On this they conversed, asking to what land they should retire? "Be not apprehensive," said the primate laughing, "when I am gone, you will not be molested. But, "should we really be shut out from England and France, "no one, I hope, will advise me to look for an asylum "among the Romans, who seem to practise indiscriminate "extortion. I have another scheme. They say that, "down the Saone, and on the side of Provence, the inhabitants are benevolent and liberal. To them we will go "on foot; and when they shall see how wretched we are, "perhaps they may pity us, and give us bread, till the "Lord shall send us better times." — As they were thus conversing, an officer came up from the French king, saying, that his majesty requested to see the primate. "That is to banish us all!" exclaimed one of the company.

"Thou

"Thou art no prophet," obſerved Becket, "nor the ſon "of a prophet; hold thy peace." They went, and found the king, ſitting with a ſorrowful countenance; nor did he riſe, as the primate entered. It preſaged no good, they thought. Coolly he then bad them take their ſeats, and was again ſilent. His head hung on his boſom, and the whole man was penſive. With anxious attention the viſitors eyed him, thinking it gave him pain to pronounce their ſentence: when burſting into tears, he ſtarted up with a deep ſigh, and threw himſelf at the primate's feet. The company were aſtoniſhed, and, as Becket ſtooped to raiſe him, the king, in broken words, ſaid: "Indeed, father, "you only ſaw: it was you only that could ſee. We were "blind, who adviſed you to abandon the honour of God "for the favour of a man. I am ſincerely ſorry, and beg "your forgiveneſs. To God and to you I recommend my "kingdom; and, as long as he ſhall give me life, I here "promiſe never to deſert you and your friends." The primate gave him his bleſſing, and they parted. Wonderful, from this time, was the veneration, which every where attended him[v].

The king of England, hearing of this extraordinary interview, ſent to Louis, expreſſing his ſurpriſe, that he ſhould continue to protect Becket, after what his own eyes had witneſſed at Montmirail. "Go," ſaid Louis to the meſſengers, "tell your king, that if he will not relinquiſh cer-"tain ancient cuſtoms, which ſome deem contrary to the "law of God, becauſe they appertain to his royal dignity; "neither will I ſurrender the hereditary privilege of my

[v] Vit. c. 27. Gerv.

BOOK II.

1169.

" crown, which has ever protected the unfortunate, and " thoſe moſt who ſuffered in the cauſe of juſtice[w]."—The mixed character of Louis bore ſome great features.

Buoyed up by the countenance of the French monarch, or rather, prompted by his own temper, which nothing could bend, Becket had again recourſe to ſeverity. On all ſides he ſpread his cenſures, ſuſpending and excommunicating many, but thoſe particularly who had pillaged, or who kept poſſeſſion of the effects belonging to his ſee. Among theſe was the biſhop of London, whom before, it ſeems, he had ſuſpended. So general was the ſentence, that ſcarcely among the king's chaplains was there one, from whom, at maſs, he could take the kiſs of peace. Fearful that the anathema might reach them, the prelates of the realm and the nobles reiterated their appeals to Rome; and the king again ſent meſſengers to the pontiff, namely, the archdeacons of Saliſbury and Landaff[x]. — Thus was a general commotion raiſed; and the primate, doubtleſs, might feel ſome ſatisfaction, in viewing the ſtorm he had yet power to bring down on his enemies.

Nor was Henry, it is ſaid, ſatisfied with his application to Rome. He moved the cities of Lombardy, knowing the preſſure of their ſituation, and the league they had formed with Alexander. To Milan he offered three thouſand marks of ſilver, (a mark was 13s. 4d.) for the reparation of their walls; two thouſand to Cremona, one thouſand to Parma, and as many to Bologna. He promiſed money to the pope, which ſhould releaſe him from the exactions of the Roman people, with ten thouſand marks beſides, and the

[w] Vit. c. 27. Gerv.

[x] Dicet. Gerv.

the liberty to diſpoſe of the vacant biſhoprics in England. The intereſt alſo of the king of Sicily he implored[y]. And why was the mountain thus in labour? — To procure the removal of Becket from France, or his tranſlation to another ſee! Yet all he could obtain was, that miniſters ſhould be ſent again to treat of a reconciliation. The primate, in a letter to the cardinal biſhop of Oſtia, ſpeaks of theſe tranſactions, with much indignation, and proteſts that no citation ſhall compel him to make a journey to Rome, as his enemies ſeemed to have projected[z].

Nuncios arrive from Rome.

The nuncios, whom his holineſs appointed to this ſecond commiſſion, were Gratian and Vivian, men learned in the laws, and of great reputation in the Roman court. They came with limited powers, and a form of agreement preſcribed by Alexander, to which if the king would not conſent, they were ordered to leave him; and, leſt they might be corrupted, he bound them by an oath, to accept no preſent from him, not even their charges while they remained at his court, till peace were concluded. They brought two letters. In that to the primate, the pope commands him to pronounce no cenſure on the king, on his realm, or the honourable perſons of his realm, till the return of the nuncios; and, if any had been paſſed, that it be ſuſpended for the ſame period. He injoins the king, for the love of God and the remiſſion of his ſins, to reſtore Becket to his ſee, and take him ſincerely into favour[a]. — When they arrived in France, Henry was in Aquitaine, whither they were adviſed not to go, but to wait at Sens till his return.

[y] L. iii. ep. 80. [z] Ep. 79. [a] L. iii. ep. 1, 2.

BOOK II.

1169.

Variousfruitleſs conferences.

The firſt interview was at Domfront in Normandy, towards the end of Auguſt. Returning late from the chace, the king alighted at their apartments, and while, with great politeneſs, he was converſing with the nuncios, up came young prince Henry to the door, with his attendant nobles, each one blowing his bugle-horn. They had killed the ſtag. —Early on the morrow was the conference, which paſſed in great debates. The king read the pope's letter with much emotion, and then demanded that the nuncios abſolve thoſe whom Becket had excommunicated. To this they would not conſent, agreeably to their inſtructions, till he ſhould promiſe to be reconciled to the primate; and alſo on condition, that they ſwore to reſtore what had been taken from Canterbury. Their powers, they ſaid, went no further. Henry hesitated; and by turns was calm and impetuous. The day was far ſpent. "I ſee," he exclaimed, "that the pontiff is not diſpoſed "to grant any requeſt. By God's eyes, then, I'll do "ſomething elſe;" and turned furiouſly from them. "Sir, "do not threaten," obſerved Gratian; "we fear no "threats; for we come from a court that has been uſed "to give the law to emperors and to kings." After ſome further altercation, he became more cool, and promiſed to give them an anſwer in eight days[b].

On the eighth day, they met at Baieux. The Norman prelates were all preſent; when the nuncios again requeſted, that the king would reinſtate the primate. As uſual, he, for ſome time, inveighed againſt him, and then ſaid; "If "I do any thing for that man, the pope ſhall be much "obliged

[b] Ep. 6, 27.

" obliged to me: but obſerve, you ſhall abſolve my chap-
" lains without the oath you talked of." The nuncios would not conſent; and the king ran to his horſe, and mounted, ſwearing, that he would never liſten to another word on the ſubject. But the biſhops interpoſed; and the nuncios, with much difficulty, gave way. Henry diſmounted, and, after ſome converſation, publicly declared, that, " at the requeſt of his holineſs, he permitted Becket
" to return, and all thoſe who had quitted England on his
" account." Turning to the nuncios, he then aſked that one of them, at leaſt, would go into England to abſolve the excommunicated. To this they would not agree: indeed, their commiſſion did not extend ſo far. Again was Henry enraged, and again he went away, ſaying: " Do
" what you will: I care not the value of an egg for you
" or your excommunication;" and remounted his horſe. The biſhops entreated, and he returned, propoſing to them that they immediately write to the pope. As objections were made, he ſaid: " And what if they ſhould lay my
" kingdom under an interdict? Can not I, who am able
" to take a ſtrong caſtle every day of the year, arreſt an
" eccleſiaſtic who ſhall dare to be guilty of that act?" The tempeſt ſoon after ceaſed, when he calmly obſerved: " Af-
" ter all, it is my duty to do much at the requeſt of his
" holineſs, who is our lord and our father: Becket, there-
" fore, may return to his ſee; and him and his friends I
" again take into favour." The nuncios and the aſſembly expreſſed great ſatisfaction [c].

[c] Ep. 6.

But

BOOK II.

1169. But peace was not yet concluded. The *form* of reconciliation remained to be ſettled, and the king inſiſted that the words, *ſaving the dignity of his kingdom*, ſhould be inſerted. "That was but a ſofter name for the cuſtoms of "Clarendon," obſerved the primate's friends, and propoſed that the counter-clauſe, *ſaving the dignity of the church*, ſhould then be admitted. Aſſemblies were held; diſcuſſions full of acrimony were revived; and neither party would recede. Michaelmas, in the mean time, approached, when the commiſſion of the nuncios expired, and Gratian, weary of the fruitleſs negotiation, prepared to return into Italy. Vivian remained.

The king had more confidence in Vivian, imagining, after the departure of his colleague, that he might be prevailed on to adopt his meaſures. He propoſed to meet him at St. Denys, to which place Vivian entreated that Becket alſo would repair, being convinced from ſome expreſſions of Henry, that an accommodation would now be effected. The primate very reluctantly conſented, and came to Corbeil. At St. Denys, where the two kings again met on ſome public buſineſs, Vivian, in vain, laboured to extort from Henry a final compliance with the promiſe, he thought, he had made him. His anſwers were evaſive; and the Italian finding himſelf duped, did not reſtrain his anger: "So lying a prince," ſaid he, "I never heared or "ſaw." They parted; and the king, paſſing by Montmartre, was viſited by Becket. The archbiſhop of Rouen, with other mediators, ſpoke for the primate; in his name, requeſting that to him and his friends he would give peace, permit their return, and reſtore their poſſeſſions to them: "while

" while the primate, on his ſide, they ſaid, was ready to " do all that an archbiſhop owed to his prince." — After ſome converſation, which ſeemed to promiſe a happy iſſue, the petition was reduced to writing, when Becket added that, as a pledge of favour and greater ſecurity, he hoped he might be reconciled to the king by *a kiſs of peace*. This was a cuſtomary form in reconciliations. The petition was read, and much approved; but again the king had recourſe to evaſions, uſing a circuitous language, which, while it ſeemed to grant every thing, was, in fact, loaded with inadmiſſible conditions. " And as to the *kiſs of peace*," ſaid he, " willingly I would grant the pledge, had I not pub- " licly ſworn in my anger never to do it, though concord " were reſtored betwixt us." Thus ended the treaty; for the king of France and many others ſtrongly adviſed the primate, not to return to his ſee, unleſs Henry gave this eaſy token of peace [d].

Hardly had Vivian turned his back, when Henry diſpatched a meſſenger, requeſting he would return, and offering him twenty marks, would he reſume his mediation. With a becoming dignity he rejected the baſe offer, and wrote to the king, ſtill as a friend, adviſing him to embrace the late propoſal, leſt the ſtorm, which threatened, immediately involve him and his kingdom [e].—Alarmed, indeed, was this mighty monarch, and again he ſent his envoys to Beneventum: for as Gratian was returned, with the young archbiſhop of Sens, the peculiar friend of Becket, he doubted not, but on their repreſentation, the evil he dreaded muſt at laſt come. Vivian alſo he had inſulted.

[d] Ep. 9, 10, 62. Gerv. [e] Ep. 62, 63.

With

BOOK II.

1169.

With pain muſt Henry have reviewed the laſt tranſactions. At Domfront he had been indecently impetuous; at Baieux teſty as a child, and changeful as an April morning; at St. Denys falſe and illuſory; and at Montmartre ſo triflingly evaſive, as to convince moſt men, that the primate with reaſon doubted the ſincerity of profeſſions, which fear only, it ſeemed, in the preſſure of intervals, extorted from him.

Severe edict of the king.

But neither would he rely on the care his miniſters might take of his intereſt at Beneventum; nor on the influence he had before gained amongſt the cardinals. He ſent an edict into England of great ſeverity, which he commanded to be univerſally obeyed, purporting; That if any perſon ſhould be found carrying any mandate from the pope or Becket, whereby an interdict might be laid on the country, he be treated as a traitor to the king and kingdom: that all perſons obeying ſuch interdict, be baniſhed the realm, with all their kindred: that no man appeal to the pope or the archbiſhop: that no eccleſiaſtic go beyond ſea, or return into England, without a paſſport. Such, and more were theſe injunctions, and the ſheriffs of the counties were commanded to tender an oath of obedience to all the ſubjects of the realm, above the age of fifteen. The laity ſubmitted; but the prelates, and abbots, and principal clergy, were not ſo tractable. They refuſed to aſſemble, agreeably to the king's order, and condemned the whole proceeding. Among theſe ſtood foremoſt Henry of Wincheſter; and the biſhop of Norwich publicly excommunicated the earl of Cheſter, as a mandate from Becket injoined him, in the preſence even of the officers who had brought him a prohibition from the king. Coming down from

from the pulpit, he laid his paſtoral ſtaff on the altar: "Now let me ſee," ſaid he, "who will dare to ſtretch his "hand againſt the poſſeſſions of the church?[f]"—Another attempt was made to bring about a reconciliation, which ended as others had done; and the year eleven hundred and ſixty-nine cloſed. 1169.

1170.

The king's miniſters at Beneventum had obtained, that new commiſſioners ſhould be appointed, the archbiſhop of Rouen and the biſhop of Nevers. They were ordered to wait on Henry, and to admoniſh him to permit the primate to return to his ſee, to reſtore to him and his friends their poſſeſſions with full ſecurity, and to be reconciled to him by the kiſs of peace: but if, within forty days, after this admonition, he delayed to comply, they are commanded to lay all his dominions in France under an interdict, by which the whole ſervice of the church ſhall ceaſe, ſave the adminiſtration of baptiſm, and of penance to the dying. Should the proſpect of an accommodation be certain, they are authoriſed to abſolve the excommunicated, and then to exhort the king to aboliſh the evil cuſtoms of his realm[g]. —Alexander had been aſſured that to theſe terms Henry would aſſent, and full of this conviction he wrote many letters, to the king, to the archbiſhop of York, and to the ſuffragans of Canterbury. New commiſſioners appointed.

But now it was every where reported, that the king meant to crown the young prince Henry, by the hands of the archbiſhop of York, to the prejudice, doubtleſs, of the ſee of Canterbury, to which, by ancient cuſtom, the coronation of our kings belonged. Rouſed by the news, Becket

[f] Ep. 65. Gerv.

[g] L. v. ep. 3, 6, 1, 7, 8.

BOOK II.

1170.

left nothing unattempted whereby he might impede its conſummation. He obtained letters of inhibition from Alexander, directed to the archbiſhop of York and the Engliſh prelates; and himſelf, on every ſide, was loud and threatening[h]. Nothing ſucceeded. The meſſengers, who were returned from Beneventum, one of whom, let it be obſerved, was the notorious John of Oxford, reported not only that the pope approved the meaſure; but that even he had empowered the archbiſhop to perform the ceremony. A letter to this purpoſe, addreſſed to that prelate, ſeems to have been circulated[i]. *

Prince Henry crowned.

In the month of March, the king embarked for England, and, after a dangerous paſſage, in which he loſt five ſhips, and many of his noble train, landed at Portſmouth, after an abſence of almoſt four years. To correct the diſorders, which, he ſaw with indignation, had disfigured the general adminiſtration of government, was his firſt care: but of this I ſhall ſpeak afterwards: and his next was, to ſolemniſe the coronation of his ſon. — The policy of this meaſure, which, though for a long time practiſed in France, had not yet been ſeen in England, cannot eaſily be diſcovered. An empty title, with no increaſe of power, was all it was deſigned to confer: but would not the name of king, with its pageant enſigns, naturally, in a young mind, excite a thirſt for more ſubſtantial honours? — Whatever were Henry's views, haſtening to their accompliſhment, he convened the great council of the nation. The great council of the nation, biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, ſheriffs, wardens, aldermen, met him at Weſtminſter, where, all wondering

[h] L. iv. ep. 42, 43, 44, 45. [i] Hiſt. of Hen. ii. p. 540. * See append. ii.

wondering at the novel ſight, in ſolemn pomp the prince was crowned; Roger of York, with four attendant prelates, performing the ceremony. On the following day, public homage was performed by all the vaſſals; and at dinner, with an ill-judged condeſcenſion, the father, with his own hands, miniſtered to the royal youth. He was in his ſixteenth year, and by character headſtrong and arrogant. With him was not crowned the princeſs Margaret, whom with queen Eleanor the king had left in Normandy[k].

The commiſſioners, having received their mandates, had been ordered to follow the king into England: and of this they acquainted him, when he requeſted they would not expoſe themſelves to the danger of the ſea, adding, that he ſhould immediately return to the continent. But Becket heared the news of the coronation with bitter pain; he heared, at the ſame time, that neither his own nor Alexander's letters, inhibiting the ceremony, had been publicly delivered; and he heared that one of the commiſſioners, with too eaſy a placability, had abſolved the biſhop of London from the ſentence of ſuſpenſion. His diſappointment and trouble of mind, as uſual, he vented in many complaints, which gave occaſion to explications, and apologies, and accuſations, in a multifarious correſpondence[l].

Henry, however urgent the preſs of buſineſs, could not prolong his ſtay in England: for Louis, provoked at the inſult offered to him in the perſon of his daughter Margaret, had entered Normandy; and the term fixed for the reconciliation with Becket drew to a concluſion. He again croſſed the ſea, having previouſly aſſured the commiſſioners, that

[k] Gervas. Hoveden. an. 1170.

[l] Ep. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.

 nothing

BOOK II. 1170.

nothing ſhould, on his ſide, fruſtrate the treaty; and an interview, beſides, had been ſettled with the king of France, for the twentieth of July. The primate engaged to be preſent.

Henry and the primate are reconciled

In a meadow near Fretval, on the borders of Touraine, the kings met, and after two days conference, adjuſted every cauſe of difference.—The archbiſhop of Sens, with the commiſſioners, then waited on Henry. In their company Becket had come to Fretval; and they ſo ſettled preliminaries, that his majeſty appointed the next day for the interview. Early in the morning, with a numerous retinue, the king entered the meadow; and ſoon after came the primate, not unſplendidly attended. The crowd of ſpectators was vaſt. Springing from the circle, when he ſaw him at a diſtance, Henry galloped up to the archbiſhop, and ſaluted him, bareheaded. A few words of gratulation paſſed, and they both withdrew, familiarly converſing as they retired from the company. It did not ſeem, from their deportment, that they had ever been enemies.—With much gentleneſs, the primate exhorted Henry to retrieve his reputation which had ſuffered, and to make ſatisfaction to the church. The king aſſented. Becket then ſpoke of the late coronation, which he repreſented as an enormous derogation from the rights of Canterbury, and hiſtorically detailed the uniform practice from the conqueſt. "I "doubt not," ſaid Henry, "but your ſee is the moſt noble "amongſt the weſtern churches; nor is it my wiſh to "deprive it of its rights; rather, as you ſhall adviſe, I will "ſtrive to repair the evil, and to reſtore to Canterbury its "priſtine dignity. But to thoſe who hitherto have betrayed

"both

" both you and me, I will, by the bleſſing of God, make " ſuch an anſwer, as the deſerts of traitors demand." At the words, Becket ſprang from his horſe, and threw himſelf before the king; but he, ſeizing the ſtirrup, forced him to remount, and ſaid, as the tears fell from his eyes: " My lord archbiſhop, why many words? Let us reſtore " to each other our former affection, and in mutual good " offices, forget every cauſe of rancour. But ſhew me " honour, I beg, before thoſe yonder, who have their eyes " turned towards us." With this, leaving Becket, he rode up to the company, and obſerving ſome there who had been promoters of the late quarrel, he ſpoke: " If, when I find " the primate full of all good diſpoſitions in my regard, I " were not reciprocally good to him; truly, I ſhould be the " worſt of men, and prove that to be true which is ſaid of " me. There cannot be any counſel more honourable or " uſeful to me, than that I ſhould ſtrive to go before him " in kindneſs, and ſurpaſs him in the general practice of " beneficence." The addreſs was received with the warmeſt plaudits[m].

He ſent to the primate, who remained at a diſtance, deſiring he would now, in the face of the aſſembly, ſtate his petition. The biſhops, who bore the meſſage, adviſed him to ſubmit himſelf and his cauſe to the king's pleaſure; but he declined their counſel, and they left him. He then deliberated with his friends, the companions principally of his exile; and having adjuſted the terms, they all moved towards the king, who ſtood ſurrounded by his attendants. In the name of Becket, the archbiſhop of Sens ſpoke, and petitioned

[m] Ep. 45.

BOOK II. 1170.

petitioned, "that he would reſtore to the primate his royal "favour, peace and ſecurity to him and his, with the "church of Canterbury, and the poſſeſſions belonging to "it, as ſet down in a writing the king had ſeen; that he "would be graciouſly pleaſed to amend, what had been pre-"ſumptuouſly done againſt him and his church, in the late "coronation; while, on his ſide, the primate promiſed "love and honour, and whatever ſervice can be performed "in the Lord, by an archbiſhop, to his ſovereign." — "I "agree to all," replied the monarch, "and the primate "and his friends I again take into favour[n]."

A long and private converſation, with the familiarity of ancient friendſhip, now took place between them; and only as night approached, they parted, having agreed, that Becket ſhould firſt wait on the French king and his other benefactors, as gratitude required; and then make ſome ſtay with Henry, before he returned into England, that the world might learn how ſincere their reconciliation was. They were departing, when it was propoſed to Becket, that he ſhould abſolve the excommunicated, ſhewing to others the indulgence, which himſelf had juſt experienced. He obſerved, that the caſes were very different, there being ſome in that number, whom the pope and other biſhops had ſuſpended, and whoſe crimes were of various deſcriptions: "But being willing to ſhew mercy to all," ſaid he, "I will "take the advice of my king, and proceed as ſhall ſeem "moſt expedient." Apprehenſive that an altercation might enſue, Henry drew the primate from the crowd, and requeſting he would not heed the diſcourſes of ſuch men, he begged his benediction, and they all retired[o].

Soon

[n] Ibid. Gerv. Vita l. iii. c. 1. [o] Ibid.

Difficulties are raiſed.

Soon after the conference, as they had been empowered, the commiſſioners abſolved the excommunicated; and Becket diſpatched agents to take poſſeſſion of the lands and the effects of his ſee; for the king had ſent letters patent to his ſon, whereby he was commanded to make an ample reſtitution of all things, as they had been poſſeſſed three months before the primate departed from England. But it was the intereſt of many not to comply with theſe injunctions. They had long received the great revenues of the ſee, and were not diſpoſed to relinquiſh them. Excuſes therefore were made, difficulties were raiſed, the young king was impoſed on, and the day of reſtitution was put off. In the mean time, greater extortions were committed, and the produce of the lands, and the furniture of houſes and caſtles, were conſumed or conveyed to a diſtance. So the agents reported [p].

Weeks had paſſed, when Becket again ſaw the king at Tours, where he was received by him with a marked coolneſs; and, being preſſed to execute the terms of peace, he told him to go to England, and that his poſſeſſions would be reſtored.—A few days after, he met him at Chaumont near Blois, when Henry, with great kindneſs, converſed with him; and it was finally agreed, that he ſhould immediately return to Canterbury [q]. But it was evident, that the king's heart was altered, and that he felt no longer the warmth of returning affection, which he had expreſſed at Fretval. From that time two months had elapſed. The change might be owning to many cauſes, (if ever his profeſſions were ſincere;) but principally it aroſe from the repre-

[p] Ep. 53. Gerv. Vita.

[q] Vita c. 2.

BOOK II. 1170.

repreſentations of thoſe, who were intereſted in the prolongation of the quarrel, or who, from enmity to Becket, wiſhed he might never return. Becket himſelf, on many occaſions, aſcribed the whole quarrel, as he did the preſent breach of faith, not to the king, but to ſuch men as I deſcribed, whom animoſity and the love of rapine ſwayed. Among theſe he placed foremoſt Roger of York and Gilbert of London, and thoſe who fattened on the lands of Canterbury[r].

Alexander, to whom regularly every event was reported, heared with much pleaſure of the reconciliation; but ſoon alſo he heared that its conditions were not complied with. He ordered his commiſſioners, therefore, to announce to the king, that if, within thirty days, after this admonition given, he did not accompliſh the peace, all his dominions in France ſhould be interdicted. The primate alſo had obtained mandates of excommunication againſt thoſe prelates, who had aſſiſted at the coronation[s]. It was the end of October. Preparing, therefore, to depart from Sens, he wrote to the king.—He ſpeaks of the reconciliation at Fretval, and he calls on God to witneſs the ſincerity with which he embraced it: that he likewiſe had acceded to it with diſpoſitions equally ſincere, truſting to his profeſſions, he had not doubted. The letters he had ſent to his ſon, commanding a reſtitution of his property, evinced, at the ſame time, his benevolence, and the peace and ſecurity he had offered. But, under various pretences, this reſtitution was delayed, he obſerves, from motives which Henry may inveſtigate, and which, he is well aſſured, have a tendency to

[r] Ep. 73.

[s] Ep. 29, 31, 67, 68, 69.

1170.

to injure his honour and the peace of the church. He mentions Ranulph de Broc, who, for ſeven years, had oppreſſed the ſee of Canterbury, ſpoiling its lands, and diſſipating its revenues, and whoſe hands were now become doubly rapacious. To prove this he has witneſſes. "In "the hearing of many, he has boaſted," continues he, "that I ſhall not live to eat a whole loaf of bread in Eng- "land." Yet all theſe evils, he tells him, he has power to avert: but that, if, as it now appears, Canterbury muſt periſh from the enmity certain perſons bear to himſelf, to ſave her; he is ready to preſent his throat to the executioner. He concludes: "Once more it was my wiſh "to ſee you, Sir; but in lowneſs of heart, as you permit "me, I am compelled to reviſit my afflicted church, there, "perhaps, to periſh for her ſafety, unleſs I am ſpeedily "reſcued by your goodneſs. But whether I live or die, "to you I am devoted, in the Lord, and ever will be. "Whatever befall me or mine, may heaven bleſs you and "your children![t]" He never wrote more to Henry.

The primate returns to England.

Reſolved to embark for England, though his friends from all quarters adviſed him not yet to attempt it, he ſent before him his faithful ſecretary, John of Saliſbury. Sorry was the ſecretary to find all true that the agents had reported, and of this he informed his maſter. He informed him that, beſides the general ſtate of dilapidation, of demoliſhed houſes, of empty barns, of uncultivated lands, of fallen woods, and of a ruined tenantry, the revenues of the *laſt half year* had been juſt ſeized, and his agents ejected from their offices. He informed him, that the archbiſhop

[t] Ep. 54.

BOOK II. 1170.

of York, and the biſhops of London and Saliſbury, were the inſtigators of every violence; that they had entreated the king not to permit his return, unleſs he reſigned his legatine powers, and unleſs he promiſed to obſerve the cuſtoms of Clarendon. —The primate, in the mean while, went to Rouen, hoping, as it had been intimated by the king, that he ſhould there be enabled to diſcharge his debts, and return with honour: but here he found John of Oxford, with a letter from his maſter, which requeſted that he would no longer delay his journey, and which appointed the ſame John to eſcort him[u]. —Evidently was Henry aware, that the primate would be expoſed to danger, or he would not thus have wantonly inſulted him. John of Oxford was his declared enemy; but he was the confidential ſervant of the king, and therefore moſt proper to guard him from violence.—They departed for Whitſand in Flanders.

Waiting here for a favourable wind, Becket was warned by a private meſſenger from the earl of Boulogne, to take care of himſelf. Intelligence was alſo conveyed to him, that the three prelates had paſſed through Canterbury, where they had inſtigated ſome powerful lords, the notorious Ranulph de Broc, Reginald de Warenne, and Gervaſe de Cornhill, with an armed force to guard the coaſts, on which the primate was expected to land. Their orders were to ſearch his baggage, from a well-grounded apprehenſion, that he brought mandates from the pope. But the lay conſpirators, (for conſpirators certainly they were, who, unwarranted by legal power, proceeded thus violently to moleſt

[u] Ep. 64, 73. Gerv. Vit. c. 3.

moleſt an unoffending ſubject,) publicly threatened his life, if he dared to land. The biſhops were at Dover[v].

Thoroughly appriſed, as Becket expreſſes it, of theſe machinations, he took a haſty reſolution, which ſound policy could not juſtify, however much common reſentment might ſuggeſt the meaſure, or the deſerts of his enemies might call for it, or the permiſſion of the king had empowered him to do it. The papal mandates, which ſuſpended Roger of York, and renewed the ſentence of excommunication againſt the biſhops of London and Saliſbury, he ſent over, the very day before himſelf embarked; and they were put into their hands, while they were projecting, by every violence, to oppoſe the reſtoration of order and concord[w]. — The occaſion of this cenſure was the irregular coronation of the prince: but it had not been, at this time, inflicted, it ſeems, had the behaviour of thoſe prelates been leſs malevolent and inſulting; for the other biſhops, who aſſiſted at the ceremony, though involved in the ſame ſentence, were not moleſted[x]. Beſides, had it been his fixed intention to proceed thus rigorouſly againſt them, and thereby to evince to the world, that his reſentments were implacable, his pride unconquerable, and the love of concord moſt alien from his heart, he would not have waited to this precarious moment. It was their own hoſtile animoſity which rouſed him: and if the coolneſs of reflection cannot applaud the ſtep, the quick feelings of humanity will be at hand to mitigate our cenſure.

[v] Ep. 64, 73. Gerv. Vit. c. 3. [w] Ibid. Dicet. Neubrig.

[x] Ep. 73.

BOOK II.

1170.

Still he was adviſed not to venture. "I ſee England "before me," he obſerved, "and I will go to it, what-"ever may be the iſſue. It is enough, that the paſtor has "been, ſeven years, abſent from his flock." So ſaying he embarked, and after a proſperous voyage, landed in Sandwich harbour, on the firſt day of December. — With unbounded atteſtations of joy he was received by the people; but the armed band, headed by the noblemen, I mentioned, who had expected him at Dover, marched in great haſte to Sandwich. The inhabitants of the place took up arms, reſolved to defend the primate; while John of Oxford, who with pain viewed the wild attempt, went out to meet them. In the name of the king, he forbad them to offer any injury to the archbiſhop or his followers, well aware that the honour of his maſter was concerned; and if they would ſpeak to him, he ſaid, they might do it in a leſs hoſtile manner. They came up unarmed, and without much ceremony, demanded that the ſtranger, who was with the primate, the archdeacon of Sens, ſhould take an oath of allegiance to Henry and his ſon. This was reſiſted. They then queſtioned him, with much rudeneſs, about the ſuſpenſion of the biſhops; but as the crowd round the primate was great, and not diſpoſed to ſee him inſulted, they left him, and returned to the prelates at Dover[y].

The next day, he went to Canterbury. The acclamations on the road, and his reception in the city, with the ringing of bells, the muſic of inſtruments, and the ſongs of the clergy, ſpoke welcome to his heart, and atteſted the joys of the people.—On the morrow, came the ſame barons with

[y] Gerv. ep. ut ſup.

with the chaplains of the biſhops, demanding their abſolution from the ſentence, which had been pronounced, they ſaid, in defiance of the king, and the cuſtoms of the realm. "I did it," replied Becket, "with the king's permiſſion; "and abſolve them I cannot: for an inferior judge cannot "undo the ſentence of his ſuperior, who is here the "Roman pontiff." They urged it more ſtrongly, and they threatened the indignation of the king. "If the two "biſhops then," obſerved he, "will take an oath before "me, according to the uſual form, to obey the pope's "injunctions in this affair; for the peace of the church, "and out of reverence to the king, with his advice, and "with the advice of the biſhop of Wincheſter and others of "my brethren, I will venture to abſolve them at my own "peril, and will treat them with every mark of gentleneſs "and affection." The anſwer was reported to the biſhops; when Roger of York (whoſe caſe the pope had reſerved to himſelf) objected to the oath, which could not be taken, he ſaid, without leave of the king. It was obſerved, that the ſame biſhops, when lately excommunicated by the primate only, had not been abſolved without an oath to that effect; and they ſeemed now diſpoſed to accede to the terms of peace. "I have by me eight thouſand marks of ſilver," ſaid Roger: "them, if neceſſary, I will freely ſpend to "repreſs the ſtubborn arrogance of that man. Be not "deceived; rather let us repair to the king, who hitherto "has protected us. If you quit him for his enemy, (for "never will their reconciliation be ſincere,) expect to be "deemed deſerters, and to be expelled from your ſees. "Where then will you go to beg your bread? Be true to

"the

BOOK II. 1170.

"the king. What more can Thomas do to you, than "he has done already?[z]"

The addreſs ſucceeded, and the three prelates inſtantly determined to ſail for Normandy. But before their departure, they diſpatched meſſengers to the young king, by malicious inſinuations, to perſuade him, that it was the archbiſhop's intention to deprive him of his throne![a]—Himſelf, on his arrival, had ſent to the prince, to acquaint him of his return, and to apologiſe for the ſuſpenſion of the biſhops. He now purpoſed to wait on young Henry, who reſided at Woodſtock, and after that, to make the viſitation of his dioceſe. His entrance into London was ſplendid; but, the next morning, two officers from Woodſtock ſtopped his progreſs, commanding him not to enter the king's cities or caſtles, and to return to his church. The inſinuations of the biſhops, though abſurd and puerile, had produced their effect. He obeyed.

And now returned to Canterbury, he ſpent the days which intervened before Chriſtmas, in retirement, in prayer, and in ſermons to the monks and the people; for the general aſpect of things, and the reports of every day, clearly told him, that ſomething diſaſtrous would ſurely follow. He had reaſon to apprehend, as he ſays himſelf, that the biſhops who had croſſed the ſeas, would impoſe on the king, and rekindle his anger againſt the church, which God, ſays he, avert! In other regards, amidſt the fears of his friends, he was unmoved and dauntleſs. On Chriſtmas day, he preached in the great church, and at the end of his ſermon, told the people, that he ſhould quickly leave them.

[z] Vita c. 5, 6, 7. ep. 64, 73. [a] Ep. 73.

them. They wept: when ſuddenly, changing his voice and looks, he vehemently inveighed againſt the vices of the age, and by name excommunicated ſome of the moſt notorious of his enemies[b].

The three prelates, in the mean while, with the expedition of revengeful malice, had ſeen the king in Normandy. In agitation they threw themſelves at his feet, imploring his juſtice againſt the primate, and his clemency for themſelves, for his clergy, and for his kingdom. He had abuſed the king's indulgence, they ſaid; adding falſly, that he had excommunicated not themſelves only, but all thoſe who were preſent at the prince's coronation. "Then, by God's "eyes," ſaid Henry in a rage, "he has excommunicated "me." They proceeded to ſay, with equal truth, that, eſcorted by an armed band of ſoldiers, he was gone to the young king, purpoſing to enter his caſtles. "And have I "maintained ſo many cowardly and ungrateful men," exclaimed Henry, no longer maſter of himſelf, "not one "of whom will revenge the injuries I have ſuſtained from "that turbulent prieſt!" He added other unguarded reflections againſt the primate[c].

Four gentlemen of the king's bedchamber, knights and barons of the realm, Reginald Fitzurſe, William de Traci, Richard Brito, and Hugh de Moreville, willing to gratify the anger of their prince, the furious impetuoſity of which they ſhould have known better, inſtantly reſolved to execute his menaces. They departed for England, and landing near Dover, proceeded to the caſtle of Ranulph de Broc, about ſix miles from Canterbury. Here they ſpent the

Is aſſaſſinated

[b] Vit. c. 9, 10. Gerv. Hoved.

[c] Vit. c. 8, 11. Gerv.

BOOK II. 1170.

the night, concerting with that enemy of Becket, how beſt they ſhould execute their deſign. He had under his orders a band of ſoldiers. Theſe they agreed to take with them; and on the following day, which was Tueſday, the twenty-ninth of December, concealing their arms, they entered the city[d].

Clarembaldus, a man of notorious depravity, whom Henry had forced on the monks, was abbot of St. Auſtin's. Into his monaſtery he received the conſpirators, and entertained them, mutually conferring together on the dark buſineſs they had in hand. Mean while the primate, whoſe palace was a part of Chriſtchurch, had dined, and after dinner was converſing on buſineſs, with the monks and his clergy. The knights entered his apartment, and, without ceremony, ſeated themſelves on the ground at his feet.—"We bring you orders from the king," ſaid Reginald Fitzurſe, after a pauſe of ſilence: "will you hear them in "public, or in private?"—"As it ſhall pleaſe you beſt," replied Becket.—"In private then," rejoined Reginald: on which the company was told to quit the room. But he had not ſpoken long, when the primate obſerved that, it would be well, that others ſhould hear what he ſaid; and calling to his clergy, bad them to return. Reginald proceeded: "We order you, in the king's name, to go to his ſon, and "pay him the homage which is due to your lord."—"I "have done it," replied Becket.—"You have not," ſaid Reginald; "for you have ſuſpended his biſhops, which "looks as if you would tear the crown from his head."—"Many crowns, rather, I would place on his head; and "as

[d] Vit. c. 12. Gerv.

1170.

" as to the biſhops, they were ſuſpended not by me, but " by the pope;" anſwered the primate.—" The ſentence " was procured by you;" he rejoined.—Becket ſaid; " It " does not diſpleaſe me, I confeſs, when the pope avenges " the injuries of the church and my own."—He then ſpoke of the inſults he had received, and of the many evils to which his own poſſeſſions and thoſe of his friends had been expoſed, ſince the reconciliation at Fretval. — " Had you " brought theſe complaints before your peers," obſerved Reginald, interrupting him, " juſtice had been done you." — " I have experienced the contrary," replied Becket: " But, Reginald; you and more than two hundred knights " were preſent, when the king told me, I might compel " thoſe to make ſatisfaction, by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, who " had diſturbed the peace of the church; nor can I longer " diſſemble the proper diſcharge of my paſtoral duties."— The knights ſprang from the ground: " We heared no " ſuch words," exclaimed they: " but theſe are threats. " Monks; we command you to guard this man: if he " eſcape, you ſhall anſwer for him."—So ſaying, they went out; but Becket following them to the outward door; " I " came not here to run away, gentlemen," he called after them; " nor do I value your threats." — " You ſhall find " ſomething more than threats;" they anſwered, and departed[e].

" It is wonderful," ſaid John of Saliſbury, when they were gone, " that you will take no one's advice. Why ſtill " more irritate thoſe miſcreants by your replies, and follow " them to the door? We could have adviſed you better."

[e] Gerv. Vita. c. 13, 14.

BOOK II.

1170.

—"My reſolution is taken," anſwered the primate; "and "I well know what I ſhould do."—"Heaven grant, it may "be ſucceſsful!" rejoined the ſecretary.

In the court of the palace, under a large mulberry-tree, the knights took off their outer garments, and appeared in armour; and having opened the door to the ſoldiers, they had brought with them, they all ſeized their arms, and again entered the palace. The arms the knights bore, were an axe in the left hand, to break through obſtacles, if neceſſary, and in the right they brandiſhed their naked ſwords. With much difficulty the primate had been prevailed on to leave his apartment: but the monks, whom his danger had alarmed, inſiſted on it; and as the evening ſervice had begun, they led him to the church. With a ſlow and reluctant ſtep, he advanced through the cloiſters, and entered by a ſide-door. All was confuſion here. "Cowards," ſaid he to them, as they were barring the doors, "I forbid you "to do it. I did not come here to reſiſt, but to ſuffer." Scarcely had he ſaid the words, when the aſſaſſins, who had not found him in the palace, came ruſhing through the cloiſters, and entering the church, divided. The primate, mean while, had aſcended a few ſteps towards the choir.—"Where is the traitor Becket?" exclaimed Reginald Fitzurſe; and as no anſwer was given: "Where is the arch-"biſhop?" he repeated in a louder tone. Becket turned his head, and coming down the ſteps, ſaid: "Here I am. —"Reginald, I have done you many kindneſſes; and do "you come to me thus armed?"—He ſeized the primate's robe: "you ſhall know at once," ſaid he. "Get out from "hence, and die."—"I will not move:" replied the primate,

primate, drawing his robe from his hand.—"Then fly;" exclaimed the knight.—"Nor that either;" obſerved Becket: "but if it is my blood you want, I am ready to "die, that the church may obtain liberty and peace; only, "in the name of God, I forbid you to hurt any of my "people."

Reginald retired to give a ſeverer blow; and being joined by the other aſſaſſins, he ſtruck with all his might: but Edward Grime, a clerk, interpoſing his arm, received the weight of the blow, and the archbiſhop was only wounded on the head. "Now ſtrike:" exclaimed Reginald.—Becket bowing his head, in a poſture of prayer; "To God," ſaid he, "and the patrons of this place, I commend myſelf and "the church's cauſe." They were his laſt words. Without a motion or a groan, in the ſame devout attitude, with his hands joined, he received a ſecond ſtroke, and as the murderers multiplied their blows, he fell motionleſs at their feet. "He is dead," ſaid they, and went out [f].

His character

Thus, in the fifty-third year of his age, died Thomas a Becket, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and primate of England.—Without incurring the imputation of a vain ſingularity, may I ſay, that the character of this man has never been fairly appreciated? When the catholic draws the portrait; all his virtues are emblazoned, and his blemiſhes are loſt in the glare of light. They view him as a ſaint; and unfortunately ſo impoſing has that character been rendered, that the eſſential ſtains of mortality are not allowed to reſt upon it. Since the recent date of the reformation, it ſhould ſeem, that the moral order of things has been inverted.

[f] Gerv. Chron. et Act. Pont. Hoveden. Vit. c. 15, 16, 17, 18.

BOOK II. 1170.

Some virtues loſt their name; and what had been religious, exemplary, and perfect above the reach of unaſſiſted nature, ceaſed to be ſo. The proteſtant then ſeized the pencil, and viewing Becket, drew a portrait, on which were ſeen no lines of former beauty. On both ſides, is much partial judgment. The ancient hiſtorians, I know, who lie before me, wrote with too warm an impreſſion. The glare of miracles, they thought, was flaſhing round them; and the praiſes of Rome and of Europe echoed in their ears. It is an *apotheoſis* which they celebrate. But becauſe this is too much; can we ſit down with too little, and ſay that we are juſt?

With ſome enthuſiaſm on my mind, I confeſs, I have deſcribed the conduct of Becket. Every where I ſaw him great as other men, and on ſome occaſions, I ſaw him greater. Real excellence there may be; but it is, by comparing only, that we judge. By his ſide, the contemporary men of the day, the greateſt the eræ could produce, in church or ſtate, loſe all their ſplendor. Alexander is an irreſolute and timid politician: the prelates of England, baſely deſerting a cauſe, which their own conſciences held ſacred, are courtly ſycophants, and excite contempt: the ſacred college of cardinals, bribed by gold, forget their dignity, and bartering away the privileges of the Roman ſee, publicly poſt up their venality, and become the ſhame of chriſtendom: Henry, the lord of many people, whom Europe then admired, and whom poſterity has called the greateſt of Engliſh kings, through the quarrel which himſelf provoked, is wayward, vindictive, timorous, and deceptious, never ſhewing one exertion which became a king, and ever indulging a train of

of affections, which would have diſgraced his loweſt vaſſal: Becket, from the beginning, is firm, dauntleſs, compoſed, and manly; like a deep and majeſtic river, he proceeds even in his courſe, hardly ruffled by rocks of oppoſition, and true to the level he had taken.

His endowments from nature were great, and he had given to them ſuch cultivation, as the ſtate of the times permitted. It would have been well, perhaps, had he never ſeen Bologna, and imbibed from its maſters thoſe maxims of church domination, which, though the age held them ſacred, were to him the occaſion of an unfortunate controverſy, and to others brought much affliction. Early in life, he was engaged in buſineſs, which made him an able negociator; and the favour of his prince, which ſoon followed, raiſed him to uncommon greatneſs. But the unbounded confidence he enjoyed, was all uſed to ennoble the ſource from which it flowed. He did not enrich himſelf, his family, or his retainers. All was Henry's. His influence he employed to gain him friends, and to ſpread his intereſt; and when he diſplayed a munificence, more than royal, it was his maſter's fame he looked to. The love of pleaſure, which, in a diſſipated court, can make the ſtouteſt virtue tremble, paſſed over his ſenſes, as a gentle gale. There was a ſternneſs in his character, which would not bend to affections that enervate; and it is remarkable, that, even when his enemies were moſt numerous and malevolent, they never charged him with a ſingle vice. His ruling paſſions were the paſſions of a great mind, ſuch as, when circumſtances favour, lead men to the achievements of patriots and of heroes; and had providence given Becket to his country,

BOOK II. 1170.

country, but a few years later, we ſhould have ſeen him, oppoſing with main fortitude the wild pretenſions of Rome, and at the head of the barons, wreſting *Magna Charta* from the tyrant ſon of Henry. On ſome occaſions, I think, he was too acrid in his expreſſions, and too unyielding in his conduct; but when we weigh his provocations and the inceſſant ſtreſs of low oppoſition, wonder we cannot, and we may eaſily forgive. His private virtues were amiable. They endeared him to Henry, who loved him with a brother's love; nor were they ſoured, it ſeems, by adverſe fortune. They made him many friends; and John of Saliſbury, his ſecretary and companion, then deſcribes him beſt, when he checks his impetuoſity, and chides his too cauſtic humour, and does not give offence.

With regard to the controverſy itſelf, he only is competent to judge, who can tranſport himſelf back to the times I have deſcribed. The privileges of the church, deemed ſacred, and by a ſelfiſh policy, too much, at all times, confounded with thoſe of religion, were immediately connected with it. To require that Becket, on this head, ſhould not have had the notions, which chriſtian Europe then had, is abſurd; and to require that, from any worldly motive, he ſhould have relinquiſhed them, is to think baſely of human nature. I read in all his letters the ſtrongeſt conviction of the magnitude and holy import of his cauſe. By the force of what caſuiſtry, then, could he have acted than as he did? The favour of his prince, the allurements of patronage, the vaſt power of Canterbury with its wealth, and the endearing ties of his country, he ſacrificed. In the gratification of a ruling paſſion, I know, all that is not connected with it, weighs as

does

does a feather; but, in the ſituation, he left, was there not a wider ſcope for action, than in exile, in the retirement of Pontigny, or in the dependence, even for bread, on the precarious bounty of another?

Religion, I think, through life, gave energy to his conduct. I ſpeak of religion as he viewed it, not always, perhaps, clear from every miſconception in theory, or in practice, always uninfluenced by human failings. To read its divine maxims, with an unerring preciſion, and to be guided in all things, by them alone, has been of ſome minds, I believe, the noble ardour: but the beſt wiſhes of the heart are clogged by the connate weakneſſes of our being.—There was a time, when the virtues which beſt become a churchman, ſtood not foremoſt, it is true, in the life of Becket. That time I marked. But Theobald, his patron and his guide, had then given him to Henry, and told him to be his companion in the cabinet, in the court, in the camp, and in the ſports of the field. The old man's views were upright. Appointed to a higher charge, with which thoſe occupations could not accord, even as a miſjudging age beheld it, with a becoming fortitude, he broke from every engagement, and became the ſhepherd of his flock. Courtiers, he knew, and men of earthly minds, would charge him with ingratitude, and with motives even of ambition. He ſpurned the malevolent imputation, and as the duties of his ſtation directed, ſteadily purſued his choice. What benefits England might have drawn from his exertions, in the promotion of virtue and the ſuppreſſion of vice, the troubles which ſoon followed, did not permit her to experience. To good men the proſpect had been flattering.—Through the trying years

of

BOOK II. 1170.

of proſecution, religion, doubtleſs, often aided his reſolution; and when he exceeded, let it be remembered, that the conviction of his mind, and the patronage of many, had then given an enthuſiaſm to his cauſe.—He practiſed abſtemiouſneſs and other penitential rigours. Theſe, I know, are an equivocal ſign of virtue; but when they are done in ſecret, or are known only to a few, he, truly, muſt be an unequitable man, who will aſcribe them to other motives, than thoſe of piety and ſelf-abaſement.

Give me the greateſt heroes, whom ancient times did deify, or ſuch, as a more temperate poſterity has regiſtered on the liſts of fame, and I will ſay, that Becket, when he cloſed his life, was full as great as they. All his native energy then collected at the heart; and ſeeing the heavens, as he thought, opened to him, he fell, as bleſſed martyrs had done.

In a word, he had blemiſhes, and he had many virtues: his cauſe, which to us wears few marks of chriſtian truth, to him was ſacred, and he defended it ſincerely: but if many catholics have praiſed him immoderately; why ſhall proteſtants be unjuſt? True it is,

> Men's evil manners live in braſs, their virtues
> We write in water.

END OF BOOK II.

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE SECOND,

With the EVENTS of the Period.

## BOOK III.

*Henry is afflicted, and ſends embaſſadors to the pope.—Invaſion of Ireland.—It ſubmits to Henry.—He is reconciled to Rome.—View of Affairs on the continent.—Rebellion of Henry's ſons.—Progreſs of the war.—Henry viſits the tomb of Becket.—The Scottiſh king is taken, and the rebellion in England ſuppreſſed.—The ſiege of Rouen, which is followed by a general peace.—Miſcellaneous occurrences.—Frederic defeated by the Lombards, puts an end to the ſchiſm.—The Vaudois or Albigenſes.—Third council of Lateran.—Events in England.—In France and Germany.—Other occurrences.—Death of the young king.—Independence of the Lombards, and other events.—Embaſſadors from Jeruſalem.—Prince John goes to Ireland.—Conduct of Frederic*

*and the popes.—The detention of Adelais excites hoſtilities.—Battle of Tiberias, and loſs of Jeruſalem.—Preparations for a general cruſade.—Hoſtilities in France.—Henry dies.—Sketch of his character.*

BOOK III.
1171.

HENRY was in Normandy, celebrating the chriſtmas in the caſtle of Bure, and buſied with his council in affairs of general concern, when the fatal news arrived. Having perceived, indeed, that the four gentlemen ſuddenly left his court, he had taken precautions to prevent their violence; and de Humet, his Norman juſticiary, with proper inſtructions, had followed them to England. Their diſpatch eluded all precaution, and the blow was ſtricken[a]. —He heared the news with horror, and for many days, in gloom and conſternation, expreſſed the wildeſt grief. But it was neceſſary, in the preſſing moment, not to be inactive. Two of his chaplains waited on the monks of Canterbury, in their maſter's name, expreſſing his abhorrence of the murder, detailing his grief, pleading his innocence, and begging their prayers in atonement of the crime, which his intemperate expreſſions, he feared, might have occaſioned. "The king," they concluded, "bears no reſentment againſt "the dead; let the body be honourably interred[b]."

Henry is afflicted, and ſends embaſſadors to the pope.

A ſolemn embaſſy was then ſent to the Roman pontiff, at the head of which was the biſhop of Worceſter. But the friends to the deceaſed primate had been more active. Two prieſts, who had ſeen him expire, calling at the French court, took letters from Louis, from the earl of Blois, and two from his brother, the archbiſhop of Sens, and with them haſtened into Italy. The letters, written in the true ſpirit

[a] L. v. ep. 79. Imag. hiſt. an. 1171. [b] Geſt. poſt mart. c. 1.

ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, demanded vengeance againſt Henry; they ſpoke of Becket as of God's martyr; and they more than intimated, that miracles were already worked at his tomb[c]. — Through many difficulties the royal embaſſy reached Sienna, whence four of the company were diſpatched to wait on his holineſs, at Fraſcati. Alexander refuſed to ſee them. Henry, however, had friends among the cardinals, by whoſe intereſt an interview was procured. Arduous was the taſk to exculpate their maſter, when guilt was ſo apparent, and when the general voice called for juſtice; nor could they effect it. The privileges of the church, and the dignity of the Roman ſee, of which Becket had been legate, were all involved. The Engliſh miniſters ſaw reaſon to deſpond, but they were not idle, for the fatal day, the Thurſday before eaſter, approached, when it was cuſtomary to denounce eccleſiaſtical cenſures. In theſe cenſures, it was ſaid, his holineſs was immutably fixed to include Henry and all his dominions. Thus alarmed, and adviſed by their friends in the ſacred college, the miniſters notified to the pope, that they were empowered to declare, on oath, that the king would ſubmit to his commands, and that himſelf, in perſon, would ſwear the ſame. On the day, they ſo much dreaded, they took this oath; and Alexander was content, by a general ſentence, to excommunicate the murderers of Becket, and all who *adviſed*, or *abetted*, or *aſſented* to, their crime[d].

Soon after eaſter, came the other embaſſadors, who had remained at Sienna, and admitted to audience, they pleaded their maſter's cauſe. But Alexander ſeemed reſolved to

[c] Ep. 78, 80, 81, 82.

[d] Ep. 83, 84.

BOOK III. 1171.

puniſh. They intreated, therefore, they implored the aid of the cardinals, and they invogorated that aid, it is ſaid, by profuſive donations; when the pope finally conſented to ſend legates, "who might ſee and know the king's humility."—Thus were matters mitigated, the thunder was ſuſpended, and it did not ſeem, that meaſures of any violence would be uſed, till the legates, who were not yet named, ſhould come into Normandy[e].—The embaſſadors returned.

Henry did not wait their return; but hearing what the pontiff's intentions were, he would not expoſe himſelf, ſo ſoon, to the wily arts of his Italian emiſſaries, which he had often experienced; and ſailed to England. The ports he ordered to be guarded, and all paſſengers to be ſearched, that no letters of interdict might reach him[f].—Paſſing near Wincheſter, he viſited its venerable biſhop, who was near his end, and who, with much ſeverity, called him to account for the late unhappy incident. Five days after he died, having poſſeſſed the ſee of Wincheſter more than forty years. The uncommon character of Henry de Blois, and the events of his life, would form an epiſode of much entertainment; but the preſs of various buſineſs forbids the digreſſion.

And now an object of vaſt magnitude engroſſed the thoughts of Henry. It was the conqueſt of a kingdom, nature's faireſt iſland; which, once, in arts, in ſcience, in commerce, and in arms, ſhall threaten rivalſhip to England, when a ſiſter's love, uniting all their intereſts, may call to them the admiration of ſurrounding nations. I ſpeak of Ireland, to enter which he now prepared; and the

[e] Ep. 83, 84. [f] Gerv. an. 1171.

the buſy reflections of the people, and his own melancholy, averted from the death of Becket, were, for a time, abſorbed in the ſplendor of this new achievement. It was the month of Auguſt.

Invaſion of Ireland.

Soon after his acceſſion to the throne, under what pretence, I know not, Henry had meditated this expedition; and to veil the rapacious ſcheme, he had procured a bull from Rome, empowering him to ſeize the devoted land, as a part of the rightful demeſne of St. Peter: "for all the iſlands," ſaid the pope, "belong to him." The ridiculous pretenſion was founded, it ſeems, on a ſuppoſed donation of Conſtantine, which the criticiſm of the age had not then diſcovered to be ſpurious. But to reform the ways of that fallen people, by extending among them the chriſtian faith, by enlarging the bounds of the church, and by ſecuring to the ſee of Rome a penny from every houſe, was the oſtenſible motive, as the bull declares, which would ſanctify the meaſure [g].—The deſcription which hiſtorians, too partial, doubtleſs, to the Engliſh intereſt, or biaſſed by exaggerated tales, have left us of the barbarous manners of the Iriſh, of their vices, and of the want of every internal reſource, whereby governments are upheld, exhibits the wildeſt chaos. Immerged in indolence, ſay they, not to labour they deemed ſupreme delight, and freedom from reſtraint was the only treaſure which they valued. The gifts of nature to Ireland were excellent; her own acquiſitions were deteſtable [h]. So ſpoke her enemies. Yet, but a few centuries before, from certain documents we know, what that iſland was. It

[g] Baron. an. 1159. Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 357.

[h] Giral. Camb. Topograph. Hibern.

BOOK III. 1171.

It was the ſeat of ſcience, the ſeminary of learning, and the reſort of thoſe, whom the nobleſt views could animate. Thither many retired from England, and they were received with open arms. The Iriſh maintained them; they gave them books; they became their maſters. To them nations were indebted for the light of chriſtianity; and in many countries, of which they were the apoſtles, they founded convents, diffuſing abroad the ſpirit of genuine virtue, diſpelling the ſhades of ignorance, and becoming, what is moſt noble in human achievements, the real friends to man[i].

As ſuccinctly as may be, I ſhall detail the events of this conqueſt.—Ireland, at the times I am deſcribing, was compoſed of five principal ſovereignties, Leinſter, Munſter, Meath, Ulſter, and Connaught, over which, with a power rather nominal, preſided a prince, whom they called their monarch. This was Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught. Though, by law, the juriſdiction of the inferior kings was ſubjected to the ſceptre of the monarch; by it they were ſeldom controuled, and they were the conſtant rivals of his greatneſs. In the five realms, beſides, were many inferior chiefs, who held in their clans an independent ſway. Anarchy, diſſentions, and the horrors of eternal war, fruſtrated every attempt, which ſome patriots had made to unite the jarring elements of government. Within was weakneſs: and as the circumſtance excited the rapacity of the native chieftains, ſo did it invite the attacks of foreign adventurers.

Dermod Mac Morrogh, king of Leinſter, by his licentious tyranny, had excited the general odium; when a confederacy

[i] Beda l. 3 et paſſim.

racy was formed againſt him, which invaded his territories, and expelled him the kingdom. He retired to Henry, whom he found in Aquitaine, and laying before him his many grievances, he entreated his aſſiſtance, and promiſed, if reſtored by him to the throne of his anceſtors, that he would hold it in vaſſalage, under the crown of England. The alluring offer was accepted; but as the king, then engaged in difficulties, could not himſelf embark in the enterpriſe, he only gave to Dermod letters patent, whereby his ſubjects were licenſed to aid the Iriſh prince, in the recovery of his dominions[k].

Dermod came to Briſtol. Richard de Clare, ſurnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul, whom profuſe expences had reduced to indigence, was the firſt adventurer, whom the liberal offers of the prince engaged in the enterpriſe. He promiſed him, beſides lands and riches, that he ſhould marry his daughter, and be declared heir to his kingdom of Leinſter. Richard, in return, was to aid him with a powerful body of forces. Soon afterwards, Dermod, that he might be nearer to his own country, went to St. David's. Here two other noblemen, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzſtephen, ſons of Neſta, once miſtreſs to Henry I. promiſed him their aſſiſtance; with which being ſatisfied, he ſecretly retired to Ireland, and hiding himſelf within the walls of a convent, during winter, by the unnoticed exertions of his friends, prepared all things for the coming of his Engliſh allies[l].

Fitzſtephen landed firſt with thirty knights, ſixty men at arms, and three hundred archers, the flower of the youth of South Wales. Him Hervey de Mountmorres accompanied

[k] Giral. Camb. Hiber. Expug. c. 1. [l] Ibid. c 2.

BOOK III. 1171.

nied the uncle of Strongbow; and, the day after, came Maurice de Pendergaſt, with ten knights and a body of archers. They were joined by Dermod with five hundred men: when, after a tender of mutual oaths, they marched againſt the towns and ſtrong holds of their enemies; and all gave way before them. The diſcipline of the invaders inſured ſucceſs to their attacks; and the unuſual ſight of men and horſes, gliſtening in armour, ſtruck terror to the breaſts of the multitude. — But Roderic O'Connor, ſovereign of the iſland, aſſembled the ſtates of the nation, where, having awakened their alarms, he aſſembled an army, and entered Leinſter. The inferior forces of Dermod could not meet him in the field: but they ſecured themſelves in a valley, and defying all attack, were prevailed on to accept terms of accommodation. The quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom was ſecured to Dermod, under fealty to the monarch [m].

Not long after arrived Fitzgerald, with ten knights, thirty horſemen, and about a hundred archers. At the ſight of them Dermod, whom no contract could bind, forgot his engagement. He entered the territory of Dublin, which, though a fief of his crown, was, in other regards, an independent city, and cruelly waſted its lands; and he again turned his arms againſt Roderic, whom he foiled in many actions, in ſupport of Donald, prince of Limerick, who had implored his aid. Lifted up by theſe ſmiles of fortune, the tyrant aſpired to the ſovereign controul, and confiding his thoughts to the Engliſh chieftains, he wrote, by their advice, to Strongbow, who ſtill deferred the execution of his contract.

[m] Girald. Camb. c. 3, &c.

contract. "We have beheld the ſtorks and the ſwallows," ſaid he by his meſſenger; "the birds of ſummer came, and "with the warning of the tempeſt, they returned. But "neither gentle gale nor furious blaſt has bleſſed us with "thy long wiſhed for preſence." He urges him to come ſpeedily, and announces the certain ſucceſs, which will attend his arrival. The earl liſtened to the ſummons; heared with emotion the glorious feats of his countrymen, and reſolved to follow. But he firſt waited on Henry, requeſting his permiſſion; for as Dermod had recovered Leinſter, the licence which had been granted obviouſly expired[n].

The king did not grant, nor did he refuſe, the petition. Strongbow, therefore, prepared to depart, and he ſent before him Raymond, a valiant youth of his houſehold, the nephew of the half-brothers, Fitzſtephen and Fitzgerald, with ten knights, and ſeventy archers. His exploits near Waterford were ſignal; while the earl, in the mean time, paſſed along the coaſts of Wales, collecting ſoldiers to his ſtandard. With an army of two hundred knights and a thouſand men, he ſailed from Milford, and landed within ſight of Waterford, which, on the third day, with the moſt dreadful carnage, fell before him. Dermod then, and the Engliſh chiefs, joined the noble earl; when the horrors of the ſcene were, for a time, cheered by the feſtive celebration of the ſtipulated nuptials, between him and Eva, the daughter of the Iriſh king. This done, they marched againſt Dublin, and carried it by aſſault[o].

While ſucceſs thus crowned their meaſures, and the Engliſh invaders, in the glow of victory, meditated new

[n] Ibid. c. 11, 12. [o] Ibid. c. 13, 16.

BOOK III. 1171.

conqueſts, and framed new plans for wealth and grandeur, their maſter, Henry, viewed their progreſs; nor could he be inſenſible to its probable iſſue. Policy demanded he ſhould check the bold adventure, before it was too late, and his ſubjects acquiring, by their proweſs, an independent ſovereignty, might defy his power. He publiſhed an edict, forbidding his ſhips to trade to Ireland, and commanding all his ſubjects to return; or, with the forfeiture of their eſtates, to be baniſhed for ever. Strongbow, at whom the edict principally aimed, ſaw the perils which threatened, and conſulting with his friends, he reſolved to diſpatch Raymond to the king.—"With your permiſſion;" ſaid the young warrior, addreſſing Henry, "if he remembers well, "did the earl of Strigul ſail to Ireland, wiſhing only to aſſiſt "your vaſſal, the king of Leinſter. Whatever, therefore, "the favour of fortune has beſtowed upon him, as it all "flowed from your royal munificence, ſo ſhall it return to "the ſame, to be diſpoſed of, as your will ſhall direct."—To this flattering offer no anſwer was returned; for it was made, when the news of Becket's murder ſpread the firſt alarm, and the ſchemes of policy were drowned in conſternation [p].

A few months after, died Dermod, king of Leinſter, and the earl of Pembroke, (Strigul,) as had been ſtipulated, claimed his territory. Great achievements were now performed. Dublin was attacked by an army of Norwegians, which its late governor led againſt it; but they were repulſed and ſlaughtered: and ſoon Roderic himſelf, while his allies, the northern iſlanders, blocked up the port, ſurrounded

[p] Girald. Camb. c. 19, 20.

ſurrounded the city with a mighty hoſt. The patriotic archbiſhop of Dublin, who ſaw his country on the brink of ruin, by every effort, had ſtimulated this attempt; and himſelf appeared in arms. The whole Engliſh force, with all their chieftains, Fitzſtephen only excepted, lay within the walls. No aſſault was made; but every paſs, by ſea and land, was guarded; while the beſiegers, in ſullen expectation, waited the ſure effects of famine. Two months had nearly elapſed, and the blockade endured, and the wiſhed-for diſtreſs came upon the beſieged. At the ſame time, certain report was made, that Fitzſtephen, in his fort near Wexford, was attacked, and that, unleſs in three days relief came, he muſt inevitably periſh. With him were his brother's wife and children. Strongbow called the chiefs together; when Fitzgerald laid before them the extremity of their danger, from which their own valour alone could free them. He ſpoke of the cowardly and ill-armed multitude which lay round them, and feelingly mentioning his brother's diſtreſs, he adviſed an immediate ſally. Raymond, who was returned from his embaſſy, ſeconded his uncle's propoſal, and only moved, that the firſt aſſault be made on the quarters of Roderic. It was agreed. Inſtantly three bands were in readineſs. The van of twenty knights, was headed by Raymond: the ſecond, in the centre, of thirty, Milo de Cogan, the governor of the city, commanded: and the third, which formed the rear, conſiſting of forty, Strongbow himſelf and Fitzgerald led. The ſquires of the knights, who, as their maſters, fought on horſeback, marched with them, and to them were joined ſome citizens of Dublin. The whole number thus arrayed, amounted, perhaps, to ſix hundred men.

BOOK III. 1171.

About the ninth hour of the day, impetuous as a torrent, the army ſallied. But the enemy, unſuſpicious and unguarded, lay unarmed in the plain. Diſmay ſeized them, and they fled on all ſides, while Raymond in the van advanced, mowing his way to the tent of Roderic. The two ſons of Fitzgerald, whoſe place was in the rear, emulous of their kinſman's glory, ſprang forward to his ſtandard. Reſiſtance was no where made. The alarm ſoon reached the ſovereign of Ireland, who was bathing in his tent, and he had time to eſcape in the general confuſion. Till the cloſe of evening, the purſuit and carnage laſted, when loaded with ſpoils and the abundant proviſions of the camp, the Engliſh returned to the city, having loſt, it is ſaid, but one foot-ſoldier, and ſlain fifteen hundred of the enemy. By the next morning, the whole multitude had diſappeared; and the ſhips which blocked the port, ſeeing the flight of their confederates, ſailed to the iſles from which they came [q].

But Fitzſtephen was in the hands of his enemies, not ſubdued by force, but circumvented by fraud and perjury; and the news reached Strongbow, as he was marching to his reſcue. He turned aſide, therefore, to Waterford, where he found Mountmorres, who had gone on a ſecond embaſſy to Henry, and from him he learned, that he could no longer delay to wait on his ſovereign in England.—His ſovereign was at Newnham in Glouceſterſhire, where the earl preſented himſelf before him. The indignation of Henry was, at firſt, great; but it ſubſided, and he received his ſubject into favour, on condition, that, renewing his former homage and feality, he ſurrendered Dublin, with its

[q] Girald. Camb. c. 22, 23, 25.

its adjacent territory, to the king, and the ſea-port towns, and the caſtles he had conquered; his other acquiſitions remaining to him and his heirs, in vaſſalage to the crown of England. The earl then underſtood, that Henry himſelf, with a powerful army, was preparing to paſs into Ireland[r].

The events I have related, which thus precipitated the fall of Ireland, had occupied no more than two years. The principal cauſes of the diſaſter were evident: on the ſide of the invaders, ſuperior valour, ſuperior diſcipline, and ſuperior arms, which ambition and every allurement animated; while no reſolution, no wiſe counſels, no ſpirit of union, no patriotiſm, no bold deſpair, actuated the breaſts of the invaded. Even when the ſtrangers were few, and eaſily aſſailable, no plan of prepared oppoſition was laid; and when the danger, as their ſtrength grew, was greateſt, inteſtine diſcord prevailed, and the arms, which a common enemy provoked, were turned againſt their brethren. So bad was the conſtitution of their political ſyſtem, that, had not an invader come, miſery, it ſeems, might have multiplied, till to be conquered would have been deemed a bleſſing.

Ireland ſubmits to Henry.

Soon in Milford haven was a fleet of four hundred and forty ſhips ready, on which embarked the Engliſh army, five hundred knights, with their attendant horſemen, and a numerous band of archers. It was the ſixteenth of October, 1171; when, with a proſperous gale, they ſailed, and on the following morning, touched the Iriſh ſhore. The army landed near Waterford[s]; but as the royal paſſenger diſembarked, a white hare, ſays the hiſtorian, ſtarting

[r] Girald. Camb. c. 28. [s] Ibid. c. 30. Hoveden. an. 1171.

BOOK III. 1171.

ing from the brakes, was taken, and preſented to him as the omen of conqueſt![t] The next day, they marched to the city, where the inhabitants of Wexford, into whoſe hands Fitzſtephen had fallen, delivered him in chains to Henry, hoping that himſelf would puniſh his tranſgreſſions. How gentle was this behaviour to a man, who had brought ruin on their country! Henry, whoſe wiſh, it ſeems, it was, to be thought the protector rather of Ireland, and whoſe conduct towards the earl and his aſſociates, from the beginning, had been impoſing and myſterious, reproached, in ſevere terms, the captive hero, and remanded him to priſon.— Mac Arthy, prince of Corke, then came, and ſubmitting himſelf, ſwore fealty, and gave hoſtages for the payment of an annual tribute. — From Waterford the king advanced to Liſmore, and thence to Caſhel, near which, on the banks of the Sure, he was met by O'Brien, prince of Limerick, who, on like terms, did homage; as did alſo, ſoon afterwards, the prince of Oſſory, with all the inferior potentates of the ſouth. Careſſed and loaded with preſents they returned to their territories, heedleſs of the chains they alſo bore. From Caſhel Henry again viſited Waterford, where he pardoned, and gave liberty to Fitzſtephen, and then proceeded to Dublin. It was the progreſs rather of a monarch viſiting, in paternal kindneſs, his faithful people, than the march of an ambitious conqueror. The princes of the neighbouring provinces, emulous of ſubmiſſion, here implored his friendſhip, and made their homage. Only the king of Ulſter, and its princes, did not come.

[t] Hoveden. ibid.

But

But Roderic O'Connor, the monarch of all Ireland, moved not from Connaught, pleading his ſovereign dignity, and vainly hoping that fortune might liſten to his vows. Hugh de Lacy and Fitzaldelm, commiſſioned by Henry, were ſent; and Roderic met them near the Shannon, on the borders of his kingdom. They propoſed their maſter's terms, to which, it is ſaid, he promiſed obedience, at once doing homage in their hands, and agreeing to a tribute, as the other princes had done[u].—Till now, in the revolution of ſtates, Ireland had not known a foreign maſter.

The feſtival of Chriſtmas approached, which Henry wiſhed to celebrate with unuſual pomp; and, as in the city of Dublin no houſe was ſufficiently ſpacious to receive the company, he ordered a temporary palace, after the faſhion of the country, to be conſtructed of wattles or ſmoothed twigs. Here he feaſted the kings and nobility of Ireland, with a magnificence, well adapted to reconcile ſubmiſſion, to eaſe the pain of dependence, and to exhibit, in reſiſtleſs luſtre, the ſuperior eminence of the new maſter they had choſen. Even, becauſe it was his pleaſure, they ate the fleſh of cranes, ſays the hiſtorian, at the royal banquet, which before the nation had abominated[v]. But he does not ſay, that the Iriſh minſtrels alſo, in ſervile adulation, ſtrang their harps, to celebrate, with reproachful melody, their country's fall.

Mindful of the injunction in the pope's bull, Henry now convened, at Caſhel, a national ſynod of the Iriſh clergy. The biſhop of Liſmore preſided, as apoſtolical legate. The enormities, it is ſaid, and the foul practices of

[u] Giral. Cam. c. 30, 31, 32. Gerv. [v] Ibid.

BOOK III. 1171. of the nation, were laid before the council, when ſeveral canons were made, and ratified by the king, for the due celebration of regular and orderly marriages; for the inſtruction and baptiſm of infants; for the payment of tithes, which till then had not been practiſed; for the exemption of churches from the exactions of the laity; for eſtabliſhing the immunities of the clergy in criminal cauſes; for regulating wills and burials; and finally, for eſtabliſhing an entire conformity in divine worſhip, and all matters relating thereunto, between England and Ireland. The prelates then ſwore allegiance to Henry and his heirs, and confirmed his perpetual power over them; which deed was afterwards ſanctioned by the pope, to whom he tranſmitted all the inſtruments of the tranſaction. The number of prelates in Ireland, were four archbiſhops, and twenty nine biſhops. It was obſerved, that the archbiſhop of Armagh alone was not preſent, prevented by age and infirmity, a man reputed holy by the people, whoſe companion, in all his journeys, was a white cow, the milk of which was his only food[w].

1172. Having gone thus far towards the reformation of Ireland, and made the clergy his friends by a grant of favours, and of ſuch immunities as he had laboured to take from their brethren in England, Henry left Dublin, not doubting but his preſence on the continent would ſoon be neceſſary. For five ſucceſſive months, ſo tempeſtuous had been the ſeaſon, that not a ſhip had arrived with any certain intelligence. But at Wexford, to which he moved, news was brought, that two legates were in Normandy, with impatience waiting

[w] Girald. c, 33, 34. Hoveden. Gervas. ut ſup.

waiting his return. To have previouſly ſettled on a firmer baſis the government of his new kingdom, was a buſineſs of great concern; but ſtay longer he could not. Hugh de Lacy, therefore, he appointed juſticiary of Ireland, with the government of the royal city of Dublin, and he granted to him, at the ſame time, by the prerogative of a conqueror, the whole kingdom of Meath, to be held in vaſſalage of himſelf and ſucceſſors. The deſign of this vaſt donation was, to balance the power of Strongbow, whoſe ambition he feared, and who remained in poſſeſſion of the principality of Leinſter. Fitzſtephen, Fitzgerald, Raymond, and other principal officers, he took into his own ſervice; he appointed confidential noblemen to the government of the maritime towns; he ordered caſtles to be built; and taking leave of Ireland, he ſailed, on eaſter Monday, and landed in South Wales. Some diſturbances in this country, and affairs in England could not detain him: but he haſtened to Portſmouth, with the young king, his ſon, and croſſed the channel[x].

The king is reconciled to Rome.

Albert and Theodine, the legates, met him with his court at the abbey of Savigni, near Avranches. Much was ſaid; and the cardinals propoſed an oath, which he rejected: "I have buſineſs in Ireland," ſaid the king, leaving them with indignation, "to which I will return: go, "where you pleaſe, through my territories, and execute "your legation." But, a few days after, every difference was removed, and he agreed to all their terms. In the preſence then of a great aſſembly, the young king and the legates ſtanding round, the conqueror of Ireland, with his

[x] Girald. Hoveden.

BOOK III. 1172.

hand on the goſpels, ſwore;—That he had not ordered, nor deſired, the death of the primate; that the news of it had excited in him the deepeſt affliction; but that, as the violence of his expreſſions had given occaſion to the wicked deed, he did not excuſe himſelf, and would ſubmit to the propoſed atonement. He promiſed to maintain two hundred knights, during one year, in the holy land; himſelf to take the croſs, for three years, and to go in perſon to Paleſtine, or againſt the Saracens in Spain, unleſs diſpenſed with by his holineſs. He promiſed to annul the ſtatutes of Clarendon, and ſuch evil cuſtoms, as, in his time, had been introduced againſt the church; to allow appeals to be made to Rome; to reſtore to Canterbury the poſſeſſions which had been ſeized; and to be reconciled to all thoſe, who, for the primate's ſake, had incurred his diſpleaſure. A ſolemn abſolution was then pronounced by the legates[y].—The excommunicated biſhops had, before this, been abſolved; and only that no ſucceſſor to the ſee of Canterbury was yet choſen, a proſpect of returning concord ſeemed to promiſe better days to the church, and more happineſs to the prince. The murderers of Becket even partook of the general indulgence, who, having remained ſome time in the north of England, under public execration, withdrew to Rome, whence, in expiation of their crime, they were ſent to Jeruſalem[z].

View of affairs on the continent.

Since the year 1168, the connection of domeſtic affairs has been ſuch, that, with propriety, I could not break their tiſſue: fortunately, however, no event of peculiar moment ſucceeded on the continent. We left Frederic juſt

[y] Acta Alex. ep. 88. Gerv. Hoved. an. 1172. [z] Neubrig. Hoved.

juſt retired, with ignominy, into Germany; the ſtates of Lombardy ſtrengthening their confederacy; and Alexander at Beneventum [a].—The politics of France went along with thoſe of England.

Frederic, for ſome time, remained in Germany, attentive to the aggrandizement of his family; and the concerns of Italy were entruſted to his miniſters. At Bamberg, in a general diet, he cauſed his ſon, Henry, to be choſen king of the Romans, and conferred on his other children, or prepared for them, the acquiſition of ſuch territories and great fiefs, as his extenſive influence could command. He ſent Everhard, biſhop of the mentioned city, on an embaſſy to the pontiff, hoping, it ſeems, to ſeduce him from the confederacy, and thereby to weaken it. The pontiff ſaw through the inſidious project, and was not impoſed on [b]. The archbiſhop of Mentz was then employed to ſtrengthen the imperial intereſt; and he left nothing unattempted, between Piſa and the gates of Rome, which could give efficacy to his ſchemes [c].—The Lombards were aware, that the great enemy would ſoon return, and they prepared to meet him. Milan, by inceſſant labours, nearly repaired her ruins, and encompaſſed with a new wall her vaſt circumference. Even the ladies, in the general enthuſiaſm, forgot their deareſt attachments, and ſacrificed their jewels to the work. No city of the confederacy was inactive; while the emperor of the eaſt, with an eye to the object he vainly held in view, gave his name to the league.—Alexander had not yet returned to Rome, excluded by the imperial faction, and by the diſlike which the ſenate, prin-

[a] Murat. an. 1169. [b] Acta Alex. an. 1170. [c] Murat. ut ſup.

 cipally,

BOOK III. 1172.

cipally, had entertained againſt an eccleſiaſtical governor. I related the origin of that diſlike[d]. He reſided, therefore, in the territories of his Sicilian majeſty, or in the Campania of Rome, unmoved by oppoſition, and by a ſteady policy, gaining the aſcendancy which his virtues merited. Callixtus, the antipope, was but a nominal rival, to whom Frederic, with a childiſh pertinacity, ſtill gave ſupport.

Such, at this period, was the general aſpect. But the opening of a melancholy ſeries again calls us to the concerns of Henry. — Reconciled to the ſee of Rome, which, till now, had cauſed him many troubles, in peace with all his neighbours, and poſſeſſed of another kingdom, from what quarter could he fear controul, much leſs the cruel downfall of his fondeſt expectations? A numerous progeny of ſons and daughters gave a luſtre to his crown; and their ſeveral eſtabliſhments ſeemed planned, with a conſummate wiſdom, to prevent jealouſy, and to perpetuate the greatneſs of his family. Henry, his eldeſt ſon, he had named his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of England, the dutchy of Normandy, and the earldoms of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine: Richard, his ſecond ſon, would poſſeſs the dutchy of Guienne, and the county of Poitou: Geoffrey, his third ſon, in right of his wife, inherited the dutchy of Bretagne; and Ireland, newly conquered, was deſtined, it ſeems, for John, his fourth ſon. But the very proſpect, which threw a meridian blaze round the throne of Henry, excited the jealouſy of his neighbours, and into the breaſts of thoſe very ſons infuſed a poiſon, which, in the ſtate, would generate the miſeries of civil diſcord, and daſh their father's days with bitterneſs. At

[d] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 351.

1172.

Rebellion of Henry's ſons.

At the inſtigation of the legates, the young king had again been crowned at Wincheſter, and with him his conſort Margaret. It was to gratify Louis, whom the former omiſſion had irritated, the archbiſhop of Rouen, performing the ceremony. They returned, ſoon afterwards, into Normandy, and viſited the French court. Louis, at no time a cordial friend to Henry, and whom the view of his increaſing greatneſs more alarmed, ſoon diſcovered in the aſpiring mind of his ſon-in-law, diſpoſitions, which might be turned to political advantage. He ſuggeſted to him, that his coronation had been, indeed, an idle ceremony; that the homely appearance of his train ill beſeemed the name he bore; and that to be a king without a kingdom might flatter the ambitious parent, but it demeaned the ſon. "Demand," ſaid he, "the realm of England, or "the dukedom, at leaſt, of Normandy." The high-ſpirited youth, whoſe ambition wanted no ſpur, and whom dependence had begun to gall, liſtened to the remonſtrance. —I am not diſpoſed to think, that the benevolent monarch, whom I have often praiſed, at all meant to provoke rebellion, or that he foreſaw the flame, which his imprudent words now kindled. It was not long, however, before the young king made the demand, which had been ſuggeſted, and which the father refuſed[e].

1173.

It was after chriſtmas, which Henry and the royal family kept at Chinon in Anjou, that he proceeded with his court into Auvergne, to meet the earl of Savoy. A treaty of marriage was to be propoſed between John, Henry's youngeſt ſon, not yet in his eighth year, and the earl's eldeſt daughter.

[e] Gervas. Hoveden. Dicet. Neubrig. an. 1172.

BOOK III. 1173.

daughter. Queen Eleanor accompanied her huſband, and the princes Richard and Geoffrey, and the young king. Highly honourable were the offers, which the earl made with his daughter, and they were gladly accepted. In return, the king propoſed to ſettle on his ſon the three important caſtles of Mirebeau, Chinon, and Loudun, with their dependencies. To this the young king refuſed his ſignature; and the court returned in gloom and irritation. Eleanor, born to be the ſcourge of kings, whom Henry, we are told, had neglected, and whoſe temper would ill brook neglect, ſeized the fatal moment. She meditated revenge, and ſhe could have it, by fomenting the paſſions of her ſon, and by urging him to vindicate, without delay, the neglected honours of his ſtation. To engage in the ſame foul mutiny, the artful woman induced her two youngeſt ſons; and herſelf promiſed to follow the ſtandard of rebellion, and by all her influence to ſupport it [f].

In the night, from the town of Limoges, where the court halted, young Henry withdrew precipitately, and eſcaped to his father-in-law at Chartres. His brothers ſoon joined him; but Eleanor, diſguiſed in the habit of a man, was taken, and committed to cloſe confinement. Only the infant John remained. And ſo widely had the contagion ſpread, that many noblemen hourly deſerted their royal maſter, from a ſtrange inſtability in the human heart, preferring the uncertain iſſue of a baſe rebellion, with all its infamy, if ſucceſsleſs, to the ſure favours of a ſovereign, who had rewarded all their ſervices. The heart of Henry was not broken by the afflicting ſcene. He had purſued his

[f] Gervas. Hoveden. Dicet. Neubrig. an. 1172.

his ſon as far as was expedient; but when he ſaw, what his intentions were, he turned indignantly, and loſt not another moment. He viſited his caſtles on the frontier of France, and thoſe in Normandy, ordering all neceſſary repairs; and he ſent letters into England, and into the provinces, with inſtructions to the governors g.

Young Henry, mean while, in the French king's court, received the flattering homage of his admirers; and as the tide ſwelled, the proſpect of a happy revolution ſeemed to open round him. Into every quarter agents were ſent; largeſſes, rewards, and honours, were profuſely promiſed; and the dazzling virtues of youth were placed, in odious competition, with whatever defects, either malevolence or diſappointment had noted in the character of the old king. So now he was called, though not yet in his fortieth year. The defection became incredible, not only where immediate protection might inſtigate; but in England and the diſtant provinces. Louis then ſummoned a council to meet him at Paris, where all the parties, under a ſolemn oath, bound themſelves in mutual confederacy; and ſo ſhameleſs was the avidity of men, whoſe virtues hitherto had commanded admiration, that, availing themſelves of the prodigality of a ſimple youth, they would barter their fame for promiſes, which to make, or to accept, was alike inglorious. Philip, earl of Flanders, and his brother of Boulogne, and the earl of Blois, took grants of lands and caſtles in England, and ſome in Touraine and Normandy; and in return, did homage to the pageant boy. Similar donations were made to ſeveral other French noblemen; and

g Gerv. Hoved.

BOOK III. 1173.

and in England, the great barons renounced their allegiance, in the baſe proſpect of change or rapine. The king of Scotland and his brother eſpouſed the rebellion, to whom were promiſed three Engliſh counties.—Thus did the ſtorm collect, and from its rapid motion it became evident, that the train of diſcord had been ſome time ſown, and nouriſhed. Inteſtine war, with all its horrors threatened; and the winter paſſed in dreadful preparation[h].

Progreſs of the war.

Henry, in aſtoniſhment, ſaw the perils of his ſituation. He could not avert the evil; and every hour brought him more alarming accounts of ſome new defection. Pious men called it the viſitation of heaven, for the murder of Becket; while others, with more philoſophy, viewed it as an event, eaſily accounted for, on the common principles of human nature[i]. Seeing, therefore, that he could place no certain confidence in his own ſubjects, he reſolved to counteract their diſloyalty; and, if poſſible, by ſecuring his poſſeſſions and his own perſon, not to ſhrink from his enemies, to animate his friends, and to check the fall of thoſe whoſe allegiance wavered. He took into his pay twenty thouſand mercenaries, a formidable body of veteran troops, called Brabanters, becauſe originally from that country; and who, attached to no particular ſoil, were always ready to ſerve thoſe, who could pay them beſt. With theſe he ſecured the moſt important poſts on the frontier; and retiring with the main body to the capital of Normandy, he there watched, with the compoſure of a great mind, the firſt movements of the enemy.

[h] Auctores ſup. [i] Neubrig. c. 27.

With

1173.

With the coming of ſpring, the confederated armies moved. The count of Flanders and his brother, entering Normandy on the ſide of Picardy, beſieged Aumale, which they took; and advancing, with their mighty engines, ſat down before Neuchatel, which ſoon ſurrendered. But here that brother, ſtricken by an arrow, fell, and with him all the fond hopes of a great ſucceſſion. He was heir to Flanders. The earl contemplated the diſaſter as a divine judgment, and retired with his Flemings, imputing all the guilt to himſelf, who, to ſupport an unnatural ſon, had made war againſt a prince, his near kinſman, who had conferred many favours on himſelf, and never done him any wrong[k].—At the time, Louis and the young king were before Verneuil, on the other confine, a town of ſingular conſtruction, compoſed of three diſtinct burghs. Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp defended the principal burgh, on which the main attack was made. But at the end of a month, proviſions failing, they were ſo far reduced as to promiſe a ſurrender, if, within three days, they were not relieved. Relief came. For Henry, who till now, had not moved from Rouen, informed of their diſtreſs, marched with all his forces, and on the third day appeared in order of battle on the heights near Verneuil. The French, vain of their numbers and the gorgeous equipment of their army, ridiculed the parade of battle, and ſent a biſhop and an abbot to learn, what was his ſerious purpoſe. "Tell your "king," ſaid he, with a thundering voice, "that this "moment I am with him." The bold defiance alarmed the haughty enemy, and they were induced to propoſe a

[k] Neubrig. c. 28.

BOOK III. 1173.

conference, to which Henry conſented, and a truce for one day was agreed on. But an act of perfidy diſgraced that day; for the French, availing themſelves of the ſuſpenſion of arms, ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender, agreeably to the convention; and entering the town they ſet fire to it, and in the evening departed. With rage Henry ſaw himſelf thus duped. He purſued the retiring enemy, ſeized their baggage, entered Verneuil which he commanded to be repaired, and retired, the next day, with his Brabanters, heavily laden with a vaſt booty, which the enemy had left behind them[l]. — He then diſpatched his brave mercenaries into Bretagne, which was in arms. In a pitched battle they fought, and defeated, the rebels; the leaders of whom, Hugh earl of Cheſter, and the baron de Fougeres, eſcaped to the caſtle of Dol. Here they were beſieged; and Henry, with an arrow's ſwiftneſs, arriving before it, they ſurrendered to his mercy, nearly a hundred nobles, the flower and ſtrength of Bretagne. The province, with its caſtles, ſoon returned to obedience. This was in Auguſt[m].

The flow of unexpected ſucceſs abaſhed the rebel forces, and a conference, by the mediation of the pope's legate, was propoſed. They met on the borders: Louis, with the three brothers, and a ſplendid train of vaſſals; and the Engliſh monarch, not leſs nobly attended. With parental goodneſs, Henry offered terms of great advantage to his ſons: to the eldeſt, half of the revenues of England, or of Normandy, as might pleaſe him beſt, with a ſuitable number of caſtles to reſide in: and to Richard and Geoffrey, ſimilar conditions in Bretagne and Aquitaine; "reſerving

"to

[l] Hoveden. Dicet. Neubrig.

[m] Hoveden. Neubrig.

" to himſelf the right of ſovereignty and the adminiſtra-
" tion of juſtice." The reſervation, probably, diſpleaſed Louis; for he rejected the terms, and the conference ended[n].

The flames of civil diſcord, with equal fury, raged in England, the young earl of Leiceſter heading the rebellion. Richard de Lucy, juſticiary of the realm, and the earl of Cornwall beſieged the town, which bore his name, and had taken it, when news came, that the Scottiſh king, in ſavage force, had entered England, and had marched, with horrid devaſtation, to the gates of Carliſle. De Lucy, with what troops he had, inſtantly turned northward, and was joined by the lord high conſtable, Humphrey de Bohum. The plunderers heared of their approach, and retired to Scotland, into which they were purſued, and the Engliſh army ravaged Lothian, with impunity. But a meſſenger brought intelligence, that the earl of Leiceſter, with an army of Flemings, had landed in the eaſt, where Hugh Bigot had received him into his caſtle of Framlingham, renowned for its thirteen towers and wide encloſure. Alarmed at the news, they propoſed a truce to the king of Scotland, which, ignorant of their motive, he accepted, and they returned. By this time, the rebel army had taken Norwich; but had failed in their attempt on Dunwich, then a celebrated and opulent town on the coaſt. Bigot was tired of his gueſts, and he requeſted the earl to remove them to his own caſtles. He complied reluctantly, and was on his march towards Leiceſter, when he heared, that the loyal Bohum, with the earls of Cornwall, Arundel, and

[n] Hoveden.

BOOK III. 1173. Glouceſter, intercepted his route, and were at Saint Edmundſbury, arrayed to meet him. An action was inevitable; for the royal army ſoon appeared, the banner of St. Edmund waving in the van. The ſame moment ſaw the conflict begin and terminate; ſo irreſiſtible, on the plain, was the ſhock of the royal cavalry. The earl and his counteſs, with moſt of the Flemiſh horſemen, were taken; and of the foot very few eſcaped the ſword [o].—A truce with Louis ſucceeded, and the armies retired to winter-quarters.

Though Henry had been intent on the beſt means of defence, he had not neglected the auxiliary arms of the church. Feelingly he implored the aid of Alexander, againſt his rebellious children; and to animate his zeal, "he acknowledged himſelf his vaſſal, and called England "the patrimony of Peter [p]." So had misfortunes humbled, and deranged, it ſeems, his reaſon! The mediation of the legates was the conſequence of this addreſs; for the pontiff, where Louis interfered, could not take a more active part. —Other biſhops alſo attempted the chriſtian work of reconciliation, by letters to the young king and to Eleanor, but without ſucceſs [q].

1174. In adjuſting plans, and preparing for a new campaign, the gloomy winter paſſed. The earl of Flanders was again prevailed on to join the confederacy, and he agreed to invade England, in conjunction with young Henry: the Scots would enter the northern counties of England: and Louis, aided by the rebel dukes of Bretagne and Aquitaine, undertook to carry his arms into Henry's French dominions.—The truce expired with the eaſter holidays; when the

[o] Auctores ut ſup. [p] Pet. Bleſs. ep. 136. [q] Id. ep. 33, 154.

the furious Scot poured his barbarians into Northumberland, which having laid waſte, he advanced into Weſtmoreland, and again beſieged Carliſle. Roger de Mowbray joined him. Him the gallant Geoffrey, elected biſhop of Lincoln, natural ſon of Henry and of Roſamond de Clifford, at the head of his vaſſals, and the loyaliſts of Yorkſhire, had expelled from his caſtles; and he prepared to ſuccour Carliſle. The king of Scotland retreated, and ſat down before Alnwick.—But, in other parts of the kingdom, the proſpect was more alarming. In the eaſt, a body of Flemings, the precurſors of the grand invaſion, had joined Hugh Bigot; and the earl of Derby, with the brother of the Scottiſh monarch, the earl of Huntingdon, and the adherents of Leiceſter, awed the midland provinces. De Lucy every where oppoſed the rebels, and cheared the hearts of his loyal friends; but he was aware, ſhould the young king land, that his preſence alone, in the wavering ſtate of politics, would inevitably turn the ſcale. The prudent miniſter took the advice of his aſſociates; when it was reſolved to implore the immediate return of his majeſty[r].

Richard of Ivelcheſter, archdeacon of Poitiers, elected to the ſee of Wincheſter, was choſen to the commiſſion. He found his maſter on the frontier of Normandy, returned from pacifying the provinces of Maine, Anjou, and Aquitaine, and then conſulting with his friends and the governors of his towns and caſtles, how beſt to defend them againſt the mighty arms of the enemy. Henry liſtened to the preſſing entreaty, and inſtantly complied: indeed, for ſome time, a fleet at Barfleur had been prepared for the emergency.

[r] Dicet. Hoved. Neubrig. an. 1174.

emergency. Nor was there a moment to be loſt; for the earl of Flanders and young Henry were then lying at Gravelines, waiting only for the wind, which might land them, with all their forces, on the Engliſh ſhore. He took with him Eleanor, and Margaret his ſon's queen, and his infant children, and the moſt conſiderable of his priſoners; and on the 8th of July, early in the morning, ſailed. But a gale roſe, and the ſea grew rough, and the countenances of the mariners ſhewed heſitation and diſmay. The king, raiſing his eyes to heaven, audibly ſaid: "If the ſupreme "ruler, by my arrival, hath ordained to reſtore that peace "to my people, which is my only wiſh, may he mercifully "bring me to a port of ſafety: but if his face is turned "away, and he hath reſolved to viſit them in his wrath, "may I never be permitted to reach England's ſhore." He arived, that evening, in the harbour of Southampton[s].

Henry viſits the tomb of Becket.

More than three years had elapſed, ſince the murder of the primate, a period replete with wonders, which contemporaries beheld with the pleaſing emotions of a devout reverence, and we review with a faſtidious ſneer. So diſcordant are the habits of man, which vary with the varying ſcene; while throughout they are but a part of that progreſſive ſyſtem, which the lapſe of ages, as they roll on, perpetually evolves.—The circumſtances of Becket's death were peculiarly ſtriking; and the age was diſpoſed to receive the whole impreſſion, and in receiving to exalt it. The appearance of miracles was to them no uncommon phenomenon. They atteſted, they thought, the ſanctity of the living; and they blazed more conſpicuouſly from their graves.

[s] Diceto ut ſup.

graves. A competent knowledge of the laws, by which nature acts, was not at hand to unravel the myſtery: the ruler of the univerſe, they perſuaded themſelves, took pleaſure in this palpable diſplay of power: religion, it ſeemed to them, daily called for the invigorating ſupport: and the criticiſm of the times, too credulous becauſe too unenlightened, was unapt as their philoſophy, in the examination of witneſſes, and the diſcuſſion of facts. The churchmen alſo, who then poſſeſſed the greateſt knowledge, were themſelves more than ever intereſted to believe the atteſtation of their ſenſes, and to propagate, among the people, the happy illuſion. In the vindication of their privileges, the primate had ſpilt his blood. That they meant to deceive, is moſt foreign from my mind to inſinuate; but, I believe, they were themſelves, by no voluntary act, impoſed on; and elſewhere, if not here, I truſt, I have accounted for it[t]. The virtues of the primate were conſpicuous in his life; but for their further diſplay, or to enforce their imitation, can we be induced to think, that an almoſt uninterrupted ſuſpenſion of the laws of nature would be deemed expedient, as the credulous devotion of many, bending round his tomb, ſhould, in ſimplicity of heart, call for it?

Curious to a philoſophic mind is the account which hiſtorians, preſent on the ſpot, or not diſtant from it, give of the events that immediately ſucceeded to the primate's death. They deſcribe them as opening, in an humble prelude, at his tomb; then ſpreading to all parts of the church; extending through the kingdom; filling the world. Every

[t] Life of Abeil. p. 183.

BOOK III. 1174. Every infirmity, they ſay, gave way to the power of his name. Even the dead were raiſed to life. But in the number of theſe miracles, then recorded in two volumes, ſome are ſo trivial and ludicrouſly ſportive, that, while we admire the credulity of the narrator, a ſuſpicion involuntarily riſes, that their more ſerious and ſolemn facts were too lightly aſſumed, to merit impartial belief. The wax-tapers round his bier being extinguiſhed, were inviſibly relighted! As he lay dead in the choir, he raiſed his right hand, and bleſſed the aſſembly![u] His eyes being injured by the wounds, they were replaced by others of a ſmaller ſize, and of two different colours, that the miracle might be out of the reach of controverſy![v] Birds and other animals recovered life![w]—But the fame of theſe wonders reached every ear: the enemies of Becket, in confuſion, acknowledged the atrocity of their conduct; and his friends exulted, while every lane, that led to Canterbury, ſwelled with the concourſe of pilgrims, haſtening to his tomb. The contagion ſpread abroad; and every devout man, liſtening to his neighbours's tale, envied the happineſs of England. The Roman biſhop, by meſſenger after meſſenger, was entreated to enroll the bleſſed martyr in the calendar of ſaints, and to give him to the prayers of the faithful. Alexander was a wary and prudent man; and though the cauſe of the martyr was his own, and he could now ſanctify all its pretenſions, he was not willing, without ſome deliberation, to precipitate the ſolemn ceremony. But when his legates returned, who had more immediately witneſſed

[u] Ep. Senon. 88. ap. Hoved. [v] Girald. Camb. c. 20.

[w] Mat. Par. p. 121.

witneſſed the various facts, and vouched their reality, he could no longer procraſtinate. He aſſembled a conſiſtory, took their advice, and in great pomp pronounced the canonization of the martyr, Thomas[x].

The fact was recent, and its celebrity engaged the public attention, while the unnatural rebellion raged, which I have deſcribed. With ſuperſtition or a miſtaken piety, the violation, it ſeems, of obvious duties can, ſometimes, aſſociate, and raiſe no horror! Henry, though abſolved from the crime he had occaſioned, was not yet free from odium: the conqueſt of Ireland had ſilenced the malevolence of religious zeal; but it now broke out again, and even good men thought, they ſaw the hand of divine juſtice preſſing on him. Himſelf could not be inſenſible to the afflicting circumſtance; and he felt poignantly the cruel uſage of his children and neareſt friends, which his conduct had not merited. The ſigns of heavenly approbation, which atteſted the ſanctity of the primate, would likewiſe reproach his heart; for he, no more than others, could not withſtand an evidence which a cloud of witneſſes proclaimed. To join the public voice, and by joining it to appeaſe the anger of heaven, he might ferioufly deem an act of religious duty: but if thereby he might recover the loſt affections of his people, policy would applaud the meaſure, and the diſaſtrous ſtate of things called for every exertion. In theſe ſentiments, Henry landed at Southampton, and he purpoſed immediately to viſit the tomb of Becket.

On the morrow, which was Tueſday, in the month of July, leaving the queens, and his brave mercenaries to

[x] Baron. an. 1173.

BOOK III. 1174. proceed onward, he mounted his horſe, and with a few attendants, took the way to Canterbury. But it was Friday morning, before he came in ſight of the tower of Chriſt-church, which he beheld, and diſmounting, he laid aſide his garments, threw over his ſhoulders a woollen rug, and walked on, ſilent and penſive. The diſtance was three miles; and as he entered the city before the people, the ſtones, as his bare feet preſſed them, were marked with blood. He came to the church; and they ſhewed him the martyr's ſhrine, which he approached trembling, and fell proſtrate on the ground. With his arms extended, here he remained in prayer, while Gilbert Foliot, biſhop of London, harangued the crowded audience, ſolemnly proteſting, in his maſter's name; "that he had not com-"manded, nor adviſed, nor by any artifice contrived, the "primate's death; but as his words, too inconſiderately "ſpoken, had occaſioned the fatal act, he again begged "abſolution, and would ſubmit himſelf to puniſhment." —The biſhops, who were preſent, followed by ſome abbots, the clergy, and the whole convent of monks, in number eighty, each with a knotted cord in his hand, then advanced to the ſpot where the monarch prayed. He bared his ſhoulders, and received their laſhes, five from the biſhops, and three from every other hand. Reſuming his prayers, in the ſame attitude of humble ſupplication, he continued on the pavement, many watching round him, till the midnight bell tolled for matins; and when theſe were finiſhed, he roſe, viſited the altars of the upper church and the bodies of the ſaints there interred, and again deſcended to the ſhrine. But the morning began to dawn,

1174.

dawn, when he requeſted maſs might be ſaid, at which he aſſiſted; and having aſſigned, with other rich gifts, a revenue of forty pounds a year, for tapers to be kept burning round the body of the ſaint, he drank ſome water mingled with his blood, and with a ſmiling and joyous countenance withdrew[y].—On the next day he reached London.

The Scottiſh king taken, and the rebellion in England ſuppreſſed.

But though the preſſure of his affairs called for immediate exertions, here he was detained. Fatigue of many days, and the peculiar circumſtances of his late pilgrimage, had brought on an indiſpoſition, which repoſe only could remove. As, one night, he ſlept in his palace, ſuddenly a meſſenger arrived, and knocked at the gates. The guards commanded ſilence; but he knocked more violently: "I have good news," he called out, "which "the king muſt hear immediately." They admitted him; and, with the ſame importunity, paſſing the gentlemen of the bedchamber, he entered to the king, and wakened him. "Who art thou?" ſaid his majeſty, ſurpriſed by the ſudden noiſe. — "I am the ſervant of Ranulph de "Glanville," replied he, "ſent with good tidings to your "highneſs." — "Is my loyal Ranulph well?" rejoined Henry.—"My maſter is well," ſaid he: "and lo! he has "your enemy, the Scottiſh king, now in chains at Rich-"mond."—"Repeat it;" ſaid the king, overpowered by the news. The meſſenger repeated his words,—"Have you "any letters?" then demanded Henry. The meſſenger produced a letter, which, when the king had curſorily peruſed, he ſprang from his bed; and, as the tears ran down his cheeks, he gave thanks to him, whoſe will alone

[y] Dicet. Gerv. Hoveden. Neubrig. ut ſup.

BOOK III. 1174.

worketh wonders. He called his friends round him, and told them the tidings. In the morning, other couriers came; the news was given to the people; and the bells of London rang with gladneſs[z].—The particulars of the event were briefly theſe.

The king of Scotland, it has been ſaid, was before Alnwick; and as the loyaliſts had retired, he continued the blockade unmoleſted, and ſent off detachments to deſolate the neighbouring country. Secure from attack, he indulged the ſavage warfare, and heared the reports of his ſoldiers, when, with bloody hands, they related the achievements of the day. But the Yorkſhire barons were rouſed, and forming themſelves into a body of four hundred knights, under Ranulph de Glanville, ſheriff of their county, they advanced to Newcaſtle. Here they learned the ſtate of the Scottiſh forces, and reſolved to proceed, though no proſpect of ſucceſs could flatter them, from the diſproportionate power of the enemy. They roſe before the ſun, and advanced rapidly, enveloped in a dark miſt. But this circumſtance, which was propitious, alarmed the more cautious; and they halted, uncertain of the road, and wavering in their reſolution. "Return who will," exclaimed Bernard de Baliol, a baron of noble blood, "no retreat ſhall ſtain "my honour, and I will proceed alone." They advanced; when the miſt ſuddenly broke, and the caſtle of Alnwick appeared, in near view, before them. The Scottiſh monarch alſo ſoon appeared, ſurrounded by a troop of about ſixty horſemen, ſecure on the plain, and buſied in feats of chivalry. He obſerved their approach; but thought

[z] Neubrig. c. 34.

thought them his own men returning with plunder, till the Engliſh banner ſtruck his ſight. He was amazed, but not daunted; for he could not doubt, but ſo weak a band muſt be ſoon overpowered by his multitudes. Wherefore, fiercely ſhaking his ſpear, he called gallantly to his followers, and ruſhed foremoſt to the attack. The Engliſh knights met the ſhock: William's horſe, pierced to the heart, fell; and the noble prey was ſeized. With him moſt of the troop ſurrendered, for they did not attempt to eſcape; and other nobles coming up, gave themſelves to the enemy, that they might join their lord in his calamity. The victorious party returned with their captives, and lodged the royal priſoner in the caſtle of Richmond[a].—It was remarked, that this event happened, on the morning, Henry roſe from before the primate's ſhrine! — The Scottiſh army, on the news of the diſaſter, retired precipitately.

Henry, without more delay, left London, and marched towards Huntingdon, which, with its caſtle, ſurrendered. David, prince of Scotland, who commanded the rebel forces in that quarter, hearing of his brother's captivity, had withdrawn to his own country. The king then advanced into Suffolk, againſt Hugh Bigot. The rebel lord, on his approach, though ſtrongly ſupported by his own vaſſals and an army of Flemings, loſt heart. He ſuppliantly met the king; was pardoned; and delivered to him his caſtles of Framlingham and Bungay. But it was with difficulty, that he obtained permiſſion for his Flemiſh auxiliaries to return to their looms.—Fortune once more ſmiled; and Henry led his army to the royal caſtle of Northampton.

Hither

[a] Neubrig. c. 33.

BOOK III. 1174.

Hither was brought the monarch of Scotland, William, ſurnamed the Lion, bound, like a felon, on his horſe! If the regal dignity felt the inſult; his luſt of blood, and the cauſe he had wantonly eſpouſed, merited the degrading treatment. — Then the earl of Leiceſter ſurrendered his caſtles; and the biſhop of Durham, who had favoured the rebellion, and Roger de Mowbray, and de Ferrars earl of Derby, ſubmitted to mercy, and gave up their fortreſſes. The rebellion cloſed [b].—So much had the captivity of Scotland's king, and the news, that the invaſion from Flanders was ſuſpended, unnerved the party. The preſence alſo of Henry, whoſe piety, though miſtaken, had, we may believe, pleaſed heaven, aided much the happy revolution. But he learned this leſſon, that a licentious nobility will, at any time, rather ruſh into the horrors of civil war, than ſubmit to the irkſome controul of a vigilant adminiſtration. — Affairs on the continent calling him away, he left the queens behind him; and on the ſeventh of Auguſt, with his priſoners, his Brabanters, and a thouſand Welſhmen, ſent by David ap Owen, embarking at Portſmouth, he landed at Barfleur, and marched towards the capital of Normandy [c].

The ſiege of Rouen, which is followed by a general peace.

Rouen was beſieged by the combined armies of France and Flanders; for when Henry landed in England, the ſcheme of an invaſion dropt, and the young king, with the earl, led their Flemings to the ſiege. A mightier army, it is ſaid, Europe had not ſeen ſince the laſt cruſade, headed by kings, and furniſhed with every warlike implement. But Rouen could withſtand their onſet. It was garriſoned

[b] Hoveden, Dicet. Gervas. [c] Hoveden.

garriſoned by the Norman nobility, who crouded to its defence, and by citizens, well trained to arms, hardy and magnanimous. Beſides, it was aſſailable only on the north-eaſtern ſide, the Seine on the ſouth, forbidding all approach, and the neighbouring hills, riſing like nature's bulwarks. So the hiſtorian deſcribes it. But ſo little underſtood was the art of ſieges, that the navigation of the river was left free, and the communication with the country over Matilda's bridge, as unimpeded, as in time of peace; the enemy confining their aſſault to about the third part of the great circumference of the city. The vigorous efforts of the beſiegers, (who had divided themſelves into three bodies, advancing in rotation every eighth hour, that no moment of the natural day might ſurceaſe from labour) are well deſcribed; and the counteraction of the beſieged, who by a ſimilar diviſion of forces, reſiſted and foiled their energy. On the feaſt of St. Laurence, the tenth of Auguſt, when the ſiege had laſted twenty days, Louis announced a ſuſpenſion of arms, in honour of his favourite martyr. The citizens, with peculiar feſtivity, celebrated the day of reſt. Their ſongs echoed in the ſtreets, while the men at arms, iſſuing through the ſouthern gate, lightly ſprang towards the Seine, and tilted on its banks. From their lines, the enemy marked their ſport, and felt the inſult. I ſhall not relate the diſhonourable propoſal of the earl of Flanders, at this moment, to aſſault the walls, nor the ſilent preparations which enſued. I ſhall not relate the accidental diſcovery of this deſign, by ſome prieſts, from an elevated tower, nor the ringing of the alarm-bell, at which the enemy ruſhed, in thouſands, from their lines, and the Normans, with the

ſpeed

BOOK III. 1174. ſpeed of lightning, rallied back to their poſts. I ſhall not relate, that the walls were ſcaled, and ſhouts of victory were heared, when a conflict began, of direful obſtinacy, and which the night only ended, whilſt the ditches were filled with the ſlain and wounded, and the blood ran in torrents from the walls. Then the enemy retired in confuſion to their camp[d].

Before this, the confederates had heared, that the king of Scotland was in chains, and that the rebellion in England was expiring: but they were not prepared to ſee, what their eyes, the next day, beheld, the Engliſh monarch himſelf, at the head of his army, marching over the plain, croſſing the bridge, and entering the city in martial triumph. A damp fell upon their hearts. But ſoon the Welſh infantry ſeized a convoy of forty waggons, loaded with proviſions; and the northern gates were thrown open, that the king, with his cavalry, might act offenſively againſt the enemy. Want of bread for two days, and the forlorn proſpect before them, determined the confederates to raiſe the ſiege, which they did, before the twentieth day of the month, having burnt their machines and heavy implements[e]. — In a few days, came the earl of Blois and the archbiſhop of Sens, with overtures of peace; and a conference was appointed to be held at Giſors, on the eighth of September.

Even the incendiaries of the war now defired to end it. Their enterprizes, in a manner unaccountable to human penetration, had miſcarried, and the God of armies had ſeemed viſibly to protect the injured rights of a parent.

Henry,

[d] Neubrig. c. 35. [e] Hoveden. Dicet.

1174.

Henry, though a glorious revenge called him on to war, was diſpoſed himſelf to check the tide of victory, and to embrace a peace, that would give him back his children. The kings met at Giſors; but duke Richard was abſent in Poitou, inſulting the caſtles and vaſſals of his father. It was, therefore, reſolved to prolong the truce to Michaelmas, and Henry marched into Poitou. The ſtubborn youth, as he approached, retreated: but finding no ſuccour would come, his iron heart relented; he waited on the king; he wept; he fell on his knees; and aſked forgiveneſs. Henry forgave him; and they went together to the place of conference, between Tours and Amboiſe. Peace was concluded[f].

The terms were; That the three princes ſhould return to their father and their allegiance, themſelves free, and freeing all others, from the oaths of confederacy, they had taken: that a reſtitution of lands and caſtles, as they had been held, fifteen days before the rebellion, ſhould be made on both ſides: that the father ſhould remit all diſpleaſure againſt the rebels, and the young king alſo promiſe never to moleſt thoſe, who had been faithful to his father. The king then ſettles two caſtles in Normandy on his ſon, to be choſen by himſelf, and a yearly revenue of fifteen thouſand pounds in Angevin money; on Richard, two convenient places in Poitou, from which no miſchief could ariſe, and half the revenues of the province; and on Geoffrey, half of the revenues of Bretagne, till his marriage with the daughter of Conan, with the conſent of the Roman church, ſhould entitle him to the whole. The princes then

[f] Hoveden.

BOOK III. 1174. gave ſecurity, that they would never, againſt their father's will, demand more than had now been ſtipulated; and would never withdraw from him their perſons or ſervices. Richard and Geoffrey did homage for their grants; but from Henry, on account of his royal dignity, it was not demanded[g].

The earl of Leiceſter, and the other great priſoners, were releaſed, on terms of uncommon clemency: nine hundred and ſixty-nine captive knights received their liberty without ranſom: and of the few, who were detained in priſon, not one ſuffered death! Such mercy had never before graced the annals of kings, and it gives a dignity to the age which beheld it. — Only William of Scotland, in the caſtle of Falaiſe, had not yet his liberty. But the Scotch nobles and prelates here reſorted to him; and by their advice, it was finally agreed, to ſurrender the ancient independence of their crown, and to ſubject it to England. William, therefore, did homage to Henry, for the kingdom of Scotland, and for all his other territories, ſwearing fealty to him, as to his liege lord. The other articles being read, hoſtages were delivered for their more ſolemn ratification, on a future day, and William had liberty to return to his kingdom[h]. — The arrangement of many concerns in the provinces, now engaged the attention of Henry.

Events, on which the hiſtorian loves to dwell, becauſe his reader does, and becauſe in both they excite affections to which pleaſure is annexed, will, from this time, ceaſe to adorn the reign of Henry. But the view of leſs turbulent ſcenes, than ſieges, battles, victories, in the adminiſtration

[g] Hoveden. [h] Diceto ut ſup.

ſtration of juſtice, in domeſtic arrangements, and the execution of laws, can ſurely raiſe ſome intereſt in the human breaſt? I will omit no circumſtance that can inform, none that can portray manners, none that can develope the character or the politics of the age.

1174.

1175.

Miſcellaneous Occurrences.

Some diſtruſt ſtill ſubſiſting between Henry and his eldeſt ſon, means were taken to remove it. He waited on his father at Bure, and with tears implored his forgiveneſs, in the preſence of many nobles, who were his ſureties, doing homage, as his brothers had done, and ſwearing, as was uſual, on ſome relics of ſaints, that he would be ever faithful to him. This covenant was afterwards confirmed at Weſtminſter. At Caen they were met by the earl of Flanders, who came to renew friendſhip with Henry, his conſcience upbraiding him with its late infraction. And to atone for that guilt and the miſeries he had brought on others, he had lately taken the croſs, purpoſing, with an army, to depart for Paleſtine! The two kings then ſailed for England, and publicly to announce their love, they daily ate, ſay the hiſtorians, at the ſame table, and ſlept in the ſame bed[i].

The new primate had convened a dioceſan ſynod at Weſtminſter. He had been prior of Dover. I did not relate the various diſputes which preceded his election, nor the obſtacles, thrown by the young king in its way, which compelled him to go into Italy, where he was conſecrated by Alexander himſelf, and returned with legatine powers. He was a man of gentle manners, and by all parties well eſteemed. The kings were preſent in the council,

[i] Diceto. Hoveden. an. 1175.

BOOK III. 1175.

and approved its canons, which were taken from thoſe of other ſynods, or the decrees of popes, and principally tended to reform the manners of the clergy, and to ſuppreſs abuſes.—In compamy of the primate, they then went to Canterbury, where Henry paſſed a ſecond night in prayer, before the tomb of Becket.

But he who could pardon, with a godlike clemency, treaſon in his children and rebellion in his ſubjects, could not forgive lighter miſdemeanours, which touched his favourite paſſion. During the war, the game in the royal foreſts had been deſtroyed, the gentlemen having hunted without reſtraint: but now all deſcriptions of men, by a moſt vexatious proſecution, were brought to trouble for this offence. They pleaded a general liberty, granted by the juſticiary Richard de Lucy, and himſelf confirmed it, alledging, that he had been ſo ordered by Henry. The vindictive ſportſman did not deſiſt. A general inquiſition was made on oath, and even *hear-ſay* evidence being admitted, the delinquents were puniſhed by heavy amerciaments.[k] That his coffers were empty, I believe; but it was unwarrantable and unkingly thus to repleniſh them. So true, however, it has, at all times, been, that when a few had arrogated to themſelves a privilege, deſigned by providence to be enjoyed by all men, they have not deſiſted to maintain their uſurpation by means, oppreſſive and nefarious. The foreſt-laws, it is allowed, were tyrannical. Our own game laws are as much ſo; nor will Engliſhmen be free, till they, with the manorial rights of lords, and other remains of the feudal ſyſtem, be buried in the grave of their Norman parent. In

[k] Diceto. Hoveden. an. 1175.

1175.

In a progreſs through the kingdom, from his favourite palace of Woodſtock, Henry was at Glouceſter, where he ſettled ſome diſturbances of South Wales; and at Nottingham, where he impleaded the deſtroyers of his deer; and at York, where the king of Scotland met him, with the great men of his land, laity and clergy, to fulfill the convention of Falaiſe. In the church of St. Peter, the nobles and biſhops of both countries aſſiſting, William renewed his liege homage to Henry and his ſon. The ſame was done by the biſhops, abbots, and other clergy; and the barons ſwore allegiance for themſelves and their heirs, adding that, ſhould their king recede from his fealty, they would ſtand by Henry, as their lord, againſt all his enemies[1]. — The ſurrender was complete; and Henry became king of Britain. That the Scottiſh nation, powerful in arms, high-minded, and ever hoſtile to England, ſhould thus cheerfully, as it ſeems, for the ranſom of their prince, have paid ſo high a price, is an event almoſt inexplicable: but we know not the ſecret meaſures which negotiated the tranſaction. The moſt probable conjecture is, that they dreaded the power of Henry, now free to revenge their late wanton inſult, and preferred a ſubmiſſion, apparently voluntary, to the ſeverer terms which a conqueror might dictate.

A new treaty of ſettlement was alſo made with Ireland. Since Henry had left it, as might be expected, diſturbances had enſued, occaſioned by the depredations which the Engliſh committed, by impatience of a foreign yoke, and by the hope, which the rebellion in England daily animated, of recovering their independence: for the chiefs, whoſe preſence

[1] Dicet. Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 37. Chron. de Mailros.

BOOK III. 1175.

preſence they moſt dreaded, were themſelves called away to aid the royal cauſe. But nothing ſucceeded. There was no union in their plans. And ſoon Strongbow returned; and the brave Raymond, now the ſoldier's friend, whether for ſpoils or glory, had opened new conqueſts, by the taking of Limerick, and other achievements[m]. In deſpair of ſucceſs, Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, ſent his miniſters to Henry, who found him at Windſor, about the time of Michaelmas; and there, in a council of the nation, articles of a more ſpecific convention were ratified. — Henry grants to his liegeman Roderic, as long as he ſhall faithfully ſerve him; that he be a king under him, and paying him tribute, to hold his territories, as he had held them before Henry came into Ireland. The inhabitants, likewiſe, are quietly to poſſeſs their lands, ſo long as they remained faithful to the king of England, and paid him their tribute and his other rights, through the hands of the Iriſh king. The tribute is a hide, ſaleable for the merchant, from every tenth beaſt killed in Roderic's territories, or in other lands, to be paid annually. But in the demeſnes of Henry and thoſe of his barons, Roderic has no concern. Theſe are Dublin and its appurtenances; Meath and all its appurtenances; Wexford and the kingdom of Leinſter; and Waterford with the adjacent country[n]. — In this looſe manner, which argues no fixed ſyſtem of policy, was the government of Ireland ſettled. When the ancient independence of the realm was broken, by the introduction of a foreign ſovereignty, it was more than expedient, ſurely, on the ruins of the old form, to have erected a new fabric of

[m] Girald. Camb. l. ii. c. 8. &c.

[n] Hoveden. an. 1175.

of legiſlation, and to have eſtabliſhed an executive power, that might and would have been willing, to compel ſubmiſſion. Events will ſhew, how weakly the whole was planned. 1175.

Soon afterwards, in an aſſembly at Northampton, regulations were made in the internal polity of England. It was agreed to divide the country into ſix circuits, in each of which three itinerant juſtices or judges were appointed, to hear and determine criminal and civil cauſes; and from whom an oath was taken to obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, the ſeveral ordinances then enacted. Theſe ordinances or ſtatutes are ſaid to be thoſe of Clarendon; but they are not thoſe which excited the controverſy, nor do they regard eccleſiaſtical matters. Many of them were only calculated to redreſs the diſorders, occaſioned by the late commotions; and others referred to civil property, and the criminal juſtice of the realm. Of the laſt deſcription one is peculiarly curious. If any one, it ſays, is arraigned before the king's juſtices of murder, or theft, or robbery, or of receiving any ſuch malefactors, or of forgery, or of malicious burning of houſes, by the oath of twelve knights of the hundred, or, in their abſence, by the oath of twelve free and lawful men, or by the oath of four men of every town of the hundred, he ſhall be ſent to the water ordeal, and if convicted, ſhall loſe one of his feet. To which the ſtatute of Northampton adds, that he ſhall likewiſe loſe a hand, and abjuring the realm, go out of it, within forty days. If acquitted by the ordeal, he ſhall find ſureties, and ſtay in the kingdom, unleſs he had been arraigned of murder, or any heinous felony, by the community of the county and of 1176.

the

BOOK III. 1176.

the legal knights of his country: in which caſe, though acquitted by the ordeal, he ſhall leave the realm within forty days, taking with him his chattels, and remain at the king's mercy [o].—The Roman church had in vain ſtriven to ſuppreſs theſe abſurd trials; and here we ſee them ſolemnly ſanctioned, with clauſes of palpable injuſtice, by a ſtatute of the Engliſh nation in council aſſembled!

Cardinal Huguzon, a legate from the pope, whom Henry had particularly requeſted, had been ſome months in England. Tired of his queen, whom he alſo viewed as a principal agent in the late rebellion, he ſought for a divorce. The ſecrets of the negotiation have not tranſpired; but no divorce was obtained. Huguzon, however, was not idle. He viſited the churches, exerciſing his ſuperior juriſdiction, and gaining the odium of the clergy, by permitting the king to proſecute them, for having hunted in his foreſts. A ſynod was then ſummoned to meet him at Weſtminſter. I ſhall not detail the ſcandalous ſcene, which enſued between the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, for the right of precedency; in which the latter was wounded, and whereby the Italian legate was ſo alarmed, that he retired precipitately, and ſoon left a country which, by his venal and ſervile conduct, he had diſguſted [p]. But he took with him a letter from Henry to the Roman pontiff, which merits notice.—"Out of reverence to the holy ſee," ſays he, "and to you, though the greateſt and wiſeſt men in "my kingdom oppoſed the meaſure, at the interceſſion of "your legate, I have granted the following ordinances:— "That no eccleſiaſtic, in future, ſhall be perſonally taken "before

[o] Hoveden. an. 1176. [p] Hoveden. Gervas.

" before a ſecular judge, for any crime or tranſgreſſion,
" except againſt the foreſt-laws, or in the caſe of a lay fee,
" for which ſecular ſervice is due: that I will not retain in
" my hands, beyond the term of one year, vacant biſhop-
" rics or abbeys, unleſs from urgent neceſſity or ſome evi-
" dent cauſe: that every wilful and malicious murderer of a
" clergyman, on conviction or confeſſion before my juſti-
" ciary, beſides the uſual puniſhment for the murder of a
" layman, ſhall ſuffer a forfeiture, for himſelf and for his
" heirs, of all his inheritance for ever: that churchmen
" ſhall not be compelled to any trials by duel [q]."

Thus, by the royal prerogative alone, contrary to the declared ſentiments of the *greateſt and wiſeſt men*, is that ſtatute of Clarendon reverſed, which, at the time, cauſed ſuch general reclamation, and which, it was pretended, was amongſt the *ancient uſages* of the realm. I will alſo obſerve, how idle it is, in ſome modern hiſtorians, to talk of *acts of parliament*, or of a *ſyſtem* of legiſlation, at a period, when our government was ſo precarious and undefined, that the will of the monarch alone, ſometimes, conſtituted law, and, ſometimes, a headſtrong ariſtocracy checked its moſt ſalutary operations. — Trials by *duel* were a ſpecies of more honourable *ordeal*, then much reſorted to, even in ſome civil ſuits, as well as in cauſes which appertained to the courts of chivalry. But their principle was as abſurd as that of the vulgar ordeals, and equally incompetent to protect the rights of truth or innocence. To the ſhame of human reaſon, a practice which, at that time, we can ſay, ſprang from the groſſeſt ignorance, has ſtill its votaries;

[q] Dicet. an. 1176.

BOOK III. 1176.

as if the preſent mode of vindicating honour were more rational, than it then was, to ſit down on water, or to tread on burning ploughſhares!

Henry's remaining daughters were, this year, married; Eleanor, to Alphonſo king of Caſtille, and Joan, to William king of Sicily, ſurnamed the *good:* an alliance effected by the mediation of Alexander, whoſe peculiar friend he was. Manuel Comnenus and Frederic Barbaroſſa had offered their daughters to William, and had been refuſed. He was partial to the Engliſh name, from an early impreſſion made by Peter de Blois, who, for ſome time, had been his maſter, and whom he wiſhed to retain in Sicily. Peter was now ſecretary to Henry, a man of much learning, and a principal agent in the tranſactions of the times.

John of Saliſbury, whoſe name I have often mentioned, the ſecretary of Becket and his inſeparable companion, was, about this time, by the choice of the chapter, and the earneſt wiſhes of the French king, called to the ſee of Chartres. His learning, in every department of ſcience, was uncommonly celebrated, and he has left it recorded in many works; but his virtues were more conſpicuous. The portrait he often draws of the Roman court, the exceſſes of which he had perſonally witneſſed, proves, that he was as free to cenſure as to give praiſe, when the ſubject called for either[r]. But it is too lightly aſſerted, that the influence of that court ſo far overpowered the minds of men, that they were awed into ſilence, and checked in their common operations. I have ſhewn that it was not ſo; and now a freſh inſtance preſents itſelf.—Vivian, another legate from

[r] Ep. Joan. Sariſb. paſſim.

from Alexander, ſoon followed Huguzon, with a commiſſion for Scotland and Ireland. He landed at Dover, where, with Roman inſolence, ſays the monkiſh hiſtorian, forcing himſelf into lodgings, he was ſoon compelled to demean himſelf more humbly, and to requeſt admittance. But Henry, hearing of his arrival, ſent two biſhops to demand, by whoſe authority he dared, thus unlicenſed, to enter the realm of England? The legate trembled: "I will do no-thing," ſaid he, "and I ſwear it, againſt the will of your maſter." He was permitted to proceed; and the king granted him a ſafe conduct, and defrayed the expences of his journey into Scotland[s].—The power of Rome would not have overleaped the bounds, which religion and reaſon had fixed, had not princes, from views of intereſt and ambition, authoriſed its undue exerciſe, and themſelves invited its worſt exceſſes. 1176.

From what apprehenſions, we know not; but, probably, from ſerious apprehenſions of freſh tumults, Henry had demoliſhed the caſtles of the late principal rebels in England and Normandy; and, ſtill better to ſecure the continuance of peace, he had taken into his hands even the fortreſſes of thoſe, who had never forfeited his favour, and garriſoned them with his own troops[t]. The meaſure was arbitrary, though attempted, it ſeems, by the advice of his council! —And in March news came, that embaſſadors from Alphonſo, his ſon-in-law, king of Caſtille, and Sanchez king of Navarre, were arrived in his kingdom, to lay before him a controverſy, which had long divided thoſe princes, and diſtreſſed their people. It regarded territories, forcibly 1177.

[s] Gerv. Hoveden. [t] Hoveden.

BOOK III. 1177.

uſurped on both ſides. Henry aſſembled his great council at Weſtminſter; before which the royal meſſengers appeared, attended by advocates to ſtate the controverſy, and to plead. Two Spaniſh champions had alſo come, to wait the iſſue of the trial, armed at all points, and prepared to enter the liſts, ſhould Henry ordain a combat. The pleas being reduced to writing, and interpreted, the council weighed the reſpective claims, and the goſpels were produced. On them the embaſſadors ſwore, that their maſters ſhould ſtand to the award of the Engliſh monarch, or themſelves would ſurrender their perſons to his power. Sentence was pronounced. It was: That as neither party denied the uſurpations, alledged by the other to have been committed, the king and court decreed, that a full reſtitution ſhould be made on both ſides[u].

Agreeably to the faſhion of the day, the earl of Flanders now came to pray at the tomb of Becket, previouſly to his departure for Paleſtine. Henry, as the terms of his reconciliation promiſed, had intimated an intention of accompanying the earl; but the concerns of his own government detained him. He ſent money, however; and the earl, with many barons and knights, from this and other countries, departed.

Strongbow was dead; and the king had appointed William Fitz-Aldelm his ſucceſſor in the lieutenancy of Ireland. But diſorders continued, and the Engliſh had invaded Ulſter and Connaught. Henry was now ſenſible, that more ſtrength muſt be given to the Iriſh government; and he purpoſed to inveſt one of his ſons with it, to be held, under himſelf

[u] Hoveden. Gervas. an. 1177.

himſelf and his heirs, as a great hereditary fief. Yet John, the ſon of his choice, was an infant. In a council at Oxford, therefore, he declared his intention, (which the Roman biſhop had alſo ſanctioned,) and he made ſuch new ſettlements of lands and honours, in Ireland, on many of his nobles, as ſhould induce them to protect his preſent territories, till John might be of age to aſſume the reins of government. For theſe grants, homage was done to prince John and to himſelf[v]. — Thus was he employed, when a meſſenger arrived to inform him, that a cardinal legate was in France, with a mandate from his holineſs, to put all his dominions under an interdict, unleſs he permitted his ſon Richard to marry the princeſs Adelais, whom, as deſigned for that prince, he had long had in his cuſtody. Henry interpoſed an appeal to Rome, and paſſed into Normandy.

That the Engliſh monarch was himſelf in love with Adelais, there are ſtrong reaſons to ſuſpect. Though marriageable, he ſtill detained her in his court, and he had lately applied for a divorce from Eleanor. Louis, her father, it was, who, alarmed, probably, by the ſuſpectful circumſtances, now interfered, and implored the aid of Rome. The kings met at Ivri, in the preſence of the legate, where Henry, by an artful policy, conſented, that the match ſhould be celebrated; but on terms of the ſurrender of Bourges to Richard, and of the French Vexin to the young king, with which Louis could not comply. The affair ended, and Adelais remained unmarried. Notwithſtanding, a treaty of amity was then concluded, wherein the

[v] Hoveden. Girald. Camb.

BOOK III. 1177.

the kings ſwear to take the croſs, and together to proceed to Jeruſalem, under the ſolemn ſtipulation, that each will defend, to the utmoſt of his power, the perſon, dignity, and dominions of the other[w]. Paleſtine, indeed, then loudly called for ſuccour.

Frederic defeated by the Lombards, puts an end to the ſchiſm.

In this year, cloſed the ſchiſm, which the emperor Frederic had ſo long upheld. Four years before, with a formidable army, he had entered Italy, the fifth time, and having taken ſome towns on his march, he beleagered Alexandria, the name of which alone inſulted all his pride. The confederates were prepared to receive him; and the new town, though ſurrounded only by a deep ditch, preſented againſt his machines the noble ſpirit of freemen, well trained to arms, and amply ſupplied with proviſions. The firſt attacks were vain; when the rains began to fall, and the plains were inundated. But Barbaroſſa would not move. It was the month of October, and he reſolved to paſs the winter in his tents. The winter proved remarkably ſevere; and when ſpring returned, he ſaw that diſeaſe and deſertion had greatly thinned his army. Still he perſiſted, truſting much, for ſucceſs, to a mine, which, unperceived by the enemy, he had carried towards the town. At this time, notice was given to the diſtant confederacy, that the proviſions of the beſieged began to fail. Inſtantly a powerful army marched to their relief, and advanced within ten miles of the German camp. The ſituation of Frederic was perilous: he had recourſe, therefore, to the ſtratagem, we ſaw practiſed at Rouen, and, it being Thurſday before eaſter, proclaimed a ſuſpenſion of arms till the following Monday.

[w] Gervas. Hoveden.

Monday. In the ſilence of the night, two hundred choſen men enterred the ſubterraneous paſſage, while Frederic, with his army, approached towards a gate, which ſoon, they expected, would be opened to them. The mine ſucceeded; but an alarm was given, and the citizens ſeizing their arms, in a moment, maſſacred the few who had entered. They did more. In their juſt fury, they threw open the gates, and ruſhed upon the enemy. The unexpected ſally diſconcerted the enemy. They fled; and Frederic, after having beheld the carnage of his men, the ſtorming of his camp, and the burning of his own pavilion, himſelf ſet fire to the remaining engines, and precipitately retired. It was his intention, it ſeems, to gain Pavia; but the confederates faced him, and preſented battle. In both armies, fortunately, there were men, to whom the effuſion of blood was a ſcene of horror. Theſe, at the critical moment, interfered, and an accommodation was effected, on the vague terms, that the rights of the empire ſhould be preſerved inviolate, on one ſide, and on the other, the freedom of the confederates. The partiality of the German hiſtorians, on this and other occaſions, is glaring; but it will appear, how inſincere was their emperor in the admiſſion of a treaty, which the circumſtances of his ſituation only forced upon him[x].

The remainder of the year was ſpent in uſeleſs negotiations for a general peace, during which time, the imperial agents were ſecretly employed, in collecting an army, that might be ready to join Frederic, by the end of winter. With a ſuſpectful eye the Lombards watched every motion, and

[x] Murat. an. 1175.

BOOK III.

1177.

and easily penetrated the base design. Again they bound themselves, by a solemn oath, to stand or fall together; and news was brought, that the German army was in motion, headed by the archbishops of Magdebourg and Cologne. They entered Italy by the lake of Como, when Frederic joined them. But though the army was numerous and well-appointed, he saw with pain, that Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whose aid he had implored, and on whom he most relied, was not with them. From Como they advanced on the road to Pavia, meaning to join the troops, that Frederic had left in that neighbourhood. But the confederates, whom it behoved to impede this junction, had already marched, with the *Carroccio*, (the sacred standard of Milan,) and they had halted between the Texin and Legnano. Soon the vanguards skirmished; which was the prelude to a memorable day, that must for ever ennoble the annals of Lombardy, and which Milan annually celebrates. It was a Saturday, and the twenty-ninth of May. I shall not recount its carnage, nor its heroic deeds. Suffice it to say, that the Germans, overpowered by the tremendous phalanx, which embosomed the *carroccio*, finally gave way; and Lombardy was victorious. Frederic, whose single arm had achieved wonders, in the fury of the conflict, fell headlong from his horse, and was seen no longer. The butchery which ensued was great; the Texin devoured many; but more were taken prisoners. The whole plunder of the camp remained to the victors, and with it the emperor's military chest. He, in vain, was sought for amongst the dead. Days passed; and the empress, who had remained at Como, put on mourning. But, having escaped from the field,

field, Frederic had prudently abſconded; and when no longer looked for, he ſuddenly appeared in Pavia, in health and unwounded; but without troops or any reſource of war[y].

It is with pleaſure that I ſee the tyrant humbled by men, who fought for liberty: and now it was, that he could liſten, with a forced ſincerity, to the advice of friends. They adviſed him to make peace, while the allies, perhaps, might be diſpoſed to hearken to a treaty. Hereon, embaſſadors were ſent to Alexander, whom they found at Anagni.—"Peace," ſaid the pontiff to them, "has ever been my "wiſh; but now I can receive no propoſals, which ſhall not "be grateful to my allies." Theſe were the king of Sicily and the confederated Lombards. A private negotiation, however, was opened, which, after many diſcuſſions, finally ſettled the mutual claims of the imperial court and the Roman ſee. But thoſe of the confederates, in the abſence of the parties, could not be agitated: Alexander himſelf, therefore, conſented to remove towards Lombardy, that his preſence might give vigour to the operations for peace[z].

But many months paſſed in other adjuſtments, and it was March in the preſent year, before the pontiff with his cardinals, and two commiſſioners from his Sicilian majeſty, embarked on board eleven gallies, furniſhed by that prince, in the port of Vieſt. They ſailed through the Adriatic gulph; and, on the twenty-third, landing at Venice, were conducted in ſolemn pomp, to the palace of the patriarch. Still difficulties intervened; to obviate which, and to ſettle the place of conference, Alexander went to Ferrara. The

[y] Murat. an. 1176. [z] Act. Alex. an. 1176.

BOOK III. 1177. deputies from Lombardy here met him, and an interview took place, at which the manly and ſufficient ſpirit of the republicans was pleaſingly contraſted with the pious effuſions, the inſinuating policy, and the clerical demeanour of the Roman biſhop. When he exhibited his attachment to their cauſe, by reciting the fatigues and the perils of a journey, to which he had been expoſed; they ſmiled, and recounted the wars they had maintained, and the battles they had fought. "With gratitude," ſaid they, "we "accept the peace, which is offered to us, and the imperial "favour. He ſhall poſſeſs the rights which are his due, "and which Italy never controverted: but the liberty, "our forefathers entailed upon us, we will not relinquiſh, "but with our lives[a]."—Soon came the imperial miniſters, with whom, for many days, a diſpute, concerning the place of conference, was warmly agitated. It was finally agreed to meet at Venice, to which place they all repaired.

Many pages could not relate the proceſs of the conference, on the affairs of Lombardy, while neither ſide would recede from their pretenſions. Alexander was aware of the interminable diſcuſſion, and propoſed a truce of ſix years; which was accepted, though reluctantly, by the Lombards. With Rome all had been previouſly adjuſted; and a peace of fifteen years was ſettled with Sicily. Then was Frederic, who impatiently had waited at ſome diſtance, permitted to enter Venice, having ſolemnly pledged himſelf to ſubſcribe to the terms of peace.

As he approached, on the twenty-fourth of July, a deputation of cardinals was ſent to meet him; while the pontiff, with

[a] Romual. Salern. relat. apud Baron.

with a vaſt train, proceeded to the metropolitan church of St. Mark. The deputies abſolved Frederic and his attendants from the excommunication, they had incurred; when the doge of Venice, and the patriarch, and the nobles, and the clergy of the city, advancing in their gondolas, received the emperor, and conducted him to St. Mark's. Before the gates ſat Alexander, ſurrounded by his dignitaries, attired in their reſpective dreſſes. Frederic deſcended from his gondola, and coming forward on foot, as he approached, threw aſide his mantle, and fell proſtrate at the pontiff's feet. He raiſed him from the ground; he wept, embraced, and bleſſed him: at which the Germans, in a thundering peal, entoned the *Te Deum*, and the emperor, taking hold of the pope's hand, advanced by his ſide to the choir, where he again bowed his head, and receiving a ſecond bleſſing, withdrew to the ducal palace [b].

Early, the next morning, at his requeſt, the pope celebrated maſs, at which Frederic aſſiſted; and having kiſſed his holineſs's feet, and made his offering, they retired hand in hand. The white palfrey was at the gates, which as the pontiff mounted, Barbaroſſa held the oppoſite ſtirrup; and, with his hand on the reins, was proceeding to attend him, when Alexander graciouſly releaſed him from the office. Some days were then ſpent in viſits and friendly intercourſe: and on the firſt of Auguſt, the peace with Rome and Sicily, and the truce with the Lombards, were ſolemnly ratified.—The numerous aſſembly met in the hall of the patriarchal palace. At the bottom, in the middle, ſat Alexander, with the cardinals and prelates on each ſide;

[b] Idem ibid.

BOOK III. 1177.

and above them, on the right hand, was Frederic, and on the left, the Sicilian miniſter. The pontiff roſe, and in a diſcourſe, well adapted to the occaſion, expreſſed his joy, and the joy of the univerſal church.—Then roſe Frederic. He laid aſide his mantle, and ſpoke in the German tongue, while his chancellor interpreted. He acknowledged the error he had been in, ſeduced, he ſaid, by bad counſels; he thanked God for the grace which had reclaimed him; he renounced the ſchiſm; he received Alexander for his lawful biſhop; and he preſented peace to the king of Sicily and to the Lombards — Acclamations rent the air. The goſpels were brought forward, with the relics of ſaints, and a part of the true croſs; over which, at the command of the emperor, Henry count of Dieſſa ſtretched his arm, and ſwore on the ſoul of Frederic, that he would maintain the articles of peace, as covenanted, for ever with the church, fifteen years with Sicily, and ſix with Lombardy. Twelve princes of the empire then ſwore the ſame. In like manner, Romuald, archbiſhop of Salerno, whoſe narration I copy, the Sicilian envoy, ſwore for his maſter; and then the commiſſioners from Lombardy. It is remarkable, that the emperor did not ſwear in perſon. In another meeting, anathemas were pronounced againſt thoſe, who ſhould violate the peace; and the parties departed, Alexander to Anagni, and Frederic towards the confines of Burgundy[c]. —Thus cloſed the ſchiſm; for though the antipope, Calixtus, ſtill reſided at Viterbo, his adherents left him, and the chriſtian world obeyed Alexander.

[c] Act. Alex. Romual. Salern. an. 1177.

In

The Vaudois or Albigenſes.

In the hiſtory of man, his errors, or as, more properly, perhaps, they may be called, his endleſs purſuits in queſt of religious truth, form a great feature which muſt not be neglected. That feature, in all its variety, might be viewed with pleaſure, were it unattended by a concomitant imagery, from which the mind recoils with horror. Deviation from *orthodoxy* (which itſelf, in the language of men, has varied, as modes of thinking, and even as human policy, has varied) never comes forward, without the implements of oppreſſion, in the near ground, and often of blood.—Two years before, in a provincial ſynod at Albi, certain opinions had been cenſured, which were become popular in the ſouthern parts of France. Some of them had originated with Peter Valdo, a rich merchant of Lyons, and others came from the Manicheans, ſectaries who, driven from the eaſt, had widely ſpread their doctrines in many countries of the weſtern church. The men, I ſpeak of, were called *Vaudois* or *Waldenſes* from Peter Valdo; they were alſo called the *poor* or *good men* of Lyons, from their contempt of riches, and the air of piety they wore; and ſoon they were diſtinguiſhed by other appellations, the moſt general of which was that of *Albigenſes*, from the town of Albi. As yet, I believe, they had no ſettled creed: but the admiſſion of *two principles*, eſſentially diſtinct, one the author of all good, the other of all evil, however myſteriouſly expreſſed, marked them, at this time, for the legitimate deſcendants of the proſcribed ſect of Manes. They were condemned, as I ſaid, at Albi; and it appeared, though they refuſed to ſpeak openly, that they rejected the books of the old teſtament, as the Manicheans did; that they denied the efficacy of infant

BOOK III. 1178.

infant baptiſm; that they held that every good man could conſecrate the euchariſt; that they deemed marriage unlawful, which was a Manichean tenet; and that the prieſthood had no peculiar powers, which other good men had not. But they were full and explicit in their invectives againſt the riches and the vain parade of churchmen; and unaſked, one principle they proclaimed, in which they remained ſteady and invariable, that, agreeably to the goſpels and the epiſtle of St. James, *it was never lawful to ſwear*. Alarmed at the approach of the ſentence, which now threatened, the *good men* turned to the people who were round, and publicly delivered a profeſſion of faith, which, they declared, was their belief, clear and orthodox in all its articles. This declaration they were aſked to confirm by an oath: "No," ſaid they, "we will not ſwear." Sentence, on this, was pronounced, which declared them heretics; but no other rigours were uſed [d].

But, in the preſent year, Raymond, earl of Toulouſe, excited a general alarm, by the frightful picture his zealous pencil drew, of the ſpread of hereſy in Languedoc, and of its baleful influence. All orders of men, he ſaid, were infected; the prieſts had drunk the poiſon, and their altars were deſerted. He holds, indeed, he ſays, one of the two ſwords, but he dares not uſe it; if the king of France will come to his aid, he will open the cities to him; he will put the villages and caſtles under his rod; he will point out the heretics to him; and, to the effuſion of his blood, he will aſſiſt him to cruſh the enemies of Chriſt. Thus wrote the pious Raymond to the abbot and general chapter of Citeaux.

[d] Hoveden. an. 1176. Reiner. ap. Nat. Alex. et alii.

Citeaux[e].—Both Louis and Henry heared the report with emotion, and they reſolved to attempt, in perſon, the expulſion of the heretics from the country. But reflection ſuggeſted better means: it told them, rather to ſend miſſionaries who might preach the truth, and reclaim the miſinformed from error. The cardinal legate, who was in France, went; and with him two archbiſhops, and the biſhops of Bath and Poitiers, and the abbot of Clairvaux, and a numerous train of churchmen. Yet, alas! alſo Raymond himſelf and other powerful lords were commiſſioned to aid the miſſionaries, and to execute their mandates.

At Toulouſe, the ſeat of the diſorder, Peter Moran, an aged gentleman, of high connections, great wealth, and a diſtinguiſhed citizen, was brought before them. He was at the head of the ſect, and though a layman, was their teacher and their guide. Accuſed of hereſy, he ſighed, and denied the charge. Would he confirm his denial, they aſked him, by an oath? — "I am an honeſt and an "honourable man," he replied, "and ſhould be credited "on my ſimple affirmation." They preſſed him; when he finally conſented, and ſwore that he would anſwer with truth, to all their queſtions. What was his belief, they then aſked, in the holy ſacrament?—"I believe," ſaid he, "that the conſecrated bread is *not* the body of our lord." — They heared the aſſertion with tears, and enquiring no further, condemned him of hereſy; and the count, receiving him from their hands, committed him to the public priſon. The retractation of his errors which enſued, and the

[e] Gerv. chron.

BOOK III. 1178.

the ignominies he ſuffered before the people, I ſhall not deſcribe. Suffice it, that he was reconciled to the church; but his poſſeſſions were confiſcated, and he was ordered, for the expiation of his guilt, within forty days, to ſet out for Jeruſalem, and there to remain for three years [f].

Others were apprehended, among whom were two teachers. They appeared before the commiſſioners, with a profeſſion of faith, written in the language of the country, which they read. Required to explain ſome ambiguous expreſſions, they did it; and it appeared, that their belief was orthodox. They denied the doctrine of the two principles, and other opinions with which they had been charged. Before the people, in a fuller aſſembly, they again read their belief, with a declaration, that they had never taught otherwiſe; when Raymond of Toulouſe and others, in the face of the meeting, charged them with falſhood. They had heared them preach, they ſaid, that there were two Gods, one good, the other evil; that the firſt had made all inviſible things, and ſuch as are not liable to change or corruption; and that the other was the author of the heavens, the earth, and man, and of things viſible. Other witneſſes aſſerted, that they had heared from their mouths each particular opinion, which the ſect was known to profeſs. The commiſſioners then offered the trying queſtion; with which they refuſed to comply, ſaying, it was unlawful to ſwear. They were excommunicated; the people were commanded to ſeparate from them; and the lords of the country bound themſelves by oath, to give no protection to them or their abettors. But they had obtained a ſafe-conduct, before they

[f] Ep. Hen. Claraval. ap. Hoveden.

they came to Toulouſe, which empowered them to withdraw without further moleſtation [g]. 1178.

On the tenets and conduct of theſe men, the reader will make his own reflections. That they diſſembled, is manifeſt; and that ſome of their opinions were ſtrictly Manichean, is not leſs ſo: but as their doctrines, as it generally happens, did not paſs the line of theory, (for their lives, it ſeems, were inoffenſive,) the alarms of Raymond, the civil magiſtrate, were groundleſs, and his zeal tranſgreſſed order. The tenet of the Vaudois, which forbad them to *ſwear*, gave them a marked reſemblance to a modern ſociety; and if proteſtants, in general, claim affinity with them, why may not that ſociety, with equal propriety, alledge, that the *good*, if not the *poor*, men of Lyons were their progenitors? The circumſtance of Manicheiſm muſt, on neither ſide, debaſe the pedigree. The beſt blood is ſeldom uniformly noble.

The Romans, whoſe averſion to the civil juriſdiction of their biſhop had long kept him at a diſtance from them, on the extinction of the ſchiſm, voluntarily invited him to return. He returned; but on conditions which were honourable to Alexander: That the ſenators, when elected, ſhould do homage to him; that the church of St. Peter, which they had ſeized, and the rights of a ſovereign, ſhould be ſurrendered to him; and that they ſhould bind themſelves by oath to obſerve the peace inviolably, and the articles of convention thus ſtipulated. — The antipope alſo, deſerted by thoſe, who had made him the pageant of an expiring ſchiſm, himſelf waited on Alexander; at his feet confeſſing 1179.

[g] Ep. Pet. Card. ap. Hoveden.

BOOK III. 1179.

his guilt, and imploring forgiveneſs. The benevolent pontiff kindly raiſed him from the ground, and forgave him: he even retained him near his perſon, and in the confidence of an unſuſpecting heart, committed to him the government of Beneventum[h]. If Alexander was humane and generous, ſo alſo was the character of Calixtus not commonly meritorious, which could challenge from his adverſary ſo amiable a diſplay of virtue.

Third council of Lateran.

In the poſſeſſion of all the power, which the triple crown could give, Alexander, with a view to correct the abuſes which the diſorders of the ſchiſm, or rather the common paſſions of men, had cauſed or ſtrengthened, convoked at Rome a general council of the chriſtian world. Summons were ſent into every kingdom, and the biſhops haſtened to attend. But it was found that they, whom neither zeal nor the love of diſſipation prompted to the journey, could be releaſed, by money, from the preſſing obligation. The diſcovery, ſays an hiſtorian, gave occaſion to ſuſpect, that Roman avarice, not the love of order, had projected the whole meaſure[i]. Many prelates, from Ireland and Scotland, obeyed the ſummons, and paſſing through England to obtain leave from Henry, took an oath, that they would deviſe no evil againſt the king or his realm. The annual revenue of one of theſe Iriſh prelates, was but the milk of three cows, with which the people of his dioceſe regularly ſupplied him. From England went only four biſhops; for it was the privilege of their church, they inſiſted, to ſend no more[k]. — When the council opened in the church of Lateran,

[h] Romuald. Salern. ap. Baron. [i] Neubrig. l. iii. c. 2.

[k] Hoveden. an. 1179.

Lateran, on the third of March, there were preſent three hundred biſhops, of whom a hundred and ſixty were from Italy, and other eccleſiaſtics innumerable. On an elevated throne was ſeated the ſovereign pontiff, and near him were the cardinals, the prefects, the ſenators, and the conſuls of Rome. They aſſembled on three days, and framed ſeven and twenty canons. The council is called the third of Lateran.

Were I to tranſcribe its ſtatutes, all of which appertain to diſcipline, it would appear, I think, even to the prejudiced man, that the framers of them underſtood the genuine ſpirit of chriſtian order, and were zealous to maintain it. Without palliation, they expoſe the exceſſes of churchmen, and they preſcribe a remedy. They fix a mature age to the exerciſe of the prelacy, and of inferior offices, pointing out the qualifications which alone ſhould recommend to them; and they ſtrive to check the oſtentation of the wealthy. They condemn the frequency of appeals, and every ſimoniacal practice which had debaſed religion. To the miniſters of the altar they forbid the occupations of the bar, and the charge of civil offices; they proſcribe plurality of benefices, and ſtrictly enjoin reſidence; and if ſometimes they trench on the limits of the temporal juriſdiction, it is much leſs than, in the undefined ſtate of things, might have been naturally expected. If the age then was depraved, it aroſe not from ignorance in the teachers, or from any want of an exact and provident legiſlation: but energy failed in the executive department, while the manners of the great, a diſſolute and martial ariſtocracy, widely diffuſed an intemperance of life, and led their vaſſals into

BOOK III. 1179.

a participation of their crimes, and a heedleſs diſregard of laws, the object of which was a domeſtic and unoffending morality.—I muſt not omit to mention, that the firſt canon ordains, in the future election of popes, that, when the cardinals are not unanimous in their choice, it ſhall be carried by two thirds of the votes. By the twentieth, tournaments, in which the lives of the combatants were expoſed, are forbidden: by the twenty-third, wherever the lepers are ſufficiently numerous to live in community, they are permitted to have a church, a cemetery, and a miniſter, for their own uſe: and by the laſt canon, the heretics of Languedoc, whom I deſcribed, are anathematiſed, with an extenſion of the ſame ſentence to thoſe, who ſhould harbour them in their houſes, or preſume to traffic with them. With more equity, a ſimilar ſentence is pronounced againſt the Brabanters, or a lawleſs banditti under different names, who ravaged many provinces of Europe. But in this canon, a marked line is drawn between the two powers. The ſecular arm, it ſays, may uſe the ſword in aid of the church, while the church only exerciſes her ſpiritual juriſdiction towards the ſuppreſſion of error[1]. Unfortunately this juriſdiction reached to every thing, but the effuſion of blood; and they did not ſee the abſurd departure from obvious equity.

Events in England.

From the laſt year, Henry had been in England. At Woodſtock he knighted his ſon Geoffrey, who was emulous of his brothers glory, than whom no champions in the liſts poſſeſſed more proweſs, or whoſe feats in arms ſhone brighter. Theſe exerciſes, which, we have juſt ſeen, the milder

[1] Hoveden. Fleury. Nat. Alex.

milder ſpirit of the church cenſured, were deemed a neceſſary prelude to the art of war. For the youth, ſays the hiſtorian, who has ſeen his own blood; whoſe teeth have rattled from the gauntlet; who, unhorſed, has grappled with the adverſary; nor from being foiled has deſponded, but has riſen more fierce, the oftener he had touched the earth; he, when the trumpet calls to war, with a full heart will meet the public enemy [m].—Young Henry, particularly, patroniſed the amuſement, which his example animated, and his princely munificence ennobled. He was nearly three years in France, for that was the ſeat of chivalry, engaged in perpetual conflicts, and ſometimes, as a private knight, entering the liſts, and bearing off, unknown, the palm of honour. But Richard, though as fond of the martial ſport as he, was generally buſied with his barons in Aquitaine in ſerious warfare, ſometimes, doubtleſs, provoked, but oftener, by his petulance, provoking the wayward barons, to arms. When Geoffrey had received his ſword, inſtantly he croſſed into Normandy, and on the French frontier held a tournament, in which his young arm proved him worthy of the fellowſhip of his elder brothers [n].—If the frequent uſe and celebrity of theſe combats gave too warlike a caſt to the manners of the age; alſo were they calculated to rouſe the nobler paſſions of the mind, fortitude, generoſity, and even benevolence; for ſoon it became the glory, as it was the duty, of the champion, to protect the innocent, to uphold the helpleſs, and to vindicate the ſacred rights of truth and equity.

[m] Hoveden.

[n] Diceto. Hoveden.

In

BOOK III.

1179. In this year, Henry loſt his faithful miniſter, Richard de Lucy. Finding his end near, he had retired to a convent, which himſelf had built on his own eſtate, and had richly endowed; and there, having taken the habit of the order, he died within a few weeks. This, while religious orders were held in eſtimation, was no uncommon practice; and when the motive was ſincere, as often ſurely it was, how unfair is he, who can ſee nothing in the meaſure, but bigotry and weak ſuperſtition! The ſilence of a convent, with its hours of prayer and meditation, is well adapted to him, who has to make his peace with heaven; and the man of the world, whoſe days had paſſed in the diſſipating ſcenes of politics and war, in the evening of life ſought the cloiſter, wherein he could bury his cares, and prepare for another world. Weak minds would place too much confidence, I know, in the outward garb of penitence; but where is the holy practice that ſuch minds will not pervert? Within the walls of convents, at that time, dwelled many virtues; for the king, I obſerve, as well as the prelates, watched their conduct with a jealous eye, and often, when complaints were made, not only reprimanded the refractory and the diſſolute, but even expelled them from their cloiſters, and ſometimes called over from abroad perſons of more exemplary conduct to occupy their houſes.

When Richard de Lucy was dead, the king, in a council at Windſor, diſſatisfied, probably, with the late arrangement, divided the kingdom into four diſtricts, appointing five juſtices or judges over each, at the head of whom, in all but the northern diviſion, were three biſhops. They were not to make circuits, it appears, as it was before ſettled; but

but to reſide in the king's court, and there hear the cauſes which would be brought up from their reſpective diſtricts. Nothing more evinces the unſettled ſtate of government, than that changes, of ſuch importance to the ſubject, ſhould have been made ſo rapidly. Complaints, indeed, muſt have been reported of mal-practices; for, on the new liſt of judges, I find only one retained, out of the eighteen who had been nominated, three years before [o]. — The appointment of the biſhops to theſe civil offices, was contrary to the canons of the late council; and his holineſs complained. But the archbiſhop of Canterbury juſtified the meaſure, ſhewing the great advantage it was of to the church and to the people [p].—It is worth remarking, that the three biſhops, thus honoured by their maſter, were Richard of Ivelcheſter promoted to Wincheſter, Geoffrey Riddel of Ely, and John of Oxford now biſhop of Norwich, all conſpicuous agents in the controverſy with Becket.

While Henry was thus uſefully buſied, he received a letter from the French monarch, requeſting his permiſſion to viſit the ſhrine of Becket. The occaſion was.—After the example of his predeceſſors, he had purpoſed to crown his ſon Philip, a youth of fourteen years, and was proceeding to Rheims, the place of coronation, when the prince, on a hunting party, was loſt in the foreſt of Compiegne. He wandered all the night; but the fatigue, and more than that, the gloomy terrors of the woods, brought on a dangerous fever. Louis, whoſe mind was ever religious, turned to heaven for relief; and as the patronage of his late friend, the martyr of Canterbury, was the theme of univerſal admiration,

[o] Hoveden. Diceto. [p] Pet. Bleſ. ep. 84.

BOOK III.

1179. admiration, he reſolved, in perſon, to implore his aid. Henry could not oppoſe the pious meaſure; and the king, contrary to the advice of his miniſters, with a numerous train embarking at Whitſand, landed, the ſame day, at Dover. Here Henry, who had ridden all night, met him, and conducted him to Canterbury. At Canterbury the prelates of the realm, and the nobles, were ready to receive him. The anxious parent haſtened to the tomb, where he ſpent the night in prayer; and, the next day, having preſented a chalice of great value, and ſettled on the monks of Chriſtchurch, an annual revenue of a hundred meaſures (*modios*) of French wine, in perpetuity, with an exemption from all duties, on whatever ſhould be purchaſed in his realm, for their own uſe, he departed, and landed ſafe in France. Now he heared, that Philip was recovered. But himſelf ſoon after that, going to St. Denys, was ſtricken by a palſy, which threatened to lay him with his anceſtors, in that awful repoſitory of human greatneſs. The event accelerated the coronation of the prince. He was crowned, on the feaſt of All Saints; and young Henry, as duke of Normandy, walked in the proceſſion, bearing the imperial diadem of France, and what was remarkable, he ſupported it with his hands over the head of the prince, leſt its too great weight might oppreſs his infant brows [q]. Louis was too ill to attend the ceremony.

1180. In France and Germany.

But, very ſoon, a ſerious miſunderſtanding aroſe in the French court. The young king took for his adviſer, the earl of Flanders, now returned from Paleſtine, his godfather, manifeſting a marked diſregard to his mother and his uncles,

[q] Hoveden. Diceto.

uncles, who, till now, had poſſeſſed an unbounded ſway. They retired in diſguſt, and implored the interference of Henry. Philip, with a manly independence, purſued his own wiſhes; and to convince the houſe of Champagne, that he ſhould not ſubmit to their controul, he married Elizabeth of Hainault, niece to his favourite earl. With her alſo he choſe to be crowned, a ſecond time, and that by the archbiſhop of Sens, in deſpite of cardinal William of Rheims, his uncle, to whoſe ſee the right of coronation appertained. In compliance with the requeſt, which had been made to them, the two Henrys ſailed to Normandy, whither the queen, with other malcontents, came. They gave hoſtages, and ſwore they would be guided by the advice of the Engliſh monarchs; and on this, an army was raiſed, which, in the ſpirit of chivalry, or from motives leſs honourable, Henry meant to lead into the territories of France, to revenge the injuries, it was ſaid, which the young king had offered to his mother and his uncles. The youth, aided by the advice of his noble friend, hearing of the deſign, himſelf marched his troops to the confines of Normandy. But a conference was propoſed, and accepted. They met near Giſors, the politic and experienced Henry, and Philip, a boy in his fifteenth year! The particulars of the conference have not tranſpired: we only know, that Henry ſometimes threatened, and ſometimes ſoothed, till the young king finally conſented to reſtore his mother and her family to his favour, to allow her a revenue, competent with her rank, and, at his father's death, to put her in full poſſeſſion of her dowry, retaining in his own hands the caſtles, which belonged to the eſtates. — And, ſoon after,

BOOK III. 1180.

died the old king, having reigned more than forty years.— Another interview then took place, in which the federal treaty of Ivri, for the mutual protection of both kingdoms, was ſolemnly renewed between the two monarchs[r]. — Already muſt Henry have diſcovered, that, if himſelf, perhaps, ſhould not ſoon have reaſon to regret the loſs of the eaſy and unambitious Louis, France, at leaſt, poſſeſſed a prince, who would know her intereſt, and would maintain it.

In Germany, to which Frederic had returned, happened alſo a momentous revolution. He bore vengeance in his mind againſt Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whom he viewed as the author of his late misfortunes. He had entreated his aid, when the affairs of Lombardy were moſt preſſing: this aid he had refuſed, and Europe had witneſſed the diſgrace, which had fallen on the German name. The princes of the empire he inſtigated to accuſe him; and accuſing him himſelf of treaſon and of conſpiracy with the enemy, he cited him to appear before three ſucceſſive diets. Henry deſpiſed the ſummons; and when Frederic offered to compromiſe the diſpute for the ſum of five thouſand marks in ſilver, the proud prince diſdainfully refuſed the compromiſe. With eagerneſs, then, the ſtates ſeized the occaſion of humbling a man, whoſe power was formidable; and as again he neglected to appear, when ſummoned to a fourth diet at Wurtzburg, they condemned him of contumacy, of treaſon againſt his ſovereign lord; and all his territories were declared to be forfeited. The fatal ſentence was executed with a minute ſeverity, after two diets had

[r] Hoveden. Chron. Norman. an. 1180.

had assembled to ascertain the exact limits of the dismemberment. The dutchies of Saxony, of Bavaria, of Angaria, and Westphalia, with all their dependencies, and the many fiefs he had held of the empire, were parcelled out, and distributed among the great German houses. Henry resisted the proscription: he pleaded the illegality of the sentence, and he exerted the small strength, which a few friends could give him. The combination against him was more than ever powerful, and from the strongest motives, more than ever active. He was permitted to see the emperor; and before a diet at Erfort, he humbled himself, and he laboured to justify his conduct, and to excuse his former contumacy. He was scarcely heared, and not an acre of land could be recovered. His father-in-law, Henry of England, and the French monarch, interceded for him. Little was obtained. But his wife's dower, the opulent cities of Brunswick and Luneburg, with the adjacent territory, were guaranteed to that princess; and if the duke would exile himself, for three years, from Germany, on his return, it was promised, that he should be permitted to possess those cities. With his family he withdrew into Normandy[s]. — The illustrious house, that now sits on the imperial throne of Britain, is descended from this Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony.

1180.

But little now calls for notice. Europe, indeed, was hourly alarmed with melancholy news from Palestine; and Alexander signalized his last days, in attempting to rekindle the zeal of the western world. Henry and young Philip, between whom now subsisted a seeming friendship, discussed the weighty subject, and seemed well disposed. It might

1181.

Other occurrences.

[s] Murat. Peeffel Hist. d'Allemag. p. 335.

BOOK III. 1181.

be, perhaps, with a view to this undertaking, (to which, the reader will recollect, Henry was in conſcience pledged,) that he commanded all his ſubjects abroad to purchaſe arms and armour, according to their condition, and which, remaining in the family, ſhould deſcend to the next heir. Philip and the earl of Flanders admired the regulation, and publiſhed a ſimilar ordinance. The arrangement of Henry was, that every man, poſſeſſing a hundred pounds of Angevin money in chattels, ſhould provide himſelf with a horſe and a complete ſuit of armour; every man, having forty, or thirty, or twenty-five pounds, at leaſt, of the ſame money, in chattels, to have an habergeon, (coat of mail,) a ſcull-cap of iron, a lance, and a ſword; and all other men to have a wambais, (quilted jacket,) a ſcull-cap of iron, a lance, and ſword, or, a bow and arrows[t]. — Coming to England, ſoon afterwards, he eſtabliſhed a like regulation, with that difference, which the military habits of the two kingdoms might require. Here he ordained that:

1. Every poſſeſſor of one knight's fee ſhall have a coat of mail, *(lorica,)* a helmet, a ſhield, and a lance: and every knight ſhall have as many coats of mail, helmets, ſhields, and lances, as he has knights fees on his domain.—2. Every free layman, who has, in chattels or rent, to the value of ſixteen marks, ſhall have the ſame arms, as above.—3. Every free layman, having ten marks, in chattels or rent, ſhall have an habergeon, a ſcull-cap of iron, and a lance, (pike or ſpear.)—4. And all burgeſſes, and the whole community of freemen, ſhall have a wambais, a ſcull-cap of iron, and a lance. — The arms of the knight were thoſe of the heavy horſeman, and the others were carried by the foot.

The

[t] Hoveden. an. 1181.

The king's juſtices were ordered to go into every county, and, by the moſt exact reſearches, to aſcertain the number of thoſe, whom the ſtatute regarded; all of whom, under ſevere penalties, were to be provided with their arms, by the feaſt of St. Hilary[u]. — No reaſon is aſſigned for this extraordinary meaſure, the policy of which, in a nation too prone to rebel againſt their ſovereign, is not obvious; and the expence fell heavy on the indigent. "The unſkil-" ful peaſants," ſays an hiſtorian, "uſed to the ſpade and " mattock, now gloried reluctantly in the ſoldier's arms[v]." Nor is it ſaid, that the ariſtocracy even of the nation was conſulted, as uſual, in any public meeting, on this general concern; but the hiſtorian obſerves, that the king ordained the ſtatute.

And, in this year, died Alexander, for learning, firmneſs, and moderation, one of the greateſt pontiffs, that had ſitten in the chair of St. Peter. He was ſucceeded by Lucius III. cardinal biſhop of Oſtia, a man far advanced in years, moderately learned, but of great experience in buſineſs. Agreeably to the late decree of the Lateran council, the cardinals now began to take to themſelves the privilege of electing the Roman biſhop; and the people and clergy, who hitherto had been conſulted, were taught to retire from the conclave[w]. — Now alſo died Roger, archbiſhop of York, who has been often mentioned. His name comes down, with no praiſe, from the monkiſh chroniclers; nor, I believe, did he merit any; but to their order he was peculiarly hoſtile. His long life, ſay they, he ſpent in ſhearing, not in feeding, his flock; and to judge from the incre-

[u] Hoveden. [v] Gervas. [w] Fleury, t. xv. p. 500.

BOOK III.

1181. incredible ſums he had amaſſed, the obſervation, probably, was not unfounded. Thoſe ſums, in his laſt ſickneſs, he bequeathed to charitable and pious uſes; but Henry, by a deſpotic act of prerogative, ſeized on the vaſt treaſures, alledging, which was true, that the archbiſhop had himſelf procured a decree from Rome, which empowered him to ſeize the effects of any churchman, in his diſtrict, who ſhould make a will on his death-bed. The king's agents, in their reſearches for this property, demanded three hundred marks from de Puſey, biſhop of Durham. "It is "true," ſaid he, "I received ſo much from the hand of the "archbiſhop, and I have diſtributed it among the poor and "the afflicted, and in the repair of churches and bridges, "for the repoſe of his ſoul, as he enjoined me. He who "wants it, may collect it. I ſhall not." — I am ſorry to add, that the manly, though not very courtly, reply, greatly irritated Henry, who ſeized the biſhop's caſtle, and commanded his officers to haraſs him by every poſſible ſeverity[x].

1182. The return of the queen-mother, with the houſe of Champagne, to the French court, had ſoon produced the effect, which it was natural to look for. The earl of Flanders ſaw his influence decreaſe, and in diſguſt retired. But his abſence did not bring back harmony. Stephen, count of Sancerre, one of the uncles, claimed ſome caſtles, and took them. Diſtruſt, jealouſy, and every bad paſſion, which haunt the courts of princes, ſpread a general diſcontent; and Philip, in all the inexperience of youth, ſaw he could not confide, even in the ties of blood. He implored the advice of Henry; he took into his pay an army of Brabanters;

[x] Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig.

1182.

Brabanters; and being joined by the three Engliſh princes, he marched againſt the malcontents. Every where he was ſucceſsful; and Henry coming into France, a general accommodation was effected.

The reſtleſs ſpirit of young Henry again began to move; and he withdrew with his wife to the French court, demanding from his father, the ſurrender of Normandy, or of ſome other territory, where he might dwell, and ſupport the dignity of a prince. It is ſaid, that Philip ungratefully adviſed the meaſure. However, on receiving an increaſe of income, and the promiſe of a donative to a hundred knights of his houſehold, he was ſatisfied, and returned to freſh oaths and freſh proteſtations of an unſhaken allegiance[y]. —The dependent circumſtances of the prince ill accorded, it muſt be owned, with the imperial crown he wore; and though policy, perhaps, juſtified the arrangement, it was natural that his high ſpirit ſhould, ſometimes, recoil.

1183.

Death of the young king.

We are opening to a melancholy ſcene. The chriſtmas of this year was kept at Caen, where Henry was with his three ſons, and the duke of Saxony with his family, and a numerous attendance of prelates and nobles. Theſe feſtivals, the reader will have obſerved, were then celebrated with much magnificence. As a proof of love, the king, before they parted, propoſed that Richard and Geoffry ſhould do homage to their elder brother, for their dutchies of Aquitaine and Bretagne, as to their feudal lord. Geoffry complied; but Richard, either from pride of heart, or becauſe, the French king being his ſovereign in the fee, he conceived he owed no allegiance, at leaſt, to his brother,

[y] Hoveden.

BOOK III. 1183.

brother, refuſed to ſubmit, and withdrawing into Poitou, prepared for hoſtilities. The violence of Richard's adminiſtration, in Aquitaine, had rendered him generally odious; and many barons, if he would ſupport them, had, before this, offered themſelves to young Henry, to become his liege ſubjects. He now accepted their ſubmiſſion, and went into Aquitaine. At the ſame time, the turbulent Geoffry, ever ready to move at the call of diſcord, hired an army of Brabanters; and with them joining his elder brother and the malcontents, they propoſed to expel Richard from the provinces, which they attempted by a general ravage of the country. Richard retaliated; but feeling the ſtrength of the confederacy, he implored the aid of his father. His father beheld, with horror, the unnatural war, and he marched from Normandy, purpoſing, if poſſible, to obſtruct its progreſs. The events which, for ſome weeks, enſued, involved in obſcurity, but too plainly blackened by the ſtain of the moſt debaſing crimes, when the life of the father was, more than once, attempted, and the confederated brothers ſometimes ſued for peace, and then engaged in more deſperate achievements, I ſhall not relate. The principal ſcene was before the ſtrong caſtle of Limoges, which the enemy occupied. In a moment of falſe repentance, young Henry vowed to take the croſs, and though oppoſed by his father in the raſh reſolution, he perſiſted; and ſome days after, plunged deeper in rebellion! By this time, the Brabanters were clamorous for pay. Geoffry, whom they ſerved, entered the caſtle, where his friends were, and ſtripping the ſhrine of St. Martial of its ſilver covering, and the convent of its plate, returned with the booty to his camp, at ſome diſtance from the walls. But

BOOK III.

1183.

But now, by the command of pope Lucius, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſembling many prelates and the clergy at Caen, pronounced a ſolemn anathema againſt all who diſturbed the public peace, and who ſhould obſtruct its completion. Out of reſpect to the crown, young Henry only was not involved in the ſentence. The meaſure did not break the confederacy; and the mercenaries again calling for pay, another ſhrine and other churches were plundered. This the young king, though bearing the holy croſs, effected. Henry, before this, had received a ſtrong reinforcement of Spaniſh troops, brought by the king of Arragon; and it ſeems, he was determined to act with vigour againſt the enemy, who obſtinately adhered to their reſolution, not to ſubmit to Richard. A battle was expected; when young Henry ſuddenly fell ill of a fever, and it ſoon appeared that he muſt die. In penitence of mind, he ſent to his father, requeſting he would come to him. Henry was diſſuaded from the pious office, his friends alledging the danger, which might attend it, from the flagitious confederacy round the ſick prince: wherefore, he took a ring from his finger, well known to his ſon, and, as a token of forgiveneſs, ſent it to him. The prince kiſſed it: "Take to "my father," ſaid he, "one requeſt more; that he will "be merciful to the barons of Aquitaine, and pay to my "knights and ſervants the wages due to them." Having privately confeſſed his ſins, as ſome biſhops and religious perſons ſtood near him, he publicly acknowledged his guilt; and receiving abſolution, delivered his croſs into the hands of a friend, to be taken to Jeruſalem. A piece of ſackcloth, by his order, was then put round his body, and

BOOK III. 1183.

a cord about his neck: "Thus," he ſaid to the biſhops near him, "I deliver myſelf to your miniſtry, an unworthy "and guilty ſinner, begging, that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, "who ſhewed mercy to the repentant thief, will, through "your prayers and his own ineffable goodneſs, extend the "like mercy to my unhappy ſoul." They anſwered, *Amen!* —"And now," he continued, in a weaker voice, "draw "me from my bed by this cord; and lay me on yon bed "of aſhes." — The aſhes had been prepared. — His orders were executed; and they placed a large ſquare ſtone under his head, and another under his feet. In this ſituation, he received the holy communion. "Let me be buried at "Rouen," were his laſt words; ſoon after which he expired, in the twenty-ninth year of his age[z].

To ſay more of him is unneceſſary. The contemporary writers repreſent him, as endowed with many amiable and brilliant qualities, ſuch qualities as, unfortunately, in every age, will recommend a prince to the public favour. He was handſome, affable, munificent; and, as I have ſaid, in all the proweſs and feats of chivalry, expert and animated, dauntleſs and perſeverant. But his conduct to his father, heightened as it was by incidental depravity, muſt draw a cloud over the falſe luſtre of his character, through which, to a mind of juſt appreciation, no ray of greatneſs ſhall ever penetrate.—Henry, with parental fondneſs, bemoaned his loſs; and as the corpſe, ſhrowded in the linen garments he wore at his coronation, approached, borne on the ſhoulders of his fellow-ſoldiers, he met it, and weeping, ſaw the melancholy proceſſion paſs along.—They proceeded as far as Mans,

[z] Hoveden. Neubrig. Dicet. Gervas. an. 1183.

1183.

Mans, on their way into Normandy, when the inhabitants and clergy of that city forcibly ſeized the body, and buried it, with funeral pomp, in their cathedral. There lay his grandfather, Geoffry Plantagenet. But the Normans remonſtrated, and threatened to uſe force, if their juſt demands were not complied with. Henry then interfered, and the body being ſurrendered, it was carried to Rouen, and interred [a].

The confederacy diſſolved. Henry took the caſtle of Limoges, which he levelled with the ground; and the other caſtles of the rebellious barons were ſurrendered to him. Geoffry he pardoned; but he ſecured the fortreſſes of Bretagne by his own garriſons. Peace was reſtored; and as his ſon had requeſted, he ſhewed mercy to his enemies. Richard was now heir to his father's dominions.—A diſpute aroſe with Philip, concerning the dower of the young queen, his ſiſter, which was amicably ſettled; and Henry, in a public meeting, did homage to the French king, with ſome reluctance, it ſeems, for all his tranſmarine poſſeſſions, announcing, by the ceremony, that he held them himſelf immediately from Philip, and that his ſons were meſne tenants or ſubvaſſals under him [b].

Independence of the Lombards, and other events.

This year is rendered famous, in the annals of Italy, by the concluſion of a general peace between Frederic and the confederated Lombards. The truce of ſix years expired, when envoys from the allies waited on the emperor at Conſtance. Here the peace was ſigned, which gave liberty and all the rights of independence to them, the emperor reſerving a nominal ſovereignty, and ſome immunities of

[a] Auctores ut ſup. [b] Hoveden.

BOOK III. 1183.

little value. The brave republicans celebrated the event, with uncommon feſtivity, and Italy, in its northern provinces, once more welcomed the return of freedom. But there were many towns, which had uniformly adhered to Frederic, preferring his ſmiles to the bleſſings of an independent ſecurity[c].

The reader has viewed the ſtruggle, as I deſcribed it, perſeverant, temperate, and manly; but a reflection, perhaps, did not occur to him, which I will ſuggeſt. — Thoſe men, deſcended, indeed, from a ferocious anceſtry, who had made the weſtern empire tremble, at the time I am deſcribing, were parcelled out in diſtinct communities, guided by no peculiar policy, and in religion, adhering, in its ſeveral maxims, to that of Rome. Their biſhops, and their clergy, bore a great ſway, as where, at that time, did they not? Yet, in theſe circumſtances, Lombardy fought for liberty, and deſerved to gain it. The Roman biſhop was their ally. Shall it then be ſaid that, there is any thing in the ſpirit of that communion, hoſtile to liberty, hoſtile to the rights of man? And, at what time, had it exiſted, could its influence have been exerted with more ſucceſs, than when ignorance, it is ſaid, had ſpread its mantle over the human faculties, and the power of Rome was uncontroulable?

The fickle Romans, whoſe policy was contemptible, and whoſe conduct ſeemed to prove the truth of the obſervation, that a people, once degenerated, ſhall never riſe again, had quarrelled with their biſhop, though ſo recently reconciled to Alexander, and had driven him from their walls. The old pontiff, who knew their venal character, was aware, that

[c] Muratori an. 1183.

that no terms of accommodation would be accepted, which money did not ſtrengthen; and he therefore requeſted aid from the chriſtian kingdoms. Two nuncios came to Henry, who took the advice of the prelates and clergy of England, on the expedieney of the meaſure. Their anſwer merits notice. "We requeſt your Majeſty," ſaid they, "will ſend what ſubſidy you may deem moſt "proper, for yourſelf and us. For we would much rather "refund our contingent of the ſum into your exchequer, "than that agents from his holineſs be permitted to come "amongſt us, on which a precedent may be founded injurious to the realm[d]." The patriotic reſolution proves, that they felt no undue attachment to the ſee of Rome. A large ſum was ſent, with which, and other ſubſidies, Lucius purchaſed a temporary peace, from the mercenary citizens. 1183.

On the death of Richard, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in this year, a controverſy, on the right of election, aroſe between the monks of Chriſtchurch and the biſhops of the dioceſe, which the chroniclers detail with a tedious minuteneſs. Henry ſtrove to conciliate the jarring factions, and in the attempt, expoſed his royal dignity to the deriſion of both. In his tranſactions with the church, that manlineſs of conduct left him, which, on other occaſions, was conſpicuous. He promiſed, he flattered, he implored, with an unbecoming condeſcenſion; and then his mind was retrograde, and he broke through the tiſſue himſelf had formed. Baldwin, biſhop of Worceſter, was finally elected, the man whom the king and the prelates preferred[e]. 1184.

[d] Hoveden. [e] Gerv. Diceto. an. 1184.

During

BOOK III.

1184. During the conteſt, the duke of Saxony with his conſort, was in England, magnificently entertained by Henry; and he was alſo viſited by the archbiſhop of Cologne, the friend of the emperor, who, though practiſed to arms, and poſſeſſing little of the churchman's ſpirit, would not paſs by the occaſion of praying at the martyr of Canterbury's ſhrine. The earl of Flanders was with him. Of all the enemies to the duke of Saxony, the prelate I am ſpeaking of, was the moſt inveterate. Henry, whoſe heart towards his friends was ever warm, in ſhewing him the moſt ſignal marks of attention, had a benevolent object in view. He propoſed to him, to forget his enmity, and to be his ſon-in-law's friend. It was effected, and the parties met. This, however, is denied by other writers.—To proceed in this humane buſineſs, he likewiſe ſent miniſters to Verona, where the pope was holding a ſynod, and where Frederic alſo was, to beg the interceſſion of the former in favour of the unfortunate duke. The application was attended with ſucceſs[f].

1185. Some affairs now called Henry to the north; but at Nottingham he was informed, that embaſſadors from a diſtant kingdom had juſt landed in England, and waited his return. He returned, and met them at Reading. They were Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, and Roger, grand maſter of the knights of the Hoſpital, ſent to implore the aid of chriſtendom, againſt the arms of Saladin. They had been at Verona, where they ſaw the pope and Frederic; and from his holineſs they brought letters, to Philip king of France, and to Henry king of England. Philip they had viſited,

Embaſſadors from Jeruſalem.

[f] Hoveden.

viſited, who received them graciouſly, and promiſed them aſſiſtance, from his purſe and the valour of his ſubjects; but go himſelf he could not. He was yet without children, and the voice of his people diſapproved the meaſure. They came to England. As Henry appeared, they fell at his feet, and weeping, ſaluted him in the name of Baldwin, their king, and of the nobles of the land, and of the people of Jeruſalem. They laid before him the motive of their journey. They put into his hand the letter of Lucius, which extolled his many virtues, and thoſe of his anceſtors; which repreſented the deplorable ſtate of Paleſtine; and which gently reminded him of the promiſe he had made, to give it ſuccour. They produced the royal banner, and the keys of the holy ſepulchre, and of the tower of David, and of the city of Jeruſalem, and theſe they delivered to him. "With the bleſſing of God," ſaid the king, kindly raiſing them from the ground, "your buſineſs ſhall proſper:" and he named the firſt Sunday in lent, for them to receive his final anſwer, at London [g].

The ſituation of the holy land was, indeed, perilous. Since the laſt cruſade, which had terminated ſo fatally in 1149,[h] a ſeries of diſaſtrous occurrences ſeemed to prepare its final ruin. The three princes who remained, of Tripoli, Antioch, and Jeruſalem, were, ſometimes, divided by a weak policy; while Noureddin, ſultan of Aleppo, availed himſelf of every weakneſs, and preſſing forward, invaded their territory, and beat down their fortreſſes. To him ſucceeded Saladin, the braveſt and wiſeſt prince that the eaſt had long beheld, before Sultan of Egypt, and ſoon after

[g] Hoveden. an. 1185.

[h] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 362.

BOOK III. 1185.

after, alſo ſultan of Syria. That he roſe to this height of power by equitable means, cannot be ſaid; but he roſe to it, as other conquerors had done. The infant ſon of Noureddin he diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions, and mounted on his throne. Baldwin IV. the ſeventh prince from Geoffry of Bouillon, was king of Jeruſalem, young in years, and enervated by a leproſy, (for ſo the diſorder was then called,) which rendered him incapable of every exertion. Thus compelled to withdraw from buſineſs, he nominated his nephew, a child of five years, his ſucceſſor, and gave the adminiſtration to the earl of Tripoli, a man of proweſs and great experience, with the title of regent. But the ſtate, with its dependent principalities, was, on every ſide, hemmed in by Saladin, who ſaw, with ſcorn, the puny kingdom ſtill maintain its independence, while diſtant nations bowed, with reverence, to his beck. There were no internal reſources, the regent ſaw, which could make any effectual ſtand againſt the power of the enemy; and the troops, which the zeal of different chieftains brought from Europe, were but a precarious ſuccour. He took the advice of his council, and reſolved, as the danger was moſt preſſing, to call Europe to his aid. This occaſioned the embaſſy, I am deſcribing[i].

The firſt Sunday in lent came, and a great council met, where the prelates and barons of England were, and the king of Scotland, with David his brother, and a numerous train of nobles. The propoſal of the embaſſadors being laid before them, they deliberated, whether it would be moſt adviſeable for his Majeſty, to ſuccour, in perſon, the people

[i] Guil. Tyrius & alii.

people of Jeruſalem, or, agreeably to his coronation oath, to govern, at home, the realm committed to his care; and the reſolution they, unanimouſly, adopted was moſt wiſe. They reſolved, that "to rule his own ſubjects with mode-"ration, and to protect them from their enemies, was "more expedient, and more for the good of his ſoul, than "to march to the relief of the eaſtern chriſtians." The reſolution Henry delivered to the patriarch: "I cannot "go myſelf," ſaid he to him; "but I will aid thoſe with "my purſe, who ſhall undertake the journey." Heraclius was diſſatisfied. "It is not money which we want," he replied, "but a man:" and he then requeſted that one of the princes might be permitted to accompany him. The king could not comply, as the two eldeſt were abſent: but John, we are told, in vain petitioned it on his knees. As the council ſeparated, Henry announced a general leave to all his ſubjects to take the croſs; and the number who enliſted, laity and clergy, at the head of whom were the primate and Ranulph de Glanville, the new juſticiary, was incredible. — Henry then went into Normandy with his viſitors, and held a conference, on the borders, with Philip. The reſult was, that they ſhould aſſiſt the holy land with large ſupplies of men and money. But the patriarch and his companion, every where diſappointed in the ſanguine hope of leading a monarch into the eaſt, having inſolently upbraided Henry with infidelity more than Saracenic, turned their faces homeward, and ſullenly retired[k].

Before the king went abroad, he had knighted John, and ſent him, with a powerful armament, to Ireland, for

Prince John goes to Ireland

[k] Hoveden. Dicet. Girald. Camb.

BOOK III. 1185.

which he had been long deſtined. To relate the events that had preceded this nomination, under the adminiſtration of Hugh de Lacy, is unneceſſary. They were various, ſuch as an unſettled government would naturally produce; while the Engliſh, by ſuch means as their ſuperiority gave them, would extend their conqueſts, and the Iriſh, though bent to ſubjection, would, ſometimes, make a ſtruggle, and repel force by force, violence by violence. The adminiſtration of de Lacy had been generally agreeable to all parties; but Henry, with ſome reaſon, feared his popularity, as he knew his ambition. He had once recalled him to England, and, juſt before this time, had named Philip de Worceſter, to ſupercede him in the viceroyalty. De Lacy withdrew into Meath, of which province he was lord. Philip marched northward, and the greater part of Ulſter, into which the brave John de Courcy had before entered, ſubmitted to his arms. In the ſouth, all was quiet; and to Connaught peace had been reſtored, after a civil war between Roderic and his ſon Conor Manmoy, which had driven the unhappy monarch to a convent. Such was the face of things, when prince John, in his ſeventeenth year, landed, in great ſplendour, at Waterford. Giraldus Cambrenſis, the hiſtorian, and preceptor of the prince, was with him[1].

John de Cumin, the new archbiſhop of Dublin, an Engliſhman, and late chaplain to the king, and many Engliſh lords, received him at his landing. The Iriſh chieftains of the neighbourhood, who had been ever well affected to the new government, then waited on him, and atteſting their joy, as the manner of the country was, offered him the kiſs of

[1] Girald. Camb. l. ii. c. 31.

of peace. Their beards were long and bushy. Stricken at the sight, to them unusual, the young courtiers laughed, and even, it is said, petulantly raised their hands to the venerable ornament. The insult was decisive. They instantly withdrew in anger; and returning home, took their families with them, and repaired to the three princes, who, as yet, had some power, O'Brian, called king of Limerick, Mac Arthy, king of Cork, and Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught. They also were preparing to wait on their young sovereign, at Waterford. With indignation, the insulted chiefs laid their complaints before them. "We "have a boy come to us," said they, "escorted by other "boys, and boys are his advisers. What counsels, what "steadiness, what security can Ireland look for? Shall we "tamely submit to this?" and they repeated the story of their beards.—The kings reasoned well, that if they, who had always been obedient to England, had been thus used, what might others expect, whose conduct had been less subservient? On the spot, therefore, they formed a confederacy, binding themselves by oath to forget their own quarrels, and, at the peril of their lives, to assert the ancient independence, the rights, and honour of their country[m].

The administration of John was such as might be expected. He gave the lands of some Irish, though attached to England, to the new men he had brought with him. The injured people joined the enemy. The maritime cities and castles, with their districts, and the receipt of the tributes, were committed to men of riot and dissipation. The

[m] Girald. Camb. c. 35.

BOOK III.

1185.

command of the forces was no longer in the hands of experienced and ſteady generals. The frontiers were left expoſed, while the houſehold troops, enervated by intemperance, would not quit the cities. The old ſoldiers, no longer employed or conſulted, retired in diſguſt, looking with horror to the near iſſue of ſuch unmanly and unwiſe proceedings. At every turn, the thoughtleſs youth was ill-adviſed; and when he wiſhed to act, he was ill ſerved, and ill obeyed.—Roderic left his convent, and the other princes collected their forces, and attacked the Engliſh. Various conflicts enſued, and the armies of John, by the ſword or by deſertion, waſted away, and a general revolution ſeemed to threaten. It is ſaid that, Hugh de Lacy, who continued in Meath, jealous of the prince's power, ſecretly obſtructed, and brought diſgrace on, his meaſures. Henry ſaw it was neceſſary to recall his ſon, which he did, after eight months, committing the entire adminiſtration, with the command of the forces, to John de Courcy[n].

1186.

Conduct of Frederic and the popes.

I have mentioned that Frederic and Lucius met at Verona. There they held a council, the principal decree of which was againſt thoſe heretics, of whom I have ſpoken, and againſt their abettors. Its tendency was moſt intolerant, and on it were conſtituted thoſe principles, which, a few years later, gave birth to the tremendous court of *Inquiſition*. But though the pontiff and his imperial colleague could join hands to diſtreſs mankind, they did not accord on points, where their own intereſt was concerned. Lucius demanded the reſtitution of the lands of the counteſs Matilda, (a donation formerly made by that lady to the Roman church,[o]) which

[n] Giral. Camb. Hoveden.

[o] Life of Abeil. p. 34.

which the emperor, by the late treaty with Alexander, was empowered to hold for fourteen years; and he, as it was natural, refuſed it. Frederic, on his ſide, aſked for the imperial crown for his ſon, Henry. "I have not heared "of two emperors, at a time," ſternly replied Lucius; "nor ſhall I crown the ſon, unleſs the father abdicate." The emperor left him, and viſited, as a friend, the other towns in Lombardy. A few months after, the pontiff died, and was ſucceeded by Urban III.

And now was celebrated, at Milan, the marriage of that Henry with Conſtance, aunt to William, king of Sicily. By much perſeverance, Frederic had gained this point, which the Sicilians, hating the German name, ſtrongly oppoſed; and which was not leſs oppoſed by the pope, the intereſt of whoſe court was nearly concerned. William had no children by his queen, the daughter, as the reader knows, of our Henry; and it was to the probable acquiſition of another kingdom to his family, that Frederic looked. The event will ſhew how well his views were founded. — Frederic and the new pope were not better friends. He was a Milaneſe by birth, and archbiſhop of Milan; and his diſlike to the emperor was aggravated by the intemperate conduct of young Henry. Urban brought many charges of violence and extortion againſt Frederic, which he repelled, and in a diet at Galenhauſen ſubmitted his cauſe to the arbitration of the ſtates. They ſided with him; but Urban was inflexible, and had not death opportunely intervened, we had again beheld another inglorious ſcene of diſcord. His ſucceſſor was Gregory VIII. [p]

[p] Murat. Baron. et alii.

The

1187.

The detention of Adelais excites hoſtilities.

The aſpect of things in France alſo had promiſed no continuance of peace. Geoffry was killed at a tournament in Paris, leaving an only daughter; but Conſtantia, his counteſs, was with child. His death, though violent and untimely, drew no tears from Henry's eyes, and few from thoſe of others. His vices are upon record, and his virtues were buried with him. Philip, indeed, with whom he was plotting againſt his father's intereſt, when the accident happened, lamented his loſs; and ſome time afterwards, demanded from Henry the cuſtody of the infant, and of the dutchy of Bretagne. Both were refuſed. Bretagne, it is known, was an immediate fief under Normandy.—There were other points in conteſt.—The French king, on the death of the younger Henry, with much propriety, had requeſted, that the portion he had received with Margaret, his wife, as there were no children, ſhould be reſtored to the crown of France. That was Giſors and its territory, an important barrier. Henry heſitated; and on that occaſion it was, that the delicate buſineſs of Adelais, Philip's younger ſiſter, was again brought forward. The reader will recollect, how long ſhe had been in the old king's cuſtody, and that, from year to year, he had evaded her marriage with Richard. But now, when Giſors was redemanded, he promiſed, on oath, that he would ſurrender the lady to his ſon; and Philip, in conſideration of the match, covenanted to reſign all claim to the caſtle and its territory.—The hiſtorian ſays, that Adelais was confined, like a captive, in ſtrict cuſtody. If ſo, it was in the caſtle, probably, of Woodſtock, where the fair Roſamond, alſo, had once been captive. Henry knew how to render ſuch bondage ſufferable, particularly when the prying

eye

eye of Eleanor was away; and her, with very little intermiſſion, he had now, for many years detained, in ſerious captivity, at Wincheſter [q].

Months paſſed, and Adelais remained a priſoner. The circumſtance irritated Philip, when he peremptorily inſiſted that his ſiſter ſhould be ſurrendered to him, and with her the portion he had promiſed. — Richard himſelf, occupied with war and the free indulgence of his paſſions, ſeems never to have given a thought to theſe litigious nuptials, under the proſpect of which, however, he had been originally inveſted in the dutchy of Aquitaine. — The kings met, and parting in ill humour, the flame of war was inſtantly kindled. Henry pretended, that the caſtle of Giſors was his, independently of any late covenant with Philip; thus concealing, perhaps, from his own eyes, the real ſource of conteſt, which, though it degraded him, is known, more than once, to have deluged nations in blood.

On both ſides, great forces were levied; and after the loſs of ſome fortreſſes, taken by Philip, the armies met in Berry, near Chateauroux. Richard, and John, and Geoffry, the ſon of Roſamond, (whom I mentioned as biſhop elect of Lincoln, but now a layman, and chancellor of England), held the principal command under Henry. Both armies were ardent for battle, and the trumpet was expected to ſound—when two legates from the pope, who had been in England on other buſineſs, ſtept forward between the lines, and denounced excommunication againſt him that ſhould ſtrike the firſt blow. The fury of the armies fell; and their ſwords were ſheathed; and a conference enſued, in

[q] Hoveden. Gerv. an 1186.

BOOK III.

1187.

in which a truce of two years was ſettled[r]. — But Richard, inſtead of returning with his father, attended Philip to Paris, where they paſſed ſome time in uncommon intimacy. Henry knowing the diſpoſitions of his ſon, feared the conſequences of their friendſhip, and entreated him to leave the French court. He left it, and paſſing by Chinon, where his father's treaſure was, he ſeized it, and withdrew into Poitou. A reconciliation, however, took place between them, when Richard renewed his oath of fealty, and promiſed, in future, to be guided by his counſels[s].

Conſtantia, ducheſs of Bretagne, was delivered of a ſon. Henry had wiſhed, that he ſhould be called by his name; but the Bretons, aſſiſting at the ceremony of his baptiſm, loudly demanded, that he ſhould be named Arthur, fondly pleaſed with the fabulous tales, they had read of their Britiſh hero, and truſting his ſpirit might deſcend on their infant duke. He was named Arthur[t].—And, in the ſame year, France alſo received an heir to her throne. On which occaſion, the natural gaity of the people almoſt exhauſted itſelf in exceſs of feſtivity. For ſeven days, and ſeven nights, they ſang, and danced, and prayed[u].

1188.

Battle of Tiberias and loſs of Jeruſalem.

News came to Europe that Jeruſalem was taken. — Baldwin, the leper, was dead, and his ſucceſſor, Baldwin V. a youth of eight years, was alſo dead, in 1186; when Guy de Luſignan, the baron who had treacherouſly murdered the earl of Saliſbury in Poitou, by the intereſt of his wife Sibylla, aunt to the late king, was called to the vacant throne of Jeruſalem. He was not equal to the perilous ſtation.

[r] Hoveden. Neubrig. l. iii. c 13. [s] Hoveden.
[t] Neubrig. c. 7. [u] Geſt. Phil. an. 1187.

ſtation. To him, however, Saladin granted a truce for three years; and this truce, within a few months, was ſhamefully broken by Renaud de Chatillon, who, iſſuing from his caſtles on the frontier, plundered a Mahometan caravan, and threw the merchants into priſon. "Thence let "your prophet deliver you;" he ſaid inſultingly. Saladin, calling God to witneſs the perfidy of his enemies, declared the truce was at an end, and ſwore, in his anger, that his own hand ſhould revenge on the reviler the inſulted honour of Mahomet. When his army was aſſembled, he advanced into Galilee, and ſtorming the city of Tiberias, laid ſiege to its citadel. It was bravely defended by the counteſs of Tripoli, and a band of choſen knights. In the mean while, Guy de Luſignan and the other princes had drawn all their forces together, almoſt diſmantling the towns of their neceſſary defence. With them alſo was the earl of Tripoli, who had been regent of the realm; and who, on the acceſſion of Guy to the throne, in reſentment had made a treaty with Saladin, which he was now induced to ſacrifice to the welfare of the general cauſe. They marched to the relief of the citadel, about forty thouſand ſtrong; and the army of Saladin, which doubled that of the chriſtians, on the ſecond of July, appeared before them. On the following morning, the fight began, which laſted all that day, and with the next ſun, was renewed with equal fury. But this was but a day of carnage. Outnumbered by the enemy, the chriſtians fell, and the field was a ſcene of blood and horror. The earl of Tripoli, on whom lay the principal command, and whoſe arm till now had achieved wonders, ſeeing the defeat, eſcaped precipitately. Guy de Luſignan, Renaud

BOOK III. 1188.

de Chatillon, the maſters of the Temple and Hoſpital, and ſome knights were taken priſoners. Beſides theſe, few of the forty thouſand lived to ſee the ſetting ſun. The croſs, on which our Saviour ſuffered, and which the biſhop of Ptolemais bore to the battle, as the ſign that would give them victory, was likewiſe taken. This they deemed the greateſt diſaſter.

After the battle, Saladin, in his tent, rendered thanks to God, and commanded the priſoners to be brought before him. They were dying with thirſt. "Here," ſaid the benevolent ſultan to Luſignan, "take this bowl of cool Sher-"bet." He drank, and gave it to Chatillon. Saladin, turning to his interpreter, ſaid: "Tell the king, that it "is not I, but he, who has given drink to that man:" alluding to an Arabian cuſtom, which ſecures the life of a priſoner from his hand, who has given him either to eat or drink. So ſacred to them are the duties of hoſpitality! He then diſmiſſed them to take further refreſhment; and in a ſecond interview, addreſſing himſelf to Chatillon, he upbraided him with his perfidious conduct, and the inſult he had offered to the prophet. "I will avenge it," he exclaimed: "but if thou wilt embrace his faith, thou mayeſt "yet live." With diſdain, the chriſtian refuſed his mercy. Saladin drew his ſcymeter, and aimed a blow at his neck, which fell on his ſhoulder. His attendants did the reſt. After this, all the knights were maſſacred; which ſeemed a juſt retaliation, as it was a law of their inſtitute never to give quarter to the infidels.

The caſtle of Tiberias ſurrendered, on the next day, and it was followed by the loſs of Acre or Ptolemais. Nor did the

the remaining cities hold out long. Jaffa, and Ceſarea, and Berytus, and Sidon, and many more towns and caſtles, fell before the enemy. Aſcalon was given up, in ranſom for the king, who ſtill was not releaſed; and Gaza ſurrendered to a detachment from the Sultan's army. On the nineteenth of September, he ſat down before Jeruſalem.

The city was full of men, but not of ſoldiers; for they had been ſlain on the fourth of July. A woman and a prieſt, queen Sibylla and Heraclius, the patriarch, held the chief command. Beſides, every circumſtance, the captivity of their king, and a train of diſaſtrous events, preſſed heavy on their hearts. Terms of capitulation were, therefore, offered to Saladin. He refuſed them, ſaying, he would ſtorm the holy city, and revenge, as was his duty, the blood of the ſeventy thouſand muſſelmen, whom their anceſtors, when they took it, had unpiteouſly maſſacred. Sibylla, and the lords of her council, returned for anſwer, that, if he drove them to deſpair, they ſhould know how to ſell their lives, as became their honour. The bold defiance did not irritate the brave infidel, and he accepted their ſurrender, on the following terms: That the city ſhould be put into his hands in the condition it then was; that the nobles and military ſhould march out with their arms, and retire to what town they choſe; and that the inhabitants might have the ſame liberty, on paying a certain ſtipulated tax on each head, and be eſcorted to a place of ſafety. The ſiege had laſted but fourteen days, when theſe articles were ſigned.

BOOK III.

1188.

Saladin, with a religious punctuality, adhered to the treaty, and only departed from it, in extending his humanity, beyond the bounds of capitulation, to the ſick and wounded, and releaſing thoſe without ranſom, whoſe poverty could not ſupply the covenanted ſum. Sibylla and the principal people retired to Antioch, and the Latin chriſtians withdrew from the walls. — Thus was Jeruſalem recovered by the Mahometans, after it had been held, for eighty-eight years, by nine chriſtian princes.—The oriental chriſtians were permitted to remain, and the church of the holy ſepulchre, and the other places of devotion, were not polluted: for policy dictated to Saladin, that, as the flow of pilgrims to Jeruſalem conſtituted all its wealth, the lucrative infatuation ſhould not be prohibited. He only ordained, that all pilgrims, in future, ſhould come without arms, and ſubmit to an eaſy duty. Antioch, Tyre, and Tripoli were the only towns, which remained in the hands of the chriſtians[v].

Preparations for a cruſade.

To paint the conſternation which fell on Europe, at the firſt report of theſe diſaſters, is not poſſible. The laſt trumpet, calling them to judgment, could not have thrilled their ears with greater horror. No wonder, if the gentle voice of reaſon, which, in moments of more compoſure, had not been liſtened to, ſhould now have in vain pleaded for a hearing. Yet there were men. who ſaw the infatuation, and bewailed it; but alſo, their ſuggeſtions, if they had fortitude to warn the multitude, would be as little heeded.

[v] Hoveden. Neubrig. Salad. Vit. et alii.

The

The kings were again in conference near Giſors, on the twenty-firſt of January, and a mixed aſſembly was with them; when William, the learned biſhop of Tyre, who had come from the eaſt, addreſſed them on the late deſolation of his country, and in painting its misfortunes, pointed to the completion of the tragic ſcene, which muſt ſoon enſue. The hearts of his hearers catched the warm impreſſion: the kings, on the ſpot, were reconciled, and with the multitude, took the ſacred croſs from his hand. At the ſame hour, ſays the hiſtorian, (ſo wild are the conceptions of enthuſiaſm!) a croſs appeared in the heavens, over the heads of the aſſembly. Other ſuch ſigns were ſeen in many parts: but who is ignorant of the thouſand forms, which fancy can, at will, lend to the varying clouds? — To diſtinguiſh the nations, whom the cruſade might engage, the croſſes of the French were red, thoſe of the Engliſh white, and of the Flemiſh green. The princes then departed to prepare for the expedition [w].

At Mans, to which Henry repaired, the principal barons of the provinces met him, and the following regulations were adopted: That all thoſe, who did not go to the war, ſhould, this year, 1188, give the tenth part of all their rents and chattels, excepting the horſes, arms, and apparel of the knights, and the books, cloaths, and chapel furniture of clergymen, and the jewels of laity and clergy: that they who refuſed to pay this tythe, be excommunicated: that commiſſaries be appointed to collect it in each pariſh: that the cruſaders, themſelves exempt from the tax, receive the contributions of their vaſſals: and that the burgeſſes, and

[w] Hoveden. an. 1188.

BOOK III. 1188.

and free ſocmen or peaſants, who took the croſs, without the leave of their lords, ſhould not be freed from the general impoſition.—Prophane ſwearing was particularly prohibited, and games of hazard, and luxury in dreſs, ſuch as furs of various kinds, and in the table, at which two diſhes of any purchaſed meat only are allowed. —No man is to take a woman with him, unleſs a ſingle waſherwoman, on foot, and of whom there could be no ſuſpicion ; and no one to go in torn or ragged cloaths.—The other clauſes regarded the mortgage of eſtates, and the diſtribution of the property of thoſe, who might die in the expedition[x].—Such was tha ſtatute enacted at Mans, and which was to extend to all the tranſmarine provinces.

Thence he came to England, and at Gedington near Northampton, convened a great council. The above regulations were read to them, and received. The primate, having firſt taken the croſs, then roſe, and harangued the aſſembly ; after which many of the clergy and laity, enrolled themſelves in the holy warfare. Agents were ſent into the counties to levy the tax, which they did with great ſeverity, committing thoſe to priſon, by the royal mandate, who were refractory, till they paid the laſt farthing. The jews, even, by a cruel ſtretch of power, were compelled to bear more than their proportion of the general burthen, and ſixty thouſand pounds (little leſs than a million ſterling) were levied on their chattels. Immenſe ſupplies, indeed, were wanted, which could not have been raiſed by any ordinary proceſs.—The cruſade was preached in Wales by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom the hiſtorian, Giraldus, accom-

[x] Hoveden. ibid.

accompanied: but the commiſſioners, ſent to collect the tenths in Scotland, were not permitted to enter the country, and no contributions, it ſeems, were made from thence[y]. — Henry then ſent miniſters to the courts of the emperors of Germany and Conſtantinople, and to Bela, king of Hungary, requeſting a free paſſage for himſelf and army through their territories, and markets to ſupply the neceſſary proviſions. His requeſt was granted[z].

Philip, in the mean while, was equally active in France, where the ordinances of Mans were adopted; and his people ſhewed the utmoſt alacrity, forgetful of the calamitous iſſue of the laſt expedition, which themſelves or fathers had ſo recently witneſſed.—And in Germany, where William of Tyre and a papal legate had preached, Frederic called a diet at Mentz; and himſelf took the croſs, in his ſixty-eighth year, and the princes and nobles of the empire were emulous to copy his example. There is a letter extant, which, on the occaſion, he is ſaid to have written to Saladin; wherein, after having mentioned his preſumptuous and culpable audacity in invading the holy land, he warns him to reſtore it, or that, when twelve months have gone round, he muſt expect to meet him in the plains of Taneos: "For "doeſt thou pretend to be ignorant." he goes on, "that "both the Ethiopias, and Mauritanea, and Perſia, and "Syria, and Parthia, (where our dictator, Marcus Craſſus, "immaturely found his grave,) and Judea, and Samaria, "and Arabia, and Chaldea, and Egypt herſelf, (where a "Roman citizen, Antonius, I ſay it with pain, diſgraced "his laurels in the arms of Cleopatra,) and Armenia, and "other

[y] Hoveden, et alii.

[z] Diceto.

BOOK III. 1188.

" other realms innumerable, are all ſubject to my ſceptre. " Kings learnt this, whom the Roman ſword made drunk " with blood. And thou alſo ſhall ſoon learn the ſame. " What our conquering eagles, what the cohorts of various " nations, what the impetuous German brandiſhing his " arms in peace, what the dauntleſs head of the Rhine, " what the tall Bavarian, what the crafty Suevian, what " the prudent Franconian, what the Saxon playing with his " ſword, what the Weſtphalian, what the active Brabanter, " what the Lorainer ignorant of peace, what the reſtleſs " Burgundian, what the Friſian advancing with his ſpear, " what the Bohemian rejoicing in death, what many other " people; in a word, what my arm, which thou thinkeſt " age hath palſied, ſhall be able to effect, that glorious day " ſhall teach thee[a]."—The anſwer aſcribed to Saladin is not ſo wild, and therefore not ſo curious.

But the Roman pontiff, it muſt not be forgotten, was the ſoul, which gave vigour to the general plan. This was Clement III. who, the year before, had ſucceeded to Gregory. He wrote letters, diſpatched envoys into different kingdoms, and diſſeminated the animating grant of indulgences, as his predeceſſors had done, whereby pardon of ſins, under the condition of ſincere repentance, was promiſed to the cruſaders, and the protection of the church to their families and effects. Nor, at the time, did he loſe ſight of his own intereſt. He treated with the Romans, whoſe fellow-citizen he was; and granting them ſome privileges, which their inglorious ſenate principally demanded, he was permitted to enter the Vatican[b].

But

[a] Diceto. Hoveden. [b] Baron. an. 1188.

1188.

Hoſtilities in France.

But the preparations for diſtant war, which thus arreſted the attention of Europe, could not preſerve the internal peace of France. The irritable Richard, provoked by the miſconduct of one of his barons, drew the ſword, as he had often done, againſt his own vaſſals in Aquitaine, and, with the white croſs on his ſhoulder, carried deſolation into their towns, their lands, and vineyards. The rebellion, if it might be ſo called, was cruſhed; when, not to remain idle, while his troops were on foot, he marched them againſt the earl of Toulouſe. The earl had taken ſome merchants priſoners. The impetuous duke overran his territories, and captured his caſtles: on which he implored the aid of Philip. The king rather choſe to negotiate with Henry, who was in England; to whom he ſent a meſſenger, requeſting to know, if it was by his commands, that Richard thus diſturbed the peace, and injured his vaſſals? And he demanded reparation of the evils he had done. Henry replied, that he had no concern in the preſent tranſactions of his ſon, and intimated, that he had been informed, that it was with Philip's own concurrence, he had hitherto proceeded.—The French king, diſſatisfied with the anſwer, entered Berry with a powerful army, of which moſt of the towns and fortreſſes opened their gates to him; and on Henry's demanding, why this was done? The reply was; to revenge the wrongs he and the earl of Toulouſe had received from Richard. The primate and another prelate were ſent into France, to appeaſe Philip; which proving ineffectual, Henry was compelled to leave England, and with a large body of Welſhmen he landed in Normandy. Soon an army of his continental ſubjects was gathered round

BOOK III. 1188.

him; but, in the mean time, Richard had oppoſed the French in Berry, and, with much activity, had ſupported his father's cauſe [c].

While towns and villages were thus deſolated, Henry, whom long experience had rendered temperate, by freſh meſſengers acquainted Philip, that, unleſs he repaired the wrongs he had done him, he muſt expect inſtant war. "I "ſhall not deſiſt," replied the high-ſpirited youth, "till "the province of Berry, and the Norman Vexin be ſub-"jected to my domain." Henry entered the French territory, and ravaged the country to the gates of Mante; while Richard was preſent in every action, and diſplayed his uſual proweſs. The kings, however, were brought to a conference in the plain near Giſors, ſo often mentioned, under a ſpreading elm, the ordinary place of interview. Nothing was ſettled, and the conference ending with much heat on both ſides, Philip, in wayward anger, commanded the tree to be felled, which, with its benignant branches, had, for ages, given ſhelter, ſays the hiſtorian, to his anceſtors and the dukes of Normandy. But the earls of Flanders and Blois, with other nobles of France, now laid down their arms, ſaying, they would bear them no more againſt chriſtians, till they returned from Paleſtine. This occaſioned another conference, which was equally fruitleſs; but, ſoon afterwards, Richard ſent an offer to the French monarch, that he would attend his court of juſtice, and ſubmit his cauſe, concerning the reſtitution of the territory he had taken from the earl of Toulouſe, to its deciſion; that thus, he added, peace may be concluded between you and my

[c] Hoveden. Dicet.

my father. This propoſal of his ſon much diſpleaſed Henry[d].

It was now very generally reported, that Henry meant to leave the crown of England to John, for whom he had ever ſhewn a partial fondneſs, or to ſever from it, in his favour, a conſiderable part of his continental dominions[e]. The report, though weakly grounded perhaps, would naturally irritate, and excite the jealouſy of Richard; and, from this time, he ſeems to have courted the friendſhip, and thrown himſelf on the protection of Philip. He accompanied his father, in the month of November, to a third interview with the French king; when the latter offered a reſtitution of the places he had taken, on condition, that Henry delivered up his ſiſter Adelais to Richard, and allowed him, as his heir, to receive the homage of all the vaſſals of his crown. Henry's anſwer was peremptory; that he would do neither. Warm altercations enſued; but a truce was concluded, till the feaſt of St. Hilary. Richard then, in the hearing of a numerous circle, entreated his father, to ſecure to him, as his heir, the ſucceſſion of his crown. The king anſwered unſatisfactorily, and the ſon, in vain, repeated his petition: "I now ſee," he exclaimed, "that to be probable, which I before thought incredible;" alluding, doubtleſs, to the report I mentioned. Then turning to Philip, he unbuckled his ſword, and ſtretching out his hands, on his knees did homage to him, for all the fiefs his father held in France, with a reſerve of the fealty he owed to Henry, begging his aſſiſtance to protect his juſt rights. The aſſembly ſeparated in aſtoniſhment; and Henry

[d] Hoveden. [e] Gervas. Neubrig.

 withdrew,

BOOK III.

1188. withdrew, revolving in his mind, ſays the hiſtorian, what might be the iſſue of this unexpected tranſaction. But he ſent the ſon of Roſamond into Anjou, and himſelf departed towards Aquitaine, to provide for the general defence of the country [f].

This conduct of Henry to his ſon was ungenerous, and almoſt juſtified the ſtep he took. Experience, indeed, had taught him not to ſurrender unneceſſary power, or to confer unneceſſary honours; for freſh on his recollection was the behaviour of his eldeſt ſon; but Richard only requeſted the confirmation of his undoubted claim. I am diſpoſed to think, there was truth in the report, of his too partial views on the younger brother. And his attachment to Adelais muſt not be forgotten, which is the clue, perhaps, that can alone unfold every minute circumſtance of theſe extraordinary proceedings.

1189. When the truce expired, the allies, whoſe forces, during winter, had been much augmented, by a very general defection in the provinces, began their incurſions on Henry's lands. But a cardinal legate, with the olive branch, appeared, and interpoſing all the authority of his maſter, to impede the further progreſs of war, prevailed on the kings to ſubmit the arbitration of their quarrel to him, and to the archbiſhops of Canterbury, of Rheims, of Bourges, and of Rouen. A conference, for this deciſion, was appointed at La Ferté-Bernard, during the feaſt of Whitſuntide. They met; and ſeldom had a more brilliant congreſs been ſeen. Philip then demanded that his ſiſter Adelais, whom the king, he ſaid, had kept in cloſe cuſtody more than twenty

[f] Hoveden. Gervas. Diceto.

twenty years, ſhould be ſurrendered to Richard; that homage ſhould be done to the duke, by his father's vaſſals, as a ſecurity of his title to the throne; and that John, inſtead of Henry, ſhould accompany his brother into Paleſtine. If theſe conditions were admitted, he would reſtore, he ſaid, to the Engliſh monarch all the conqueſts he had made.

However reaſonable, and, on the ſide of Philip, diſintereſted, theſe demands may ſeem, Henry rejected them all: but, at the ſame time, with a weak policy, offered, that he would do more than accept the profered terms, would Philip conſent, that Adelais ſhould be given to the younger brother. As became him, he refuſed it. The aſſembly, therefore, was breaking up in anger, when the legate, turning to Philip, threatened his realm with an immediate interdict, if he did not compoſe all his differences with the Engliſh king. "I do not fear your interdict," replied the ſpirited prince, "nor ſhall I heed it, as it reſts "on no equity. It belongs not to Rome, to pronounce "cenſures on my realm, when I judge it expedient, for "the honour of my crown, to chaſtiſe my offending and "rebellious vaſſals. But you have taſted the Engliſh ſterlings, I ſees."—The obſervation, I believe, was not leſs true, than it was pointed; for Henry, by long experience, had been taught to know, what mode of negotiation pleaſed the Romans beſt.

Hoſtilities recommenced with great fury; but every thing gave way before the ſuperior ſtrength of the combined armies. The earldom of Maine was the ſeat of war. Henry feared

[s] Hoveden. Gerv. an. 1189.

BOOK III. 1189.

feared for Mans, and threw himſelf into it, with ſome choſen forces. It was the city he loved: there lay the body of his father, and it was his own birth-place. But it was attacked, nearly burned to the ground, and taken. The king eſcaped with ſeven hundred horſe, abandoning his friends in the city, whom he had promiſed to defend, and ſhewing his back to the enemy, which till now they had never ſeen. He moved from caſtle to caſtle, till he arrived ſafe at Saumur, a ſtrong town in Anjou. But the confederates, leaving the ruins of Mans, marched towards Tours, while every fortreſs, on the road, ſubmitted to them; and Tours itſelf was, in a few days, alſo taken. On the eve of this event, however, with the conſent of Philip, mediators of great reſpect, the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbiſhop of Rheims, waited on Henry, to propoſe to him, a plan of general pacification. He aſſented to it; for nothing elſe, it ſeemed, could check the torrent of misfortunes, which the ſucceſs of his opponents, aided by the increaſing defection of his own vaſſals, did hourly ſwell to the moſt alarming magnitude. He moved not from Saumur, bewildered in a maze of difficulties, while his provinces were crumbling round him: and now alſo he heared, it is ſaid, that many of thoſe, he had favoured moſt, were preparing to leave him. Ranulph de Glanville in England, indeed, where no diſcord had yet appeared, was collecting an army to bring to his aſſiſtance; and he had the conſolation to have his chancellor, the ſon of Roſamond, near him, who, with the proweſs of a warrior had reſiſted the enemy, and with filial piety ſhielded his father, as he retired from the flames of Mans. A conference

ference having been agreed on, Henry left Saumur, and met Philip at a place not far from Tours, where Richard alſo was, and a great aſſembly of prelates and nobles. It was the twenty-eighth of June[h].

On no occaſion, had Henry come to an interview, with a mind ſo bent and broken to compliance. Without reſerve, he threw himſelf on the will of Philip, and began by an act of homage, which, agreeably to the ideas of feudal ſubjection, the late declaration of war had violated. The articles of peace were then agreed on:—That the princeſs Adelais be delivered into the hands of one out of five perſons, whom Richard ſhould name, to be received by him in marriage, at his return from Paleſtine; that all Henry's vaſſals do homage to his eldeſt ſon; that no baron or knight who, in this war, had joined Richard, return any more to his father, unleſs in the laſt month before their expedition to the eaſt; that the time of their departure be the mid-lent of the following year, when the two kings and the duke ſhall rendezvous at Vezelai in Burgundy; that Henry pay to the French king twenty thouſand marks of ſilver; that all the barons, ſubject to the king of England, ſwear, that, in caſe their maſter do not fulfill theſe conventions, they will join Philip and the duke, in order to force him into compliance; that till this treaty, in all its parts, be executed, the allies keep poſſeſſion of Mans, Tours, and two caſtles, which are named, or, if Henry like it better, they will take poſſeſſion of Giſors, Pacy, and Nonancourt, to be held on the ſame terms[i].

[h] Hoveden. Gerv. Neubrig. l. iii. c. 24.

[i] Hoveden. an. 1189.

The

BOOK III.

1189.

The kings, during the conference, were privately converſing in the field, when ſuddenly it thundered, and the lightning fell between them. Alarmed, but not hurt, they ſeparated; and the whole company, ſays the hiſtorian, expreſſed much ſurpriſe, as no darkneſs had preceded the exploſion. Again the monarchs renewed their converſation, and a louder and more tremendous clap was heared, the heavens ſtill retaining their ſerenity. Henry was much affected, and had fallen from his horſe, had not immediate aſſiſtance prevented it. In this agitation, which the ſtouteſt minds cannot always command, he repeated to Philip the moſt unbounded ſubmiſſion to his deſires, and a compliance with each article of the treaty; and then requeſted he might ſee a liſt of the names of thoſe, who, in the late quarrel, had gone over to the enemy. The ill-judged curioſity proved the broken character of his mind. The liſt was given to him; and, at the head of it, he read the name of John, his beloved child! So cloſed the conference[k].

Henry dies.

The diſaſtrous events of the war, which tarniſhed the glory of his arms; the reflection, that it was headed by a youth, whom he had known a puling infant; the defection of many, and the wavering allegiance of more; the articles of the treaty he had ſigned, humiliating to his juſt pride, and ſubverſive, in one inſtance, of a hope he had too fondly indulged; the conſciouſneſs, which muſt often have recurred, that his own unwarrantable conduct had provoked hoſtilities, and that Richard, when the ſtory of the quarrel ſhould be told, would be deemed far leſs blameable than himſelf; the ingratitude of John, whoſe aggrandiſement he had

[k] Hoveden.

had ſought, even at the expence of parental duty, while the love, he felt for him, was tied to every fibre in his heart: theſe, and other conſiderations, formed a maſs of afflicting thoughts, which the enfeebled ſtate of his body had not power to reſiſt. The impetuoſity alſo of his temper, which he had not ſufficiently curbed, now irritated by theſe ſtrong incentives, contributed its own fuel to his deſtruction.—A fever came on; and the day after the conference, he was conveyed, in a litter, to the caſtle of Chinon. The chancellor, hearing of his illneſs, haſtened to him; but the fatal lot was drawn. With the fever, the gloom of his mind encreaſed; and as the ingratitude of his children preſſed heavieſt, he was heared to call down the curſe of heaven on them. The prelates who ſurrounded his couch, and other religious perſons, entreated him to revoke the curſe. Nothing could prevail. He then requeſted, to be carried to the church; where, laid before the altar, he received the holy communion; and acknowledging his ſins, he expired, on the third day, in the arms of the ſon of Roſamond. He died in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and in the thirty-fifth of his reign; and was buried at Fontevraud, in the church of the nuns, as he had particularly requeſted. Richard met the body, as it was carried to the grave. He wept, and joining the mournful train, proceeded to the abbey, where he aſſiſted at the laſt melancholy rites[1].

Sketch of his character.

To attempt the character of Henry, while the reader who has viewed his conduct, retains each feature on his mind, would be a ſuperfluous labour. But the deſcription

[1] Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 24.

BOOK III.

1189.

of his perſon, which they who knew him well, have drawn, and ſome traits of his private character, may not be unacceptable.—He was about the common ſize, much inclined to corpulency, and of a form maſculine and robuſt; broad in the cheſt, and nervous in every limb. His complexion was florid, his hair reddiſh, ſilvered, in age, by the hand of time, his head ſpherical and capacious, his eyes orbicular and of a grey colour, when the mind was calm, themſelves mild and innocent, but in anger, tinged with red, flaming and furious as the lightening's flaſh: his face broad, leonine, *quadrangular*, and his noſe long and well proportioned.—He neglected his hands, never wearing gloves, but in hawking; his cloaths were ſhort, (on which account he has ſometimes been called *court-mantle,)* calculated for expedition, his boots plain, and his bonnet unadorned. His feet and legs, it was obſerved, were generally in a bruiſed and livid ſtate, from the repeated blows of his horſes; yet he never ſat down, unleſs when unavoidable. — His chief amuſements were thoſe of the field, which he purſued with an immoderate ardour. He was on horſeback, before the ſun was up; often fatigued the moſt robuſt ſportſmen in the chace; and returning, ſometimes late, ſat down to a frugal meal, which was ſoon diſpatched, and was then again on his feet, till an early hour called him to his couch. Thus by exerciſe and abſtemiouſneſs he oppoſed a diſpoſition to corpulency, which indulgence would ſoon have rendered troubleſome and unweildy. His hawks were brought from Norway, and many from Wales; and he was particularly curious in his hounds, that they ſhould be fleet, well tongued, and conſonous.

His

His underſtanding was good, the general powers of his mind far above the ordinary level, and his memory moſt tenacious. He was fond of reading, well informed in hiſtory, and poſſeſſed a natural eloquence, which when his temper was unruffled, flowed with grace and perſpicuity. He was affable and well-bred, facetious and communicative. When the amuſements of the day, or the ſerious occupations of war and buſineſs were over, he ſought the company of the learned, and delighted much, in a circle of churchmen, to propoſe ſubjects for diſcuſſion, and himſelf to attempt their ſolution[m].

His vices were the vices of the man, and his virtues belonged to the prince. If the firſt were manifold, ſo were the ſecond. He wiſhed to make his people happy; and the burthens he laid on them were comparitavely light. Even in the foreſt laws his lenity appeared, becauſe he mitigated their ſeverity, in the eye of his ruling paſſion. But he was little loved, and he died unregretted. The reaſon was:—His foreign engagements detained him much on the continent, during which, in the adminiſtration of his juſticiaries, the laws were neglected; or many evils, from the ſtate of things, neceſſarily diſturbed the public harmony. The very circumſtance of his abſence, to a nation jealous of their honour, and conſcious of their ſuperior weight in the ſcale of empire, was a ſubject of complaint; and when their king returned to them, it was often with a ſevere brow, to correct abuſes, and to enforce the execution of the laws. The Engliſh, therefore, did not love him. They admired him as a warrior, who extended his

[m] Pet. Bleſ. ep. 66. Giral. Camb. l. i. c. 45.

BOOK III. 1189.

dominions, and they ſeemed to ſhare in his triumphs.— Nor was he well with his French ſubjects, the Normans only excepted. The monarch of France was to them a more natural ſovereign: he was always at hand to protect them; and beſides, it was ever his aim, as the moſt obvious policy directed, to foment a ſpirit of oppoſition, to hold out favour to the refractory, and to ſhew himſelf to them, with the benign aſpect of their ſuzerain lord.

Henry is generally acknowledged, to have been the greateſt of our Engliſh kings. I will not ſay, that it was otherwiſe: but when, in cool reflection, we take a view of England, as he left it, and of each particular province which conſtituted the wide empire of his command, we are compelled to own, that he had done little to improve their laws, to correct their manners, to extend their commerce, to diffuſe the light of ſcience, to ſpread the bleſſings of peace, in a word, to make them a better or a happier people. Added to the nominal empire he had. Scotland had done homage to him, and Ireland, it may be ſaid, had ſubmitted to his controul. But never was a conqueſt more imperfectly ſettled. His reign, in a word, was more brilliant, than attended by any real benefits; more fortunate, than proſperous in uſeful and permanent ſucceſs; and had providence added a few more years to its duration, we ſhould have ſeen it terminate, moſt probably, in the melancholy reverſe of all its acquired glory. He died unlamented; but the experience of the next reign, ſays the moſt philoſophical of the monkiſh writers, taught them, in ſorrow of mind, to look back to Henry, as to a great and good prince[n].

[n] Neubrig. c. 24.

END OF BOOK III.

# THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF KING RICHARD THE FIRST,

With the EVENTS of the Period,

## BOOK IV.

*Acceſſion of Richard.—Firſt meaſures of his government.—He goes to France.—Diſcontents in England.—The kings depart for Aſia.—The march and death of Frederic.—The kings arrive at Meſſina.—State of Sicily.—They paſs the winter in the iſland.—Curious interview between Richard and Tancred.—Eleanor having arrived with Berengaria, the fleets ſail.—Ptolemais is taken, when Philip returns to Europe.—Richard's exploits.—Diſturbances in England.—The king leaves Paleſtine.—Is taken priſoner.—Negotiations for his releaſe.—He returns to England, and goes into France.—Miſcellaneous occurrences—Terms of peace between the kings.—Richard dies.—His character.*

BOOK IV.

1189.

Acceſſion of Richard.

RICHARD left Fontevraud, having with a becoming piety attended his father's obſequies, when the preſſing concerns of a wide and unſettled empire, at once, demanded all his thoughts. He was in his thirty-ſecond year,

BOOK IV. 1189.

year, practiſed in policy, and inured in government, as far as he valued either; and he valued both, as they tended to gratify his ruling paſſion,—an immoderate thirſt of military glory. The provinces of Aquitaine, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, he ſettled, as firmly as the preſs of buſineſs would allow, and haſtened into Normandy. At Rouen, in the preſence of the prelates and nobility, he received from the archbiſhop the ducal ſword; and homage was done to him by all the vaſſals of the province. He and Philip then met on the confines. The demand of the latter of Giſors and other frontier caſtles, Richard rejected, alledging, that the ſurrender would be hurtful to his fame; but he offered to add four thouſand marks to the twenty, which his father had covenanted to pay; and this being accepted, Philip reſigned into his hands all the conqueſts he had made. The opening was auſpicious[a].

He had ſent orders to England, for the releaſe of his mother from her long confinement; and with ſome inſtructions, dictated by a precipitate policy, he committed to her the ſovereign adminiſtration of the realm. Joyfully did ſhe leave the caſtle of Wincheſter; and with a royal retinue appearing before the people, ſhe proclaimed an univerſal diſcharge to all offenders, for the repoſe of the ſoul of her huſband, and commanded the priſon-gates to be unbarred. The priſons, at Henry's death, were uncommonly crowded. She ordered an oath of allegiance to be taken to herſelf and ſon, whereby every freeman bound himſelf to defend them both, in life and limbs, againſt all men and all women. The proceſs was extraordinary, but when a new prince comes,

[a] Hoveden. Dicet. an. 1189.

1189.

comes, in the feſtivity of the moment, the forms of eſtabliſhed order may be diſregarded. Relaxed from the controul of a ſevere adminiſtration, the nation received the princely indulgence with unbounded applauſe; acclamation rang through the provinces: but there were men, who cenſured the proceeding as extravagant, and ſaw the danger, which threatened the future peace of ſociety. Richard landed in England.

In the choice of his miniſters and confidential friends, he acted wiſely, and ſhewed a proper deference to his father's memory, treating thoſe, with a marked diſlike, who, falſe to their allegiance, had abetted his own rebellions, and rewarding truth and fidelity, where it was leaſt expected. But he reſtored many forfeited eſtates; recalled the exiles; and permitted not, as far as in him lay, a ſingle heart to ake, in the whole extent of his dominions. — To John he was improvidently profuſe. Beſides confirming to him the earldom of Mortagne in Normandy, with a penſion of four thouſand marks a year, and giving to him in marriage, as had been before ſettled, Aviſa, the daughter of the earl of Glouceſter, with the vaſt inheritance of that noble family, his generoſity ſtill knew no limits. He put him in poſſeſſion of ſeven caſtles, with all the foreſts and honours annexed to them, and ſhowered on his head ſix earldoms, Cornwal, Dorſet, Somerſet, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaſter. That his intention was, to bind to him the heart of that vicious youth, cannot be doubted; but Richard was not aware, that, by ſuch prodigal donations, he only increaſed his powers of doing miſchief with more impunity.— On the third of September, the king was crowned at Weſtminſter

BOOK IV. 1189.

minſter by the primate, ſays the hiſtorian who aſſiſted at the ceremony, "after a ſolemn and due election[b]." The oath he took was, to maintain the peace and honour of the church, to adminiſter juſtice to his people, to aboliſh bad laws and bad cuſtoms, and to enact good ones.

A ſcene of horrid bloodſhed diſgraced this joyous day. The Jews, who were very numerous in England, and whom the late king had treated with lenity, came to Weſtminſter with preſents from their nation, and approached the hall, wherein the king was at dinner with the prelates, waited on by the nobles. Richard, with much zeal, had forbidden their appearance at the coronation. They were inſulted therefore; inſults were followed by blows; a commotion began; it ſpread into the city; it was ſaid, that the king authoriſed the proceeding; and in a few hours, a general maſſacre of the unoffending Iſraelites was committed, while their houſes were burnt and plundered, and many chriſtians were involved in the general event of rapacity and devaſtation. Such as ourſelves have witneſſed, is, at all times, the licentious fury of a London-mob. Richard iſſued orders to quell the diſorder, but they were not heeded; and on enquiry, it was found, that many diſtinguiſhed perſons were deeply concerned in it. The ſame tragedy was acted in other parts of England. Nor was it a common degree of iniquity which gave life to theſe atrocious proceedings. The Jews, by induſtry, frugality, and means not always honourable, had got into their hands the money of the nation, which they lent out at an exorbitant intereſt. That by deſtroying their perſons, and conſuming their bonds,

[b] Radulfus de Diceto.

1189.

bonds, every contract would at once be cancelled, was the base casuistry of their christian debtors[c]. — Philip also had signalised the opening of his reign, by great cruelties to that unhappy people.

First measures of his government.

Thus possessed of his crown, Richard received the homage of the English nation; and immediately turned his mind to the great object, which alone seemed worthy of his attention. To administer justice, and to rule a willing people, were to him no princely office: he would meet Saladin in the plains of Palestine, and rescue the holy cross from infamy. For this he prepared. His father's treasures he collected, which were more than a hundred thousand marks; and to these were added, if they were not comprised in that sum, the taxes, which had been levied by the statute of Geddington. But the sum he deemed inadequate to the exigences of the undertaking, and he resolved to augment it, by every expedient, whatever might be the consequences of such rash and unprecedented measures. The demesne lands, the honours, and the public offices of the crown, he exposed to sale. To the bishop of Durham, Hugh de Pusey, a prelate of great wealth, he sold the royal manors in his diocese, for six hundred marks; and with them, for a thousand more, the earldom of Northumberland, to be occupied by him for life, with its castles and liberties.—The king of Scotland redeemed the independence of his country, with the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwic, for the trifling sum of ten thousand marks, doing homage to him for the fiefs only which he held in England. Scotland was once more free. The witnesses to this deed, after eleven bishops,

[c] Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. l. iv. c. 1.

BOOK IV. 1189.

are Eleanor, and John earl of Mortagne: and it ſpecifies, that the vaſſalage, to which William and his country had been ſubjected by Henry, was extorted during his captivity. —The deed of ſale to the biſhop of Durham was ſigned by ten prelates, and by nine of the firſt nobility, headed by John. Other conſiderable purchaſes were made from the crown; and when his friends dared to blame the improvident meaſure; "I would ſell London itſelf," he replied, "could a purchaſer be found." Without a ſingle thought for the honour or well-being of his own country, he acted, ſays the hiſtorian, as if he were never to return to it. But the ſums he thus collected were immenſe, and his warmeſt views were anſwered [d].

Some modern hiſtorians have permitted their minds ſo to be warped by theory, that, though they ſee the moſt authentic documents atteſting ſuch facts, as I have here ſtated, ſtill vainly think, they can diſcover an Engliſh monarch, even at this time, limited in his prerogative, and ſubjected to the legal controul of regular aſſemblies, which they have called a *parliament*, or the conſtitutional repreſentatives of the people. Henry, the laſt king, often met his prelates and barons in council aſſembled, agreeably to the feudal form as prevailing in all parts of Europe, and was ſometimes, I know, influenced by their advice: but the ſtatutes of the moſt ſolemn enaction, as has been ſeen, he afterwards modified or annulled, knowing no conſtitutional authority, that could bind his own will irrevocably. In Richard we view a prodigal prince, who, the moment he has been ſeated on the throne of his anceſtors, conſiders the

[d] Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 5. Chron. de Mailros an. 1190.

the royal demeſne, as a private property, and without conſulting any council, diſpoſes of it by public ſale. He does more. The ſubjection of a foreign kingdom to his crown, which his father and the nation had deemed an event of the greateſt magnitude, he ſevers from it, and gives it back its independence. Still, no public reclamation againſt theſe proceedings is heared from any quarter; the hiſtorians ſpeak of them as of ordinary events; and the nation, doubtleſs, viewed them, as originating in no unconſtitutional ſtretch of power. Men of the firſt dignity, even John more immediately intereſted in the concerns of the crown, unbluſhingly ſet their names to the deeds of ſale and alienation of territory.

But embaſſadors from Philip now preſſed the return of Richard to the continent. Having, therefore, filled the vacant ſees, and given that of York to his brother Geoffry, the ſon of Roſamond, whom the reader has ſeen biſhop elect of Lincoln, and then chancellor to his father, he ſettled the adminiſtration of the realm. Ranulph de Glanville, diſguſted with his maſter's conduct, had reſigned the important office of juſticiary, prefering rather, in his old age, to travel into Aſia; and the biſhop of Durham, whoſe purſe was not exhauſted, had purchaſed his charge. To this prelate, and to Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, now chancellor, a man of mean birth, a foreigner, with neither talents nor probity, Richard committed the general adminiſtration, naming them juſticiaries and guardians of the realm. Hugh took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Windſor, and Longchamp of the tower of London. But the latter was the favourite, and with him, ſays the hiſtorian, the king

BOOK IV.

1189. left one of his ſeals, for the ſigning of his precepts. A fleet of ſhips waited his arrival at Dover, where he embarked with a vaſt retinue, and landing in Flanders was received by earl Philip, who accompanied him into Normandy[e]. It was the month of December.

1190. After chriſtmas the kings met; but they ſaw it neceſſary to poſtpone their journey till midſummer. They reiterated their promiſes of friendſhip, and in the words which Louis and Henry, on a ſimilar occaſion, had adopted, they pledged their faith to defend each other's territories, during the cruſade; they mutually exchanged the aſſeverations of their prelates and the oaths of their barons, to the ſame effect; and they ſubjected themſelves to the penalty of cenſures, ſhould they violate this ſolemn engagement. Should either of them die, during the expedition, the ſurviver is to take poſſeſſion of his treaſure and armies, for the purpoſes firſt intended.—The principle of theſe reciprocal engagements is highly pleaſing; and they ſeem to mark benevolence of character, upright views, and a noble ſacrifice of every perſonal and intereſted competition. In the proſecution of the plan, had the ſame ſpirit uniformly prevailed, the cruſades had proved a ſchool, wherein, the bad paſſions being extinguiſhed that injure man, we had ſeen ſociety, in an accelerated proceſs, advancing towards perfection.—The intermediate months the monarchs ſpent, in further preparations for the great undertaking; while every cruſader, from the proud baron to the humble peaſant, was buſily employed in ſuch adjuſtments of arms and equipage, as his abilities would admit.

He goes to France.

England,

[e] Neubrig. Hoveden.

1190.

Diſcontents in England.

England, under its new guardians, was not long at eaſe. Rivals in power, they quarrelled: and we ſee them ſummoned into Normandy; and with them many biſhops, and Eleanor, and Adelais, and John, waited on the king[f]. For the firſt time is Adelais now mentioned, and ſhe is mentioned in the company of a lady, from whom, it may be preſumed, ſhe ſuffered much. Eleanor, jealous and vindictive as ever woman was, when now ſhe had power, would not be inclined to treat her gently, who, ſhe had reaſon to know, had poſſeſſed the heart of the late king. But it may be remarked, as ſomething ſingular in the chroniclers of theſe times, that, detailing, as they do, minute events, they have recorded few anecdotes or court intrigues, which, while they animated a dull narration, would ſerve to portray the manners of the age. Of the private lives of princes they tell us nothing.—On Eleanor herſelf had been ſettled a noble dower; and ſhe was in the plenitude of greatneſs, projecting a match for her ſon, in return for his munificent bounty, and preparing, it was thought, for a ſecond pilgrimage to Jeruſalem.

Richard, ſtill more to exalt his favourite Longchamp, with the advice, it ſeems, of the council he had ſummoned into Normandy, appointed him grand juſticiary of England; and that no cauſe of diſſention with his colleague might ſubſiſt, he confined the juriſdiction of Hugh to the country, between the Humber and Scotland. Longchamp returned; and after him ſoon followed legatine powers which his maſter had obtained from Rome. In pride of office, he encompaſſed, with a deep ditch, the tower of London, hoping

[f] Hoveden. Gaufrid. Viniſauf. an. 1189.

BOOK IV. 1190.

hoping that the Thames, in regal pomp, might be induced to flow round him; and then opened a ſcene of extortion and arbitrary exactions, ſtill more to augment the ſplendid arrangements of the monarch. General diſcontents and alarms were raiſed. His colleague alſo came to England; when he ſeized his perſon, and compelled him to ſurrender the caſtle of Windſor, the honours of Northumberland, and every purchaſe he had made. And though Richard, afterwards, renewed to de Puſey the deed of ſale and other grants, he left his favourite in the uncontrouled poſſeſſion of power [g]. Apprehenſive of ſome danger from the popularity of the ſon of Roſamond, and the turbulent character of the duke of Mortagne, the king now exacted an oath from them, not to enter England, within three years: but in favour of John, moſt improvidently, he recalled that engagement. Extraordinary it is, that this prince had not taken the croſs, or that Richard did not compel him to be the companion of his journey.

The kings depart for Aſia.

To avoid the manifold calamities, that the armies of the cruſaders had hitherto experienced, from the machinations of the Greeks, from the power of the infidel nations, through which their march lay, and from their total ignorance of a country, interſected by large rivers, and covered with foreſts and impracticable mountains, [h] the kings determined to conduct their armies by ſea, to take proviſions with them, and, as far as might be, to maintain a communication with their own ſtates, and the weſt of Europe. The regulations made by Richard, for the preſervation of good order in his fleet, merit notice. "He that kills a man "on

[g] Hoveden an. 1190.

[h] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 362.

" on board," he ordains, " ſhall be tied to the body, and " thrown into the ſea: if he kill him on land, he ſhall be " buried with the ſame. If it be proved, that any one has " drawn a knife to ſtrike another, or has drawn blood, he " ſhall loſe his hand: if he ſtrike with his fiſt, without effu- " ſion of blood, ſhall be thrice plunged in the ſea. If a " man inſult another with opprobrious language, ſo often " as he does it, to give as many ounces of ſilver. A man " convicted of theft, to have his head ſhaved, to be tarred " and feathered on the head, and to be left on the firſt " land, the ſhip ſhall come to."—He had appointed officers and commanders of his fleet, two of whom were biſhops, to execute theſe orders with the greateſt rigour. He then went to Tours, where from the archbiſhop he took the ſcrip and pilgrim's ſtaff; but leaning heedleſsly on it, it broke in his hand[i].

Nor had Philip been leſs aſſiduous. Iſabella his queen dying, at this time, he committed the regency of the realm and the guardianſhip of his ſon, to the queen mother and to her brother William, cardinal archbiſhop of Rheims. But he was alſo careful, to have this nomination ratified by the nobles of the land; and to them he read his will, purporting what his deſires were, in caſe of death, and how the regents were to comport themſelves, in the adminiſtration of juſtice, in the diſpoſal of vacant ſees and benefices, and in the general regulation of the finance. His conduct was at once wiſe and provident, and it cenſured the wild and intemperate precipitancy of the Engliſh king, who diſpoſed of the adminiſtration of his country, with the ſelfiſh and

[i] Hoveden. Vinis. Iter Hiero.

BOOK IV. 1190.

and arbitrary injunctions of a deſpot, and left it a prey to tyranny and ambition. Philip repaired to St. Denys, and receiving the badges of a pilgrim, took from the altar the Oriflamme, the ſacred ſtandard, at the ſight of which, it was thought, the enemies of God had often been diſcomfited.

Midſummer was come, and the cruſaders from England and the provinces of France, were aſſembled at Vezelay, the place of rendezvous. The reader will recollect a ſcene which, among others, had rendered the plains of Vezelay memorable[k]. The royal pilgrims arrived, and ſaw, with rapture, the combined diſplay of their mighty forces, amounting to more than a hundred thouſand fighting men, provided with every implement of war, gliſtening in their arms and armour, glowing with the impulſe of a bold enthuſiaſm, and eager for the march. In the front of the reſpective bands ſtood their chiefs; and the colour of the croſs on the ſhoulder marked each nation. The preſence of innumerable biſhops, and abbots, and monks, and clergy, among whom was the primate of Canterbury, half-armed, and half-robed as the miniſters of the altar, gave a curious variety to the ſcene. In ſettling the order of the march, two days were ſpent, when the ſignal was given, and the multitude moved. At Lyons the armies ſeparated, Philip taking the road to Genoa, and Richard that to Marſeilles, at which ports their fleets were appointed to meet them.

The march and death of Frederic.

Though it is not my intention to give more than the outlines of this cruſade, being tired of war, and having elſewhere detailed the character and extent of theſe expeditions;

[k] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 364.

ditions[1]; it might be deemed a culpable omiſſion, not to mention the march of the German army, and the fate which, juſt before this midſummer, had reached their leader, Frederic Barbaroſſa. Acquainted as the reader is with that extraordinary man, he muſt feel an intereſt in the event. Let it be recollected, therefore, that he had taken the croſs in a diet at Mentz, in 1188: and in the following year, ſoon after eaſter, with an army of ninety thouſand men, ſetting forward, he paſſed through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, where he wintered, having been haraſſed on his march by the troops of Iſaac, emperor of Conſtantinople, not unreaſonably jealous of the approach of ſo formidable a prince. Early, in the next ſpring, he paſſed the Helleſpont, and advancing, entered the territories of the ſultan of Iconium. In this country it was, where, in the laſt cruſade, accompanying his uncle Conrad, Frederic had witneſſed the direful overthrow of a mighty army. The preſent ſultan had promiſed him a free paſſage, being jealous of the power of Saladin; but faithleſs to his word, in the defiles of the mountains, he attacked his troops, and every where ſhewed a hoſtile countenance. Frederic advanced, fought, and conquered. He even aſſaulted Iconium, and took it by ſtorm. Caramania was open to him, and it ſeemed, that the paſſage into Paleſtine would be eaſily effected. In the delightful plains of Cilicia runs a ſtream, called Salef, which ſome writers have been willing to confound with the Cydnus, ennobled by the bathing of Alexander in its waters. Fatigued, and heated by a ſcorching ſun, Frederic imprudently plunged into the

[1] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 39, 362.

BOOK IV. 1190.

Salef: but the ſudden ſhock ſtruck a chill to his heart; and he died in a few days, on the tenth of June. The command of the army devolved on Frederic, his ſecond ſon, duke of Suabia, who continued the march to Antioch. But many had already periſhed, by the thouſand accidents of ſo long a journey; and diſeaſe daily thinning their ranks, when the army arrived in Paleſtine, they did not number, it is ſaid, even ſeven thouſand men [m].

The kings arrive at Meſſina.

Arrived with his army at Marſeilles, Richard was much diſappointed to find his fleet was not there. Impatiently he waited ſome days, when hiring twenty gallies and ten large ſhips, he embarked, and ſailed. Meſſina, in the iſland of Sicily, was the next place of general rendezvous; and it was now the ſeventh of Auguſt. The coaſting of the fleet, with ſome deſcription of the places which it paſſed, is minutely given by the hiſtorian. It touched at Genoa, where Philip was detained by illneſs; and then proceeding along the coaſt of Italy, entered the Tiber, where being met by the cardinal biſhop of Oſtia, Richard upbraided the Roman court with its venality, which he had lately experienced in the appointment of his legate, and advanced to Naples. Here remaining ſome days, himſelf went by land, and met his gallies at Salerno, on the eighth of September.

The grand fleet had ſailed from England and the Engliſh ports of France, as early as the eaſter-holidays. But a ſtorm had diſperſed many; and it was the twenty-ſixth of July, when a hundred and ſix large veſſels, full of men and military ſtores, aſſembled in the port of Liſbon, departed thence;

[m] Chron. Urſperg. Append. ad Radevic. Iter Hiero.

thence; and ſailing along the coaſt, on the firſt of Auguſt paſſed through the ſtraits, under Calpe, into the Mediterranean. We have then their progreſs along the Spaniſh ſhore, poſſeſſed by the Saracens, as far as Tortoſa on the Ebro; and thence, where the kingdom of Arragon then began, to the port of Marſeilles, which they reached on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, in leſs than four weeks from the time they had quitted Liſbon. Marſeilles alſo belonged to Arragon, the realm of which extended as far as Nice. Finding their king had been gone fifteen days, they waited to make ſome neceſſary repairs, and again ſetting ſail on the thirtieth, boldly quitted the land, and on the fourteenth of September, entered the port of Meſſina, not having loſt a ſingle veſſel.—Two days after, came the French fleet. Philip was honourably received into the city, and the royal palace was appointed for his reſidence.

On the twenty-third, an armament was ſeen, proudly advancing between Scylla and Charybdis. The ſtreamers floated on the wind, and the gorgeous appearance of gliſtening objects, announced the approach of an eaſtern monarch. But ſoon was heared the ſound of muſic; and the clangor of horns and trumpets ſwelling the breeze, excited a general admiration. The nobles of Meſſina, with its prieſts and people, and Philip the French monarch, with his army, and the Engliſh cruſaders, a vaſt multitude, haſtening to the beach, gazed and liſtened.—It was Richard, king of England, with his gallies and their attendant veſſels, from the port of Salerno, which he had left, when news came that his fleet was at Meſſina. He landed, and after ſome converſation with Philip, repaired to the apartments

BOOK IV. 1190.

prepared for him, without the walls. Philip, on the ſame day, ſailed for the Levant; but contrary winds compelled him to return into port, and the monarchs determined to paſs the winter in Sicily[n].—The principal author, who deſcribes theſe events, was on board the Engliſh fleet.

State of Sicily.

Tancred, on the death of William II. who, as has been told, married Jane princeſs of England, had been, this year, called to the throne of Sicily. He was a natural ſon, as is generally thought, of Roger, duke of Apulia, and firſt couſin to the late king, who died without iſſue. But Henry, eldeſt ſon of Frederic, and now his ſucceſſor in the empire, had married, it muſt be recollected, Conſtantia, aunt to William II. and alſo aunt, in a certain ſenſe, to Tancred; and ſhe was then acknowledged, it is ſaid, by her nephew, to be preſumptive heir to the throne. The Sicilians in general, and the court of Rome, under which the kingdom of Naples was a fief, had oppoſed the match. They hated the German name; and it could be for the intereſt of neither, that ſo powerful a family ſhould occupy the throne. Influenced by theſe motives, the nation looked to Tancred, as the only ſurviving male of the Norman line, and him they choſe for their king. Rome ſanctioned the nomination. But it was evident, that in Henry he would have a competitor, whoſe title, in the right of his wife, was acknowledged by many, and whoſe power, at all events, was formidable. Thus ſtood Tancred, unſettled on his throne, and menaced with rebellion, perhaps, at home, and certain war in his Italian ſtates, when the two armies of France and England landed in the port of Meſſina[o].

The

[n] Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 12. Iter Hiero. [o] Murat. an. 1190. Iter Hiero.

1190.

They paſs the winter in the iſland.

The viſitors ſeemed little ceremonious. Philip, it is ſaid, before the arrival of Richard, had had an interview with Tancred, whoſe reſidence was at Palermo, or Catanea; and to ſecure his friendſhip, the Sicilian had offered one of his daughters for his infant ſon. The offer was refuſed. — But Richard, immediately on his landing, ſent meſſengers to the king, demanding the ſurrender of his ſiſter, the dowager queen, who was confined at Palermo, and preferring other claims. Jane was releaſed, and came to her brother. He then took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong fortreſs, near the entrance of the harbour, wherein he placed his ſiſter; and the next day, ſeizing a convent, he expelled the monks, and there depoſited his proviſions and military ſtores. The Meſſineſe were alarmed: mutual inſults and attacks paſſed between them and the Engliſh, which Philip, accompanied by many noble perſonages, in a conference with the king of England, endeavoured to accommodate. While they were ſpeaking, an affray happened, which was followed by a greater tumult. Richard called to arms; and his men forcing their way into the city, the ſtandard of England was erected on the walls. The circumſtance irritated Philip, whoſe quarters they were; and the moſt fatal conſequences were apprehended, when Richard conſented to remove his ſtandard, and to commit the city to the guard of the knights templars, till his further claims on his Sicilian majeſty were granted. The miſunderſtanding between the kings ſeemed compromiſed; and they jointly publiſhed other regulations, for the ſuppreſſion of diſorders in their armies[P].

Richard

[P] Hoveden. Iter Hiero.

BOOK IV. 1190.

Richard claimed from the king of Sicily his ſiſter's dower, and a golden chair for her uſe, which the queens of the iſlands had always poſſeſſed. He claimed for himſelf, as heir to his father, the legacy which the late king, on his death-bed, had deviſed to him. It conſiſted of a golden table, twelve feet long, and one foot and a half broad, ſupported by two tripods of the ſame metal; of twenty-four ſilver cups and as many diſhes; of a ſilken tent, under which two hundred knights might dine; of ſixty thouſand meaſures *(ſilinas)* of wheat, of as many of barley, and of as many of wine; and of a hundred armed gallies, with all appointments of men and ſtores, for two years. In the preſent ſtate of things, it was cruel to inſiſt on the laſt article. Tancred, by the advice of his miniſters, propoſed a compromiſe, which was accepted; twenty thouſand ounces of gold to the queen dowager, and as many to Richard, in lieu of every claim. It was alſo ſtipulated, that a daughter of Sicily ſhould be affianced to Arthur, the infant duke of Bretagne, and preſumptive heir to the Engliſh crown. A treaty, likewiſe, of perpetual peace and of defenſive alliance, as long as Richard ſhould remain in Sicily, was concluded between them; for the execution of which the pope was made a ſurety, Richard, in a letter to his holineſs, ſubjecting his territories to the cenſures of the church, if he violated the covenant [q].—Thus was harmony reſtored; the Engliſh name was feared, if not reſpected, in Sicily; and Tancred hoped he might look to an ally, whoſe arms would awe the German emperor. Philip, he knew, was too much diſpoſed to favour his enemy.

The

[q] Hoveden. Iter Hiero.

The leiſure of the winter months was ſpent, in preparing the machines of war, and in careening and refitting the veſſels. But the Engliſh king, of whom moſt is related, found ample time for the diſcordant purſuits of amuſement and penitence. Impelled by ſuch motives, as impetuous minds are prone to, he once aſſembled all his prelates, entered naked amongſt them, with a rod in his hand, and proſtrate at their feet, publicly confeſſed the enormities of his life. The hiſtorian ſpeaks ſeriouſly of the event, and ſays that, from that hour, he feared God, and declined from evil.—In Calabria was a devout abbot, called Joachim, a prophet among the people, and peculiarly learned in the book of revelations. Him Richard ſent for; and with his comments and erudition, he and his courtiers were much amuſed. Joachim expounded the ſacred oracles, and by the remarks his majeſty made, it appeared, that he alſo was not unverſed in prophecy. Saladin, the holy man obſerved, was one of the ſeven heads or kings ſpoken of, perſecutors of the church, but whoſe downfall was near. "How ſoon?" ſaid Richard.—"In ſeven years;" replied Joachim.—"Then why did we come here ſo ſoon?" rejoined the king.—The prophet then remarked, that antichriſt was actually born in Rome, and that he would be raiſed to the papal chair. Richard combated the propoſitions, manifeſting ſome ſhrewdneſs in his ſcriptural reſearches. The biſhops then entered the liſts; and from the arguments urged on both ſides, is is plain, that they, and Joachim, and Richard, were as intelligent in the myſteries of the envangeliſt, as any other interpreters, from that day, have been.

But

BOOK IV.

1191.

But in ſports and feats of arms, Richard, perhaps, was more converſant. The French nobility often dined at his table; and it was uſual to ſpend the evening in tilts and other amuſements. William des Barres, called the Achilles of France, was one day his antagoniſt. They contended, and the monarch, by accident, was unhorſed. He called for another ſteed, and ruſhed furiouſly on the knight. Des Barres, though with difficulty, kept his ſeat. Words of reproach followed, and the king indignantly commanding him to begone, threatened him with his eternal enmity. On a former occaſion, des Barres had broken his word of honour to Richard. Great were the pains, which the French king and others took to accommodate this difference; but Richard was implacable, when Philip, with a becoming courteſy, ordered the knight to leave his ſervice. They were afterwards reconciled.—With a princely munificence, the Engliſh monarch then preſented Philip and his courtiers with many veſſels richly appointed; and amongſt his own knights, he diſtributed his treaſures with profuſion[r].—But though we have reaſon to know, that his retinue was crowded with bards and minſtrels, of which ſociety he was himſelf a member, no mention is here made of their performances. Yet to their ſongs, doubtleſs, he often found leiſure to attend, when in the halls of his caſtles, they ſtrang their harps, and recited the proweſs and bold achievements of heroes. The hearers felt the impulſive ſtrain, and graſping their arms, panted for the field of glory.—Still Philip ſupported better the kingly character, engaging in no frolics, no ſtarts of haſty violence, nor by inſults

[r] Hoveden. Iter Hiero.

inſults expoſing himſelf and followers to repeated outrages and attacks: though ſomewhat jealous he might be of the ſuperior riches and parade of Richard, by which he was far eclipſed.

At this time, which was the month of February, Richard diſpatched gallies to Naples. News had come, that Eleanor, the queen mother, would be there, with Philip the earl of Flanders and other company. That active woman, ſince the departure of her ſon, had not loſt a moment. Stimulated by revenge, and in concert, doubtleſs, with him, ſhe was reſolved, that Adelais ſhould never wear the Engliſh crown; and yet was ſhe ſure that Richard, in his preſent intercourſe with the French king, might not be prevailed on to take her to his arms? In his different expeditions into Guienne, he had ſeen and admired Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre. Eleanor waited on Sanchez: ſhe negotiated with him, in her ſon's name; received Berengaria from his hand; and with her inſtantly departed for Italy. To conduct them from Naples were the gallies ſent; but Eleanor, it ſeems, was not diſpoſed to come, till Philip had left the iſland. The ladies proceeded to Brunduſium, and the earl of Flanders only came to Meſſina[s]. — Where Adelais had been left, is not ſaid; but it was, probably, in Normandy, guarded by as many eyes, as had watched the favoured daughter of Inachus.

Curious interview between Richard and Tancred.

Richard had an interview at Catania with the king of Sicily, which appears to have been their firſt meeting, and having prayed with him before the ſhrine of St. Agatha, he paſſed three days in his palace. Before parting, Tancred

[s] Hoveden. Diceto. Iter Hiero.

BOOK IV. 1191.

preſented him with many rich gifts, out of which he would only take a ſmall ring, as a pledge of mutual amity; and in return, Richard gave him *Caliburn*, the noted ſword, which had once graced the thigh of the Britiſh Arthur. But our monarch did not refuſe fifteen gallies and four other ſhips, which Tancred generouſly offered, and then accompanied him as far as Taormina, on his return. Here opened a ſcene of ſome baſeneſs and intricacy. The Sicilian ſhewed Richard a letter, which the duke of Burgundy, he ſaid, had brought to him from the French king. It purported, that Richard was a traitor; that already he had violated the treaty juſt concluded; and that, if Tancred were diſpoſed to attack him, he, the king of France, would aid him with all his forces. "I am no traitor," replied Richard warmly, "nor "ever will be. The treaty, I made with you, I have not "violated, nor will I. But I can hardly believe, that the "king of France would thus expreſs himſelf. He is my "liege lord; and in this expedition, bound to me by a "ſacred engagement." — Tancred ſaid: "There is the "letter, Sir, take it: and if the duke of Burgundy deny "that he gave it to me, as from the king, I have lords in "my court who ſhall maintain it with him."—Richard took the letter, and returned to Meſſina. — It is remarkable, that Philip himſelf, a few hours after, ſaw Tancred at Taormina, and ſpent the night with him.

The countenance and conduct of the Engliſh king ſoon manifeſted the perturbation of his mind; and Philip, as naturally, enquired the cauſe. He ſent the earl of Flanders, therefore, to him, to ſay what he had heared from Tancred, and to ſhew him the letter. Philip ſeemed confounded,

founded, ſays the hiſtorian, and was ſilent. "I now "plainly diſcover," ſaid he at laſt, "that the king of "England ſeeks for matter of complaint againſt me. The "letter is a forgery. But to this artifice he has had recourſe, "I believe, that he may break through his engagement "with my ſiſter Adelais. Let him know, however, that "if he do it, and marry any other woman, he ſhall have "me for an enemy, as long as this heart beats."—When the words were reported to Richard, he obſerved, that he could never conſent to marry Adelais: "My reaſon," he continued, "is. She had a ſon by my father, and I have "many witneſſes ready to aſcertain the fact."—Philip, on further examination, ſeemed convinced; and following the advice of his friends, he conſented to releaſe Richard from every engagement to his ſiſter. Yet, for this releaſe, the Engliſh king ſtipulates to pay ten thouſand marks in ſilver, and, at his return, to deliver up with Adelais, the caſtle of Giſors and whatever elſe had been ſettled as her dower. Philip, moreover, granted, that the ſovereignty of Bretagne, about which, probably, ſome words had paſſed, ſhould, in future, belong to Normandy, as an immediate fief, the latter duke doing homage to France for both provinces. This convention was ſolemnly ſworn to, and ſigned by both princes, and every cauſe of difference ſeemed at once removed[t].

Eleanor having arrived with Berengaria, the fleets ſail.

It was the end of March, and the ſeaſon for ſailing: but Richard daily ſuggeſting obſtacles, the French monarch departed, and with him went ſome of the Anjevin barons. On the ſame day, came into the port of Meſſina Eleanor

[t] Hoveden. Diccto. Iter Hiero.

BOOK IV. 1191.

and Berengaria, the beautiful Navarroiſe. Pleaſed with the late iſſue of her ſon's negociation, the old queen only ſtaid three days in Sicily; when leaving Berengaria to the charge of her daughter Jane, ſhe again ſailed for Italy, with a commiſſion to the pope, (as the unſuſpecting Richard had requeſted,) in favour of the ſon of Roſamond; in the way of whoſe conſecration to the ſee of York, many obſtacles had been thrown. Eleanor was in her ſeventieth year.—And a few days after her departure, Richard put to ſea with a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſail, fifty two gallies, ten large ſhips laden with proviſions, and many ſmall veſſels. The number of the forces is not mentioned. But a furious tempeſt ſoon aſſailed the fleet. It was diſperſed: three of the ſhips, on board of one of which were the princeſſes, were driven on the coaſt of Cyprus; and of thoſe three two were wrecked. Iſaac, prince of the iſland, who had aſſumed the title of emperor, pillaged the ſtranded veſſels, and threw into priſon the mariners and men who had eſcaped. The diſcourteous ſavage even refuſed liberty to the princeſſes of entering the harbour of Limiſſo, in the mouth of which they ſaw their companions periſh. In this ſituation of diſtreſs they were ſoon found by Richard, who, with great moderation, ſent to requeſt the releaſe of his men, and the reſtitution of their property. But receiving a peremptory and inſolent refuſal, he diſembarked his army; defeated the tyrant who oppoſed his landing; entered Limiſſo by ſtorm; gained, the next day, a ſecond victory; obliged Iſaac to ſurrender at diſcretion; and in a ſhort time the whole iſland ſubmitting and doing homage to him, he appointed governors over it, and ſent the emperor in ſilver chains to Tripoli.

I can-

I cannot omit the deſcription of Richard going to an interview with the prince, before his captivity, in the plain of Limiſſo, given by the hiſtorian who was preſent. — He entered the plain, he ſays, and his horſe was led before him. The horſe was of Spaniſh race, tall and elegantly built, his neck long and arched, his cheſt broad, his legs bony, his hoofs ſpreading; in a word, the proportion of his frame, and the round firmneſs of his limbs, defied the pencil of the ableſt artiſt He champed his golden bit, and with reſtleſs eagerneſs ſubmitted reluctantly to the rein. Richard vaulted on his back. The ſaddle, ſpotted with precious ſtones, gliſtened to the ſun, and two lions of gold, placed behind on the crupper, with one foot in act to ſtrike, ſeemed to growl defiance. The monarch's ſpurs were of gold. A ſatin tunic, roſe-coloured, was bound round his waiſt; and his mantle, ſtriped in ſtraight lines, and adorned with half-moons of ſolid ſilver, ſhone, beſides, with brilliant orbs, in imitation of the ſolar ſyſtem. His ſword of tempered ſteel hung on his thigh. The hilt was of gold, the belt of ſilk, and ſilver plates bound the edges of the ſcabbard. On his head he wore a ſcarlet bonnet, on which were embroidered in gold the various figures of birds and beaſts. He came forward with a truncheon in his hand, whilſt the ſpectators eyed with wonder the gorgeous champion of the croſs [u].

Now he married Berengaria, and crowned her queen of England. But, at the ſame time, he introduced to her a dangerous rival, the only daughter of the Cypriot prince, whom he appointed the companion of their journeys. The fleet

[u] Iter Hiero. l. ii. c. 36.

BOOK IV. 1191.

fleet then ſailed, and arrived before Acre or Ptolemais about the eighth of June [v].

It was as the fleet approached to Ptolemais, that happened the famous naval combat between a ſingle ſhip of the Saracens, of unuſual bulk, and the Engliſh gallies. Though often boarded, with great carnage, on both ſides, the aſſailants were compelled to retire; when Richard commanded his men to ſink the veſſel. I have obſerved, that the gallies were armed with an iron ſpur at the prow. They withdrew to ſome diſtance, when the rowers furiouſly bearing forward, the iron points bored the veſſel's ſides: the ſea entered; and ſhe ſank, with all her ſtores, her machines of war, her experienced ſoldiers, and her Greek-fire, deſigned for the relief of Ptolemais.

Ptolemais is taken, when Philip returns to Europe.

In the year following the loſs of Jeruſalem, when Luſignan, its king, had been reſcued from captivity, was begun the ſiege of Ptolemais. The united forces of all the chriſtians in Paleſtine conſpired in the attack; and the choſen generals and troops of Saladin as bravely fought within its walls. It was now the third year of the ſiege. The remains of the German army, under young Frederic, had joined the beſiegers, and ſeparate bodies of adventurers continually poured in from the weſt. Saladin, knowing the valour of his men, had long diſregarded the vain attack; but when he ſaw the mighty ſwell of enemies, for they could now number a hundred thouſand men, he collected his forces, and ſat down within their ſight. Battles by ſea and land, attacks on the walls, and furious ſallies, now followed in direful ſucceſſion. Ptolemais was not ſhaken. It ſtood near

[v] Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. l. iv. c. 19. Iter Hiero.

near the ſea, and could be ſupplied with proviſions, and every neceſſary ſuccour. In the chriſtian camp, famine and diſeaſe had begun to rage, and the hopes of ſucceſs daily weakened; when the arrival of the French king inſpired new vigour into every arm. With great addreſs, he diſpoſed his forces, and, within the courſe of a few weeks, an aſſailable breach was made. But the kings, that the glory of the conqueſt might be equally divided, had agreed, before their ſeparation, that the walls ſhould not be aſſaulted, in the abſence of either. Philip, therefore, waited the arrival of the king of England: but when that had happened, freſh cauſes of diſſention aroſe, jealouſies were increaſed, and the different bodies of cruſaders taking ſides, as intereſt or caprice directed, helped to aggravate every offence, and every motive of ſuſpicion. The place, however, ſurrendered on the twelfth of July[w].

The number of men ſaid to have periſhed during this memorable ſiege, exceeds all belief. Hiſtorians ſpeak of three hundred thouſand, among whom were many of the firſt diſtinction; Frederic duke of Suabia, Philip earl of Flanders, with a long liſt of French nobility; and on the ſide of the Engliſh, Ranulph de Glanville, Baldwin archbiſhop of Canterbury, and many more. — The chriſtian army was now ready for other achievements; and Saladin, whoſe kingdom had lately been aſſailed by the ſons of Noureddin, had reaſon to fear the progreſs of their arms, thus auſpiciouſly begun.

What next ſhould be attemped, was in anxious agitation —when Philip, ten days after the ſurrender of Acre, announced

[w] Hoveden. Neubrig. Iter Hiero. et alii.

BOOK IV. 1191.

nounced his intention of returning to Europe!—His health, it is known, was impaired: he might be jealous of the increaſing popularity of his rival: it was evident, that their animoſities muſt ſoon break through every barrier, which his policy and more prudent reſerve had hitherto maintained: but an impelling motive, perhaps, was the death of the earl of Flanders, by which a conſiderable ſucceſſion devolved on him; and this it was the intereſt of his crown to ſecure. Powerful, at all events, were the motives, which could reconcile him to a ſtep, that muſt expoſe him to the cenſure of the chriſtian world, and blaſt, perhaps, the fair fame of his hitherto admired reign. Richard oppoſed the meaſure: and as they had mutually covenanted, that neither ſhould deſert the cauſe, without the other's conſent, it was not with eaſe, that he complied; and only, after Philip had renewed his oath, to do nothing hoſtile againſt his dominions, till he ſhould himſelf be returned to them. Philip then departed, leaving behind him, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, ten thouſand foot, and five hundred knights; and paſſing by Rome, arrived in France, towards the cloſe of the year[x].

Richard's exploits.

A few days after the departure of the French king, a horrid ſcene of barbarity was exhibited in both the camps. The terms of the capitulation of Acre were; that the true croſs, which had been taken in the battle of Tiberias, ſhould be delivered up, and with it a certain number of chriſtian captives; that the Saracen priſoners ſhould be redeemed, at a ſtipulated price; and if theſe conditions were not complied with, within ſo many days, that the lives of the

[x] Hoveden. Neubrig. Iter Hiero. et alii.

the priſoners ſhould be at the king's mercy. Richard appriſed Saladin of the near approach of the fatal day. The ſultan requeſted a prolongation of the term, and ſent him preſents of great value, hoping to bend his ſavage heart. But his requeſt was refuſed, and the preſents returned; on which Saladin, in cruel reſentment, ordered the chriſtian captives to be executed. Richard, true to his honour, even when violating the laws of nature, waited as yet five days, becauſe only then the term would be expired. He then drew out his priſoners, almoſt three thouſand men, within ſight of the Saracen camp, and, at a ſignal given, the three thouſand heads fell. The duke of Burgundy alſo performed a ſimilar tragedy, but not with the ſame parade. Richard, in a letter written on the occcaſion, ſpeaks of the tranſaction, as a work of meritorious duty; and the hiſtorian remarks that, when the bodies were opened, much gold and ſilver were found in them. The galls, he adds, were kept for medical purpoſes[y].

Now it was reſolved to attempt the ſiege of Aſcalon. Wherefore, having repaired the walls of Ptolemais, and appointed governors, Richard left behind him the queens and his fair Cypriot, and marched with all his forces towards the ſouth. The ſea was on their right hand, which they did not quit, whilſt the fleet, freighted with ſtores and military engines, rowed within ſight of the troops, and ſupplied them with neceſſaries. Saladin, with an infinite hoſt, attended on the chriſtian army, moving along the hills by their ſide, and watching the favourable moment of attack. Between Ceſarea and Joppe, he made an attack on the rear;

[y] Hoveden. Ep. Richard. ad Ab. Claraval. Iter Hiero.

but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. — On this occaſion it is, that ſome romantic writers of the age deſcribe a pitched battle, fought on the ſeventh of September, wherein Richard was ſeen to perform feats of valour, which the eyes of mortals had not before witneſſed. With his battle-axe, in the head of which were twenty pounds of tempered ſteel, he cleft the bones of the Saracens, rallied his men, reſtored the fight where it flagged, unhorſed Saladin, and gained a complete victory, leaving forty thouſand of the enemy dead upon the plain! This is fiction. Richard himſelf relates the events of the day, which were only the attack, I mentioned, and the repulſe; and with the modeſty of a brave man, does not even ſay, that he was engaged in the affray. James de Aveſnes, an officer of great diſtinction, was the only man, he ſays, that was ſlain [z]. — It is not willingly that I detract from the heroic achievements of our lion-hearted monarch; but his own ſtatement, as he writes it to his friends, might, I thought, be admitted as the beſt authority.

After this check, Saladin did not moleſt their march. They entered Joppe, the fortifications of which they reſtored; and proceeding, heared that the enemy had alſo quitted Aſcalon, and the other maritime places, having levelled the walls and laid waſte the country. To repair theſe cities was a meaſure which the wiſeſt policy dictated; and Richard began the work, and, during the autumn, was buſily employed in erecting fortreſſes, in ſinking ditches round the towns, and in raiſing ſuch bulwarks, as were deemed moſt neceſſary. The coaſt from Ptolemais to Aſcalon became a chain of well-fortified poſts. He then returned with

[z] Hoveden. et ep. ut ante ap. eumdem: Sed vide Viniſal. in Iter Hiero.

1191.

with his army to Joppe, reſolving, immediately after chriſtmas, to march againſt Jeruſalem. But his forces were now conſiderably diminiſhed; his treaſures, which he diſtributed with an equal and laviſh generoſity wherever there was want, were nearly exhauſted; and he ſaw a diſpoſition, as the enthuſiaſm of the mind, from a thouſand cauſes, cooled, in the French cruſaders particularly, to follow the example of their king. In ſome diſtreſs of mind, he wrote to the abbot of Clairvaux, whoſe intereſt in the courts of Europe was great, relating the events of the expedition, and earneſtly entreating him, to rouſe the princes and chriſtian people to arms, that Jeruſalem, the inheritance of the lord, might be reſcued from the abominations of the infidels[a].

Diſturbances in England.

Whilſt Richard was thus occupied, great diſſentions had diſturbed the peace of England.—Longchamp by his arrogance, his pride, and more than regal oſtentation, irritated and diſguſted all orders of men. To the laity he was more than a king, ſays an hiſtorian, and more than a pope to the clergy. His colleague, the biſhop of Durham, and others, by whoſe advice he ſhould have acted, he utterly diſregarded, and held in his ſingle hand the reigns of government. Prince John, reſtleſs and ambitious, thus debarred from all concern in an adminiſtration, to which he might deem himſelf entitled, liſtened to the complaints of the ſubjects, and thought he might draw advantage from the circumſtance. His brother's return, from ſo diſtant and perilous an expedition, became daily more uncertain. But it was whiſpered, that young Arthur, his nephew, was deſtined to the throne, in caſe of the death of Richard, without iſſue; and it was added,

[a] Ep. ut ante.

BOOK IV. 1191.

that orders had been ſent from Sicily to the chancellor, to provide for the event of the ſucceſſion; who, therefore, had propoſed a covenant with the king of Scotland, for the ſupport of the meaſure. To fruſtrate this ſcheme, did John now exert himſelf. He promiſed redreſs to the malcontents, thus extending his popularity; and finding himſelf ſtrong, he reſolved to attempt the ruin of the miniſter. A remonſtrance, ſigned by names of the higheſt reſpect, was drawn up, ſtating the grievances of the people, and was ſent to the king at Meſſina. The king acted with much prudence. Inſtantly he diſpatched to England the archbiſhop of Rouen, who was with him, a man generally beloved and experienced in buſineſs, with a commiſſion ſigned by himſelf, appointing him and four other noblemen, a council of advice to Longchamp, without whoſe concurrence no affairs ſhould be tranſacted. The archbiſhop arrived; and what is remarkable, ſo formidable did he find the power of the miniſter, that he durſt not communicate his maſter's orders to him[b].

John was not ſo puſillanimous. Of his retainers and friends he formed an army, and threatened the chancellor with war: who, on his ſide, made equal preparations. Even conſcious that he could not truſt to the Engliſh, though, for ſome time, he had endeavoured to allure them to his intereſt, he purchaſed mercenaries from abroad. But prudent men averted the ſtorm; and a treaty of a ſingular nature was concluded between them, as formal and authentic, as if they had been monarchs of rival nations. By this treaty, witneſſed by ſeven barons on each ſide, it appeared

[b] Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. c. 14, 15.

appeared manifeſtly what was the earl's aim. Ten caſtles of the royal demeſne were ſtipulated to be ſurrendered, without demur, into his hands, ſhould news arrive of the king's death. It is alſo ſaid, that Longchamp privately agreed, not to ſupport prince Arthur's right. The infant was in his fifth year[c].

The ſon of Roſamond having obtained a bull from Rome, not by the application of Eleanor, but by the urgent ſolicitations of a friend, was now conſecrated to the ſee of York, by the archbiſhop of Tours; and immediately he ſet out for England, notwithſtanding the oath he had taken to remain abroad for three years. Longchamp forbad him to enter. He diſregarded the mandate, and landed at Dover; when he was ſeized by the miniſter's guards, dragged through the ſtreets in his robes, and thrown into the dungeon of the caſtle. The deed excited a general murmur; and John aſſembling an army, which was joined by many prelates and noblemen, commanded his brother to be releaſed. It was complied with; when Geoffry haſtening to London, laid his complaints before the prince, and the powerful attendants that were with him. They agreed to cite the chancellor to appear in the king's court; but as he deſpiſed the citation, they ſummoned him before a council of the nation at Reading, and fixed the day. He did not appear: on which the prelates pronounced ſentence of excommunication on him, and his accomplices in the impriſonment of the archbiſhop; and the whole aſſembly marched to London, in military array. Longchamp, with his forces, retired to the tower. On the next day, a great meeting

[c] Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. c. 14, 15.

BOOK IV. 1191.

meeting was held before the church of St. Paul, at which the citizens aſſiſted. Charges were brought againſt the Chancellor for his uſage of Geoffry, and of his colleague, the biſhop of Durham. The officers of the king, with whom he ſhould have adviſed, accuſed him of an arbitrary adminiſtration, directed by violence and a ſelfiſh ambition. And then, which is remarkable, the archbiſhop of Rouen and the earl of Pembroke, for the firſt time, ſhewed the commiſſion they had brought from Meſſina, which appointed the former joint governor of the realm with the chancellor. They likewiſe aſſerted, which was not true, that the patent empowered them to depoſe Longchamp, ſhould he be found guilty of maladminiſtration. The charges being heared, the meeting proceeded, and depoſing Longchamp from his office, they named the archbiſhop his ſucceſſor. Nor did the buſineſs of the day end here. The aſſembly-general, with John, ſolemnly agreed to grant to the citizens of London a charter of liberties and immunities, *(communam ſuam)*, dependent on the king's approbation; and they, in return, taking an oath of fealty to Richard and his heir, declared, that this heir ſhould be John, if the king died without iſſue; and thereon did homage to him. The ſame was done by all the prelates and barons preſent. Longchamp then promiſed to ſurrender all his caſtles, and depart from the realm; which ſoon after he effected in a female habit[d].

A curious, but indelicate, relation of this eſcape is given in a letter from the biſhop of Coventry, interſperſed with the ſevereſt remarks on the character and conduct of Longchamp, whoſe friend and confidential agent he before had been.

[d] Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. c. 17.

been. Yet to ſhew how little can be known of the real characters of men, there is alſo extant a letter of Peter de Blois, a name not unfamiliar to the reader, wherein he ſpeaks moſt highly of the chancellor, calling him a perſon famed for wiſdom and unbounded generoſity, whoſe temper was amiable, benevolent, and gentle[e].

Being withdrawn into Normandy, Longchamp acquainted the pope, Celeſtine III. who, this year, had ſucceeded to Clement III. of the treatment he had experienced; and his holineſs warmly eſpouſed the quarrel, addreſſing a brief to the Engliſh biſhops, wherein they are commanded to excommunicate John and his abettors, and to make immediate ſatisfaction to his legate.—The Engliſh council wrote to the king, informing him of the meaſures, they had been compelled to take; as did Longchamp, ſtating the deſigns of his enemies, who, he intimates, are the enemies of the crown. But neither were the comminations of Celeſtine, though canonically promulgated, at all regarded; nor could Richard yet attend to the advice of his miniſter, which moſt nearly concerned him. For it was evident, that the views of John were directed to the throne.

As the name of the ſon of Roſamond often occurs, an anecdote may here be mentioned, in regard to the aſhes of his mother, which belongs to the preſent year. It is known, that ſhe was daughter of Walter de Clifford, a baron of Herefordſhire, and was the favourite miſtreſs of the late king. She bore him two ſons, William, who will hereafter be mentioned, and Geoffry. Some years, before her death, ſhe retired, it is ſaid, to the nunnery of Godſtow, near Woodſtock,

[e] Ap. Hoveden.

BOOK IV. 1191. Woodſtock, and was there interred. Henry, who ſurvived her, beſtowed large revenues on the convent. A tomb, to commemorate her frail memory, was erected in the choir, before the altar, covered with ſilk; and lamps and waxen tapers were commanded perpetually to burn round it. Hugh biſhop of Lincoln, a prelate of great virtue, and deſervedly enrolled on the regiſter of ſaints, viſiting the religious orders of his dioceſe, came to Godſtow. He entered the church of the convent, and ſeeing the tomb and its brilliant decorations, naturally enquired, whoſe it was? "It is the "tomb of Roſamond," ſaid the nuns, "the friend of our "late monarch; and who, in teſtimony of his regard for "her, has been kind to our convent."—"Take her hence," replied the good biſhop ſternly: "She was a w—e. Bury "her on the outſide of the walls, that religion be not vili-"fied, and that other women, awed by the example, learn "to turn from ſuch ways of vice." The body was removed[f]. — This is all we know of Roſamond; a name to which many ideas of beauty and misfortune have been playfully annexed, from its alluſive ſound, and from the fiction of an old hiſtorian, who, in wanton mood, could form a labyrinth for her retreat, into which might not penetrate the jealous eye of the injured Eleanor[g].

1192. Richard leaves Paleſtine. Richard, having ſpent the winter in fortifying the maritime poſts, was ready with the ſpring to march againſt Jeruſalem. But diſſentions and jealouſies had multiplied in the army, and men and treaſure had decreaſed. Unfortunately, alſo, the marquis of Montferrat, whom the French and German factions had ſupported in his pretenſions to

[f] Hoveden. [g] Bromton.

to the throne of Jeruſalem, was, at this time, aſſaſſinated, and the crime moſt unjuſtly was imputed to Richard. However, he was yet able, by a bold effort, to draw the jarring nations together; and at their head he advanced towards the holy city. It was the month of June. As the army halted, the eager monarch rode forward, and aſcending an eminence, ſurveyed thence the walls and towers of Jeruſalem, to which glory and the enthuſiaſm of religion called him. His ſpies, at the moment, informed him, that a rich caravan, laden with merchandize and proviſions, and ſtrongly guarded, was at a ſmall diſtance. With a body of five thouſand men, he attacked the caravan, and became maſter of the valuable ſpoil. It conſiſted of three thouſand camels, and four thouſand mules; and having diſtributed much of the booty, with his accuſtomed generoſity, among the ſoldiers, he called a council of the chiefs.

Though the late ſucceſs, the animating preſence of the king, and more than all, the vicinity of the holy city, ſhould have diſpelled animoſity, and united their reſolutions, no ſymptom appeared, which could promiſe ſucceſs to the proſecution of the great deſign. The duke of Burgundy held back, and his faction diſſuaded from every further attempt. The city, it was known, was powerfully defended, and Saladin, with armed myriads, would attempt its reſcue. They had done enough for their glory; and diſeaſe, and famine, and the ſword, would ſoon diſpatch their remaining ſquadrons. Richard deſpiſed the puſillanimous counſel, and offered ſolemnly to ſwear, that he would aſſail the city, and not deſiſt, as long as a pound of horſe-fleſh remained to be eaten: and the like oath, he propoſed

BOOK IV. 1192.

ſhould be taken by the army. The French not only refuſed it; but declared they would immediately return to Europe, intimating, that Philip had ſo commanded.—It is the relation of the Engliſh hiſtorian.—On this they ſeparated. Nor could it be diſpleaſing to Richard, thus to be furniſhed with a juſt cauſe of haſtening back to his dominions, where matters, as it has been ſeen, of the greateſt intereſt demanded his preſence. But it could not be inſtantly executed. The king could not, in honour, leave the country expoſed to the attacks of the enemy; and Saladin, well appriſed of the ſituation of things, every where threatened invaſion. The armies, near Aſcalon, approached, and a general engagement ſeemed inevitable, when the ſultan offered a truce to the chriſtian generals. He reſpected, it is ſaid, the valour of the Engliſh king; but it was his wiſh, doubtleſs, as circumſtances were favourable, to accelerate his departure, without the further effuſion of blood. The terms he propoſed were; that Aſcalon be diſmantled, after Richard had been reimburſed the ſums it had coſt him; that the towns, on the coaſt, remain in the hands of the chriſtians; and that the pilgrims have free acceſs to the holy places. The army joyfully accepted the favourable conditions; and a truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours.[h]

Henry, earl of Champagne, having married the relict of the marquis of Montferrat, had been choſen king of Jeruſalem; and Richard, in compenſation of the ideal crown which Guy de Luſignan thus loſt, preſented him with that of Cyprus, which remained, many years, in his family.—Nothing

[h] Hoveden. Diceto. an. 1192. Iter Hiero.

1192.

Nothing now detained the cruſaders; they left Paleſtine, therefore, as they could. The queens, with their retinue, embarked at Ptolemais, on the twenty-ninth of September; and on the ninth of the following month, ſailed Richard, with a ſingle ſhip and a few companions. He wiſhed to avoid every incumbrance, and by expedition to avert thoſe evils which, he had reaſon to apprehend, now menaced his throne.—The reader, for a moment, may ruminate on the iſſue of another cruſade, which had drained Europe of its treaſure and its braveſt men, few of whom ever again ſaw their native homes. And what were its fruits? Some towns on the coaſt, and ſome ſcattered caſtles! But the wretched phrenzy was not yet exhauſted.

Is taken priſoner.

What route Richard had propoſed to take, does not appear: but, at the beginning of November, he touched at Corfu, an iſland at the entrance of the Adriatic ſea, where he hired three gallies, and thence proceeding to Raguſa, was carried up the gulph, and by ſtreſs of weather driven on ſhore, not far from Aquileia. Whether from apprehenſion of danger, if known, or not to be retarded, the king and his company wore the pilgrim's dreſs. His beard and hair were long, and in nothing was he diſtinguiſhable from the inhabitants of the country; only that he ſpent his money with a uſual prodigality; and this circumſtance raiſed a ſuſpicion, that he was no common pilgrim. Of the ſuſpicion he was ſecretly informed; when ordering one Baldwin, with the company, to remain in the ſame place for four days, and ſpend more profuſely than himſelf had done, he took horſe, late in the evening, with a ſingle ſervant, and departed. Ignorant of the country, with no guide to point

BOOK IV. 1192. the way, he travelled nights and days, little fancying, that every ſtep brought him nearer to Vienna, where reſided Leopold, duke of Auſtria, his mortal enemy. They ſtopt at a little town in the neighbourhood; and the ſervant going to buy ſome proviſions, Richard threw himſelf on a couch, and ſlept. The ſervant was known, was ſeized, and taken to the duke. They threatened him with the torture; when confeſſing where his maſter was, a body of men was diſpatched to the inn. Richard was ſtill aſleep; and as his eyes opened, he ſaw the chains that were to bind him. He was led to Leopold[i].

Duke Leopold had been in Paleſtine; and at the ſiege of Ptolemais, having taking one of the towers, he planted his ſtandard on it. Richard ordered the vain enſign to be beaten down. It was ſo; and Leopold did not forgive the inſult.—It was at the end of the month of December, that the king was taken; and ſoon afterwards, on a promiſe of a ſhare in the ranſom, the duke delivered him into the hands of the emperor, Henry VI. a more powerful, and not leſs inveterate enemy.

1193. To England, under the prudent adminiſtration of the archbiſhop of Rouen, tranquillity had returned; and the meaſures of John were watched with a jealous eye. For a ſum of money, he had made his peace with Longchamp, and had promiſed to reſtore him to his office. But the allegiance of the king's miniſters, now animated by the preſence of Eleanor, could not be ſhaken; and again homage was done to Richard. — In France, Philip, on his return, had demanded his ſiſter Adelais, and the ceſſion of Giſors with its

[i] Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 29.

its dependences, as covenanted at Meſſina. The governor of Normandy replied; that he had received no orders from his maſter: on which the monarch threatened to invade the province. But when his army was aſſembled, the French nobles refuſed to accompany him, alledging the oath they had taken, not to make war on Richard, till he ſhould be returned from the eaſt.

Now rumours were heared of his captivity; and bands of cruſaders arrived who had beheld him ſail from Ptolemais; and the ſhip, on which he embarked, had been ſeen in the port of Brunduſium. But to Philip came a meſſenger from the emperor, acquainting him, that the enemy was taken, and chained in Germany.—As men's diſpoſitions and intereſt lay, ſo were they affected by the news. It was a ſhock to England, where the moſt ſerious conſequences might be dreaded, from the ambition of Philip, and the diſloyal machinations of John. Chriſtendom, in general, viewed the event, as an irreligious violation of the ſacred rights of cruſaders; and the thunder of Rome, it was expected, would ſoon be heared from the Vatican.

Negotiations for his releaſe

The archbiſhop of Rouen, as guardian of the realm, met the king's friends at Oxford, where it was decided, to diſpatch meſſengers immediately into Germany. Two abbots were choſen for the purpoſe. They departed. His next care was to ſecure the ſtate, and to provide againſt the deſigns of the earl of Mortagne. But John was gone into Normandy.—Philip, on the news of the king's captivity, irritated by the recent conduct of the governor of Normandy, and feeling a reſentment of mind, which he had long harboured, had acquainted the ambitious prince, that there

BOOK IV. 1193.

there was now a throne within his reach, and that he would aid him to aſcend it, on conditions of eaſy compliance. But the loyal Normans, when John came amongſt them, requeſted his immediate co-operation for the releaſe of their ſovereign; when he had the audacity to propoſe the ſurrender of their fealty to him. Receiving the anſwer, his baſeneſs merited, he left them, and repaired to the French court. Here, we are told, he did homage to Philip for all his brother's tranſmarine poſſeſſions; and, it was ſaid, for England alſo, promiſing, at the ſame time, to eſpouſe Adelais, though he was already married, and to deliver into the king's hands Giſors, with the whole Norman Vexin. Thus ſtrengthened in his hopes, he drew together an army of mercenaries, and returned into England. The caſtles of Wallingford and Windſor were ſurrendered to him; and he came to London, every where proclaiming his brother's death. He was not believed: and the miniſters of the king, to whom he repeated the propoſal he had made in Normandy, rejected it, with diſdain, and were ready to meet him in arms. He flew to his caſtles, manned them, and laid waſte the adjacent territory; while the royal party oppoſed his depredations, and were active in guarding the coaſts, that no ſuccours might land from France or Flanders. The rebel ſtandard, however, was joined by many[k].

The abbots, in the mean while, had reached Germany; and as romantic incidents, on every occaſion, were to gather round the perſon of Richard, it is related, that the place of his confinement could not be diſcovered. And then it is, that Blondell de Neſtle, his friend and fellow poet,

[k] Hoveden. Diceto. an. 1193.

poet, in anxious ſearch of his maſter, came to a caſtle, where hearing that a king was impriſoned, his heart told him it muſt be he. He ſat down, and ſang the firſt part of a ſonnet, which they had compoſed together; and pauſed —The royal voice was heared from the window, in reſponſive melody, completing the ſtanza. Blondell ſprang from the ground, and withdrew. This may be fiction.—Weary of their ſearch, however, the abbots had entered Bavaria, ſays the hiſtorian, when they met a guard of ſoldiers, and looking, they ſaw their king! He was on his road to Haguenau, where a diet was to be held, to which the emperor had called him. They made themſelves known, and declared the purpoſe of their journey. Richard, unbroken by diſtreſs, with a joyous countenance received them. He enquired about the ſtate of his kingdom, the loyalty of his ſubjects, and particularly, whether William of Scotland was well and proſperous? This verifies the circumſtance I before mentioned. They told him, what had happened, and dwelt on the treaſonable practices of his brother. "My "brother," obſerved he, after expreſſing much indignation, "is not a man, however, to gain a crown by his "proweſs; if the weakeſt arm reſiſt him." — On the journey, his behaviour excited a general admiration, being uniformly firm and unembarraſſed, manifeſting, that he was above the caprice of fortune, and that it was not only in the field, he poſſeſſed the powers of a hero[l].

Richard relates, that he was received at Haguenau with much reſpect by the emperor and his court[m]. In the public interview, however, the firſt aſpect was unpromiſing. Henry

[l] Hoveden.

[m] Ep. Rich. ap. Hoveden.

BOOK IV. 1193. Henry made many demands, with which the king would not comply, ſaying, they ſhould take his life rather. On the ſecond day, the liſt of charges was opened: That he had made an alliance with Tancred, the uſurper of Sicily; that he had unjuſtly invaded the kingdom of Cyprus, and dethroned its prince; that he had impeded the progreſs of the chriſtian arms, by his conteſt with the French monarch; that he had been concerned in the aſſaſſination of the marquis of Montferrat; that he had inſulted the duke of Auſtria, before the walls of Ptolemais; and that he had concluded a baſe truce with Saladin, leaving Jeruſalem in his hands.—Richard refuted theſe charges in ſo free, ſo manly, ſo intrepid a manner, that the whole aſſembly gave applauſe to his defence, and the emperor himſelf joined in the acclamation. But to obtain money for his ranſom was the great object; and the king, in this tranſaction, either permitted himſelf to be impoſed on, or ſaw the neceſſity of cheerfully complying with the unreaſonable demand. Henry, with an affected benevolence, propoſed to him a treaty of mutual defence, againſt all men; and then promiſed to effect a permanent reconciliation with Philip. In return for the double favour, Richard engaged to pay the ſum of a hundred thouſand marks, (about two hundred thouſand pounds of our money); while the duke of Auſtria generouſly mediated in the honourable proceeding!—The abbots returned; and after them followed a letter, addreſſed to Eleanor, and through her, to all the people of England. Herein the king recounts part of what I have mentioned; and then entreats, that the ſtipulated ſum be raiſed with all poſſible expedition. "Even were I at

"liberty,

"liberty, in my own kingdom," he ſays, "willingly "would I give a larger ſum than this, to obtain the benefits "of the treaty, I have made with the emperor[n]."

Longchamp, when the news of his maſter's captivity arrived, had gone over to him; and it appears, that he had ſerved him with fidelity. Richard ſpeaks of him in the warmeſt terms of friendſhip; calls him his chancellor: and he appointed him to carry into England a golden bull from Henry. He landed immediately after the king's meſſenger, and proceeding without pomp to St. Alban's, was there met by Eleanor, and the miniſters of the crown. He preſented the inſidious inſtrument, ſaying, that he came, not as juſticiary, nor as legate, nor as chancellor, but as a ſimple biſhop; not even as a citizen, but as a gueſt, and as a meſſenger from his lord, the king. They received the bull. It contained a confirmation of the treaty; it exhorted them to ſtrenuous exertions in the ſervice of his deareſt friend, and faithful ally; and it tells them, that Henry ſhall regard every favour done to the king of England, as exhibited to the imperial crown, and that he will puniſh every breach of duty.

The inſolent addreſs either the miniſters did not penetrate, or they concealed their feelings; for inſtantly meaſures were taken to raiſe the money. Without aſſembling any council of the nation, they ordained, that all ſubjects, clergy and laity, pay a fourth of their yearly rent, and a notable portion of their moveable goods; that twenty ſhillings be levied on each knight's fee; that the churches deliver up all their gold and ſilver plate; and that the Ciſ-

[n] Ep. Rich. ap. Hoveden.

BOOK IV. 1193.

tercian monks and thoſe of the order of Sempringham, who till now had been particularly indulged, contribute all the wool of their flocks, in which their property conſiſted. But ſo exhauſted had the nation been by its late contributions, that the money came in but ſlowly, and that at three different levies. Great ſeverity, however, was exerciſed; and an hiſtorian accuſes the collectors of oppreſſion and peculation. The whole was depoſited in the hands of commiſſioners, under the ſeals of Eleanor and the juſticiary. In the king's foreign dominions the ſame tax was raiſed[o].

Whilſt England was thus employed, the king of France and John laboured to obſtruct the negociation for Richard's deliverance. To the emperor they made propoſals; and an interview was agreed on, which, fortunately for the priſoner, did not take place. — Again, after midſummer, he appeared before Henry at Worms, when the buſineſs of the ranſom was reſumed, and higher demands were made. Beſides the hundred thouſand marks, which were immediately to be paid, other fifty were demanded, for which hoſtages would be received, ſixty to the emperor, and ſeven to the duke of Auſtria. To this Richard conſented; as alſo to releaſe the king of Cyprus and his daughter, and to give the young princeſs of Bretagne, his niece, in marriage to the ſon of the duke. When the firſt ſum ſhould be paid, and the hoſtages received for the remainder, then the royal priſoner ſhould be releaſed. The prelates and German nobles preſent witneſſed this agreement. — Commiſſioners went to England, who received the hundred thouſand marks; and, at the ſame time, the king ordered Eleanor and

[o] Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 35.

and the juſticiary, with many prelates and barons to repair to him. Hubert, who had lately been tranſlated from Saliſbury to the ſee of Canterbury, by the royal appointment, remained guardian of the realm. But the emperor was not yet diſpoſed to releaſe his priſoner; and he amuſed his vanity with the promiſe of the kingdom of Burgundy, and many territories in Provence, the crown of which, he ſaid, out of pure friendſhip, he would place on his head. Of the empty honour Richard ſpeaks, with ſeeming complacency, in a letter to the new primate; not reflecting, that the emperor's own title to the territory was ideal, and that they would receive no maſter from his hand. The twentieth day after chriſtmas was now fixed for his deliverance; and in ſeven more, he would be crowned king of Provence or Arles, the region of minſtrels and of Troubadours [p].

The king's friends, at home, remained firm and active, againſt the attempts of his brother, though they left him in poſſeſſion of his caſtles, and did not impede his treacherous machinations with the French king. Letters alſo had been written, by Eleanor and the late juſticiary, to the pope, urging his interference in a quarrel, that immediately regarded the honour of the holy ſee. Celeſtine was rouſed; and he threatened all the enemies of Richard with excommunication, if they detained him any longer, or dared to attack his territories. But Philip's mind was ſtill reſentful; and though he made little impreſſion on Normandy, he did not deſiſt. Giſors and other caſtles ſurrendered to his arms, while Longchamp laboured to effect a treaty of peace,

[p] Hoveden. Pet. Bleſ. ep. 64, 144.

BOOK IV. and ſtrenuouſly to ſupport the intereſts of his maſter. Before
1193. this, Philip had married Ingeberga, ſiſter of the king of Denmark, with an intention, it was ſaid, to revive the fallen claim of that country to the realm of England; but he immediately quitted his bride, and confined her in a convent. The difficulties, in which this raſh ſtep involved him, were afterwards productive of much trouble.

1194. Underſtanding that the emperor would be neceſſitated to releaſe the king, Philip now warned the earl of Mortagne of the approaching danger, ſaying, that the devil would ſoon be unchained, and propoſing to him to attempt a laſt meaſure. They ſent meſſengers to Henry with offers, which, they had reaſon to hope, his imperial virtue would be unable to reſiſt. It was after chriſtmas, and the emperor had gone to Spire, where Richard and a great court were aſſembled, previouſly to his releaſe. The meſſengers preſented themſelves, and declared their commiſſion. It imported an offer from Philip of fifty thouſand marks, and of thirty thouſand from John, if the emperor would detain Richard in cuſtody, till the following michaelmas; or, if he rather choſe it, they would pay him a thouſand pounds of ſilver at the end of every month, ſo long as he ſhould keep him priſoner; or, they would give him a hundred and fifty thouſand marks, on condition, the king were delivered into their hands, or not releaſed for the ſpace of one year. —The needy man liſtened to the ſhameleſs propoſal, and appointed a more diſtant day, for the accompliſhment of his ſacred word to Richard. This was candlemas: when again they met at Mentz; and before the whole court, and many Engliſh nobles, Henry did not bluſh to declare his unwillingneſs

unwillingneſs to let go the priſoner. Even the meſſengers were introduced; and taking from them the letters they had brought from their maſters, he gave them to Richard. With a confuſion indeſcribable, he peruſed that from the French king, and that from his brother, purporting the offers, I have mentioned. That his chains muſt again be rivetted, he could not doubt; and he ſtood penſive, deſponding, motionleſs. But the German prelates and princes, who had been ſureties for his releaſe, were more honourable than Henry, whom, to his face, they upbraided with baſe venality, and a breach of the moſt ſolemn compact. Their remonſtrance took effect; when Richard was delivered into the hands of his mother, after the archbiſhop of Rouen and other hoſtages had been named to remain in the imperial court. Thus at liberty, he ſpeedily left Germany, and paſſing by Cologne, arrived at Antwerp, where many ſhips from England waited for him. He there embarked on board the galley of Trenchemer, a famous naval officer; and on the twentieth of March, landed at Sandwich, after an abſence of four years, fifteen months whereof he had paſſed in confinement [q].

He returns to England, and goes into France.

The joy was extreme on his arrival, and the magnificence exhibited by the Londoners, when he entered their city, ſtruck the German barons, who accompanied him, with amazement. "Had our maſter ſuſpected this," ſaid one of them frankly to the king, "you would not have eſcaped "ſo lightly." But the nobility were employed in beſieging the prince's caſtles, and did not meet him. Various armies were on foot, at the head of which, in the north, were

[q] Hoved. Dicet. an. 1194. Neubrig. c. 38.

BOOK IV. 1194.

were the biſhop of Durham, and the ſon of Roſamond, the archbiſhop of York; and in the ſouth, the primate himſelf, juſticiary of the realm, was in the field. He had aſſembled a great council, wherein John was declared a rebel, and all his poſſeſſions forfeited; and on the next day, the biſhops excommunicated him and his abettors. So great was the attachment to Richard, a prince poſſeſſed of no quality, which could make his people happy, and from whom they had as yet experienced only inſult and oppreſſion. But he was a ſoldier, and the glory, which his arms had acquired, dazzled the multitude. To the ſhame of human reaſon, ſuch are the characters whom popular applauſe has magnified!

The caſtle of Nottingham ſtill reſiſted, when the king landed, and he inſtantly marched againſt it. Here we find him, on the fifth day, after his landing, and on the eighth it ſurrendered. A council then was held, which was ſplendidly attended, the main deſign of which was to raiſe money. He confiſcated the eſtates and honours of ſome barons, who had adhered to his brother; and he ſold them, in the face of the aſſembly, though they properly belonged to the royal demeſne. John was cited to anſwer for his conduct, and forty days were allowed him. On the third day of the meeting, Richard demanded two ſhillings from every *carucate* or hide of land; and he ordered every knight, according to the nature of his fee, to give him a third part of his ſervice, during the expedition he projected into France. The Ciſtercian monks were, likewiſe, again called on for all the wool of the preſent year. On the laſt day, it was determined, that the king ſhould be again crowned at Wincheſter.

cheſter[r].—In all the tranſactions of this aſſembly, the language of the hiſtorian clearly inſinuates, that Richard decided and enacted, without any reference to the opinions or votes of the meeting. In a ſubſequent negotiation with the king of Scotland, for the recovery of the northern counties, which his anceſtors had held, the ſame hiſtorian relates, that the advice of a council was taken: of which the obvious reaſon was, that Richard diſliked the propoſal, and therefore wiſhed the odium of a refuſal to reſt on them.

As with a ſhameful prodigality, before his expedition to the eaſt, he had alienated many parts of the royal demeſne; the ſame he now reſumed with an unheared of rapacity, alledging; that the purchaſers had amply reimburſed themſelves, and that, in conſcience, they could hold them no longer. They ſubmitted.—He was crowned at eaſter, that every unfavourable impreſſion, which his captivity had made, might be effaced by the ceremony; and ſoon afterwards he departed, with an army, for the continent. He landed at Barfleur, irritated by a ſeries of ill-uſage, and bent on revenge. Yet the events which follow are ſo trifling, as hardly to merit notice. The ſiege of one place is raiſed, while another is taken: ſkirmiſh ſucceeds to ſkirmiſh; and villages and towns are deſolated. A truce is propoſed, which miſcarries; after which, a rencounter enſued, in which the French were defeated, and the military cheſt, with the records of the crown and other papers, fell into the hands of Richard. It may appear extraordinary, that ſuch valuable writings ſhould have been moved from place to place: but as the kings had no permanent court, and the

[r] Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 39.

BOOK IV.

1194. the deciſion of many queſtions, in the feudal tenures, daily came before them, it was neceſſary to be provided with documents, whereby claims might be aſcertained or refuted. The loſs of theſe records might have proved irreparable; but it does not appear, that any real evil enſued. Richard was an undiſguiſed enemy, and valued not thoſe means, which a more politic prince would have turned to advantage. But the French hiſtorians ſay, he would never ſurrender the writings, and that they were compelled to repair the loſs, by memory and the beſt methods they could deviſe[i]. A truce for a year was finally concluded.

Prince John, by the mediation of Eleanor, had been reconciled to his brother. When he heared of his arrival in Normandy, he quitted the court of Philip, and coming to Evreux, which that prince had taken and given to him, he invited the French officers to his table. Them, at the end of the repaſt, he ordered to be maſſacred; and the garriſon ſhared their fate. The act of perfidy, he truſted, would recommend him to favour and with his bloody hands he waited on Richard, and implored his forgiveneſs. He forgave him; but did not reſtore to him either his caſtles or his lands.

1195. Miſcellaneous occurrences. Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, guardian of the realm and grand juſticiary, was indefatigable in the concerns of his office. Under his adminiſtration, a general tranquillity prevailed through the provinces; the juſtices made their regular circuits; and with order a ſpirit of induſtry returning, men began to recover from the late oppreſſions of taxes and enthuſiaſm. The abſence of the king was a real benefit to the nation. Hubert had been educated under Ranulph

[i] Daniel, Mezer, &c.

Ranulph de Glanville, and was expert in buſineſs, and the ſcience of the Engliſh laws. But, on many occaſions, he ſeconded, contrary to the conviction of his judgment, the ſchemes of Richard for raiſing money. His attachment to him was moſt ſincere: he had accompanied him to the eaſt, when he had been lately raiſed to the ſee of Saliſbury, and there fought by his ſide. Richard, ſays the hiſtorian, was often aſtoniſhed at his proweſs[t].

Tournaments, in which the lives of the champions were ſometimes in danger, had been prohibited by councils and decrees of popes. The Engliſh king viewed them with other eyes, and he ordered they ſhould be practiſed in England, where as yet they were uncommon. But, beſides the military advantage to be derived from the exerciſe, he looked to pecuniary profit. When we know how exhauſted the royal coffers were, and how much money was wanted to carry on a moſt juſt war againſt Philip, we may be diſpoſed to pardon theſe meaſures of a prince, otherwiſe unmercenary, generous and munificent. He decreed therefore, that whoever held, or was preſent at, a tournament, ſhould pay for a licenſe, in proportion to the rank he bore: an earl twenty marks, a baron ten, a knight poſſeſſing land, four, and thoſe without land, two. The juſticiary warmly ſeconded the meaſure.

Nor was Hubert leſs vigilant in his attention to the church. As primate, but more as legate of the holy ſee, to which dignity he had been promoted, on the diſmiſſion of Longchamp, he held a council at York; wherein eighteen canons were enacted, to correct abuſes, and to enforce a

[t] Act. Pont. Cant. p. 1679. [u] Hoveden. Diceto.

BOOK IV. 1195. more regular diſcipline on the miniſters of the altar. This ſynod he convened at York, in which himſelf preſided, that his primacy over the whole Engliſh church might be declared. At all times, had this point been litigated between the metropolitan ſees, and had not Geoffry been abſent from the kingdom, the legate's deſign had aſſuredly have fruſtrated.

The ſon of Roſamond, whoſe military accompliſhments I have often mentioned; and who, when his brother's crown was lately threatened, had exhibited the ſame allegiance to him, as he had to his father, continued to manifeſt as little of the churchman's ſpirit, as when, in his youth, he had been elected to the ſee of Lincoln. His temper was violent and arbitrary, ſuch as the maxims of the age impreſſed. From the moment of his elevation to York, quarrels with the chapter and with the biſhop of Durham, unfounded pretenſions, and a diſregard to the rights and immunities of clergy and convents, had formed a ſcene of conteſt and oppoſition. Complaints were carried to Rome againſt him, which repreſented his conduct as highly criminal, and his character as profanely looſe and uncanonical. Bigotry and malevolence had given their tinge to the colouring. Commiſſioners were nominated by the pope to examine theſe charges, one of whom was the amiable biſhop of Lincoln. They were examined, and many of them, it appears, were founded: but Geoffry had intereſt, by appeals to Rome and other means, to avert the ſentence of ſuſpenſion, which his conduct merited. With Richard alſo he had diſputes, who ſeized his archbiſhopric, and the many caſtles and honours he poſſeſſed[v]. I have

[v] Hoveden. paſſim.

I have mentioned the biſhop of Lincoln, the ſame who, on a former occaſion, had diſturbed the aſhes of the repoſing Roſamond. He was a friend to the people, as he was a foe to vice and general oppreſſion. It had been a cuſtom in his dioceſe, to preſent the king annually with a mantle, lined with rich furs; and to raiſe this an immoderate tax was levied on the people. Hugh redeemed this obligation by a thouſand marks. An order ſoon after came for a ſubſidy, which, it was ſaid, the king much wanted. The good biſhop ſaw the oppreſſion, and anſwered the juſticiary, that he would not conſent it ſhould be levied. Information of this was carried to the king, who, in a rage, commanded, that no mercy ſhould be ſhewn to the refractory prelate. Regardleſs of the menace, Hugh repaired to Normandy; when his friends entreated him, not to appear before the king, apprehending the violence of his anger. Richard was at maſs, and the biſhop entering the chapel, walked up to him. "Give me a kiſs," ſaid he, in a low voice.—"That you "have not deſerved;" replied his majeſty, turning to him. "Indeed, I have," rejoined the prelate; "for I have made "a long journey to ſee you, and it ſhall not be for nothing." So ſaying, he took hold of the king's robe, and drew him to one ſide. Richard ſmiled, and embraced him.—After maſs, they withdrew behind the altar, when the biſhop, taking a ſeat by the king, ſaid to him. "In what ſtate is "your conſcience? Sir."—"Why; very eaſy," replied Richard, "barring the anxiety, which my enemies cauſe." "Can you ſay ſo?" rejoined Hugh: "Do you not "daily oppreſs the indigent; and load your people with "exactions? Beſides, it is reported, that you have been

BOOK IV. 1195. "faithleſs to your queen. Are theſe light tranſgreſſions?" —He then exhorted him to an amendment of life; and raiſing his voice that the courtiers might hear, he declared from what motives he had acted, in his late oppoſition to the ſubſidy. The king's behaviour was temperate, condeſcending, and friendly. As the biſhop retired, Richard obſerved to his courtiers: "If all prelates were of that "character, we kings and our barons ſhould have little "ſway over them[w]."

In this year, died the duke of Auſtria, whom Celeſtine had excommunicated; but before his death, he releaſed the hoſtages, and remitted the part of the ranſom, which was yet unpaid. The ſiſter of duke Arthur, who had been promiſed to the ſon of Leopold, and the daughter of the king of Cyprus, were on their journey into Hungary, when the news arrived. The ladies returned.—Tancred of Sicily was alſo dead, and his crown devolved on William, an infant ſon. This was the moment for the emperor to make good his claim. He marched an army into Apulia, which ſubmitted, as did the iſland of Sicily. At Palermo he was crowned, and thus ended the race of the Norman kings, nearly two hundred years, after the firſt conqueſts of the family. The riches of the kingdom were tranſported into Germany; its nobles maſſacred or impriſoned; and the dowager queen, with her ſon and three daughters, having graced the triumph of the conqueror, were conſigned to perpetual captivity[x].

Elated with this ſucceſs, and in proſecution of ſome plan which he ſeems to have formed with Richard, while he

[w] c. 23. [x] Muratori an. 1195.

he was a priſoner in his court, the emperor ſent an embaſſy into Normandy. They brought a golden crown, of great value, to the Engliſh king, as a pledge of friendſhip from their maſter; and their inſtructions were, to propoſe an immediate attack on France, in which Henry would co-operate with a powerful army. Richard miſtruſting the ſincerity of the propoſal, diſpatched Longchamp, who ſtill held the poſt of chancellor, to the German court, to procure certain information of the emperor's real deſigns. The negotiation was void of ſucceſs; but Philip hearing of it, declared the truce was broken, and recommenced hoſtilities.—Another inglorious campaign began, marked by ſimilar devaſtations; and ſoon another conference was held. On this occaſion, Adelais was, at laſt, releaſed, whom her brother married to the count of Ponthieu. Some months after, the kings again met, and a treaty of peace was ſettled: but as it was broken, almoſt as ſoon as made, to ſpecify its articles is unneceſſary. 1195.

Nothing could allay the mutual animoſity of theſe monarchs, which the ſlighteſt irritation rouſed, while the frontiers of both countries were made a ſcene of havoc. But they were in awe of each other's power, and feared to bring their quarrels to the iſſue of a battle. — At the ſame time, the earl of Toulouſe began to ſtir in the ſouth; and the Bretons manifeſted a diſpoſition to revolt. Richard had demanded the tutelage of his nephew Arthur, then ten years old, from what motives, does not appear, and he had impriſoned Conſtance, his mother and guardian, married to the earl of Cheſter. The Bretons implored the protection of France, and began hoſtilities: but the Engliſh 1196.

king

BOOK IV.

1196. king invaded the province, on which they withdrew with their prince[y]. I have ſaid, how romantic were the expectations that people had formed, from the airy circumſtance of the name of Arthur. They watched his growth, and augured empire from his looks. The prophecies of old Merlin were to be fulfilled in the child.—The diſturbances of Toulouſe ſoon ended, when Richard gave to the earl his ſiſter Jane, the queen dowager of Sicily. I have not ſaid, that ſhe had returned from Paleſtine, about two years before, with Berengaria and the Cypriot princeſs. They made ſome ſtay in Sicily; then went to Rome, where Celeſtine entertained them for almoſt ſix months, and ſailing under the charge of one of his cardinals, they landed at Marſeilles, and were thence ſafely conducted into Aquitaine[z].

1197. But Richard, by the money he had been able to extort from his ſubjects, now formed a formidable alliance. The young earl of Flanders joined him, and even the princes of the houſe of Champagne. But the vigour and activity of Philip could oppoſe this combination, and little was effected. —The moſt memorable incident was, the capture of the biſhop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, and a near relation to the French king. Him Richard hated. He had ever ſhewn himſelf his enemy, and it was he who, ſent by Philip into Germany, had done his utmoſt to prolong his captivity. The time of retaliation was come. Richard loaded him with irons, and ordered him to be confined in a dungeon at Rouen. Two of his chaplains waited on the king to requeſt, they might be permitted to attend their maſter in priſon.

[y] Hoveden. 1196 Neubrig. l. 5. c. 16. [z] Hoveden. an 1194.

priſon. "Yourſelves ſhall judge of my conduct," ſaid he to them: "His general behaviour to me I forget; but one "inſtance I cannot. When detained by the German em- "peror, in conſideration of my royal character, I was "treated more gently, and with ſome marks of reſpect. "Your maſter came; and I ſoon experienced what was the "deſign of his miſſion. Over night he had an interview "with the emperor; and the next morning a chain was "brought me, ſuch as a horſe would have hardly borne. "What treatment he now deſerves from my hands, ſay, "if you are juſt." The chaplains were ſilent, and with- drew. — But the prelate ſent a meſſenger to Rome, not doubting, but his holineſs would patroniſe the inſulted mitre. The letter, he wrote, is curious. "The king of England," it ſays, "whoſe irreverent treatment of his liege lord is "known to all the churches, confiding in the apoſtate co- "horts of his Brabanters, brought fire and ſword into our "country. When I ſaw it, mindful of the legal axiom, "*fight for your country*, I joined the bands of citizens and "the martial array of nobles, and met the enemy. But "fortune, that ſtep-dame of human counſels, fruſtrated "our wiſhes. I was taken, and was bound in chains. Nor "has the dignity of my order, or reverence due to God, "been able to lighten their burthen, or to give me relief. "Thus, like a wolf, has he acted to me; nor is your holi- "neſs, I believe, ignorant of it. Why then do you "diſſemble?" He entreats him to avenge his cauſe; be- wails his ſituation; and inſinuates, that a further delay may involve the pontiff in Richard's guilt.

Celeſtine

BOOK IV.

1197.

Celeſtine was not impoſed on. He knew the biſhop's character; and beſides, conſcious of the ill-treatment which Richard had experienced, he had declared himſelf his protector; had excommunicated the duke of Auſtria; and threatened the emperor with a ſimilar ſentence, if he did not releaſe the king's hoſtages, and even reſtore the money he had extorted from him. In his anſwer to the biſhop, he expreſſes himſelf in warm terms; he cenſures Philip, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, had invaded the territory of his ally, while he was in Paleſtine and in priſon; he praiſes Richard, and applauds his juſt indignation, to whoſe arms he wiſhed ſucceſs. "The event of "your captivity," ſays he, "was diſaſtrous; but what "wonder? Laying aſide the pacific prelate, you would put "on the ſoldier. The ſhield, the ſword, the coat of mail, "pleaſed you beſt; the helmet rather than the mitre, and "a ſpear in lieu of the paſtoral ſtaff. The order of things "was inverted." He tells him, however, that he will write to the king to ſupplicate his releaſe, or a mitigation of his confinement. "In the mean while," he concludes, "bear your chains with patience, and be moderate[a]." — He was afterwards ranſomed.

The confederates now gained many advantages, and Philip, ſeeing the danger to which his provinces would be expoſed, endeavoured to make a ſeparate peace with the earl of Flanders. This he could not effect; but the earl promiſed to become a mediator. And again the kings met near Andeli on the Seine, and another truce for a year was ſettled. Thus, with a facility, which the nature of feudal armies

[a] Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 22.

armies can alone explain, did they pafs from war to peace, and again from peace to all the outrages of the moft inveterate enemies. And fuch they were; but their potent vaffals were often actuated by other motives.

I have mentioned Andeli, which became the fource of great altercation, and which, in the next reign, will be the theatre of a memorable fiege. It was fituated feven leagues above Rouen, and with the adjacent country, belonged to that fee. Richard, as the French, in their incurfions into Normandy, often came down the river, refolved to erect a caftle on a rock, near Andeli on its banks; and at the fame time, to fortify a little ifland, which lay in the ftream. The archbifhop, though ftrongly attached to the king, and whom, as we have feen, he had effentially ferved, oppofed the meafure. The monarch proceeded; on which the prelate had recourfe to the arms of the church, and, with an intemperate zeal, laid the whole province under an interdict. The office of the church ceafed, and in the ftreets and high ways, fays the hiftorian, lay the bodies of the dead unburied. Richard, with great moderation, endeavoured to relieve his people; but not fucceeding, he difpatched three bifhops to plead his caufe before the pope. He could not place it in hands, more inclined to ferve him. The envoys met the archbifhop at Rome, and both parties expofed their grievances, in a public confiftory. The decifion was favourable to the king; and the prelate was adviſed to compromife the difpute, by accepting fuch a compenfation, as wife arbitrators fhould adjudge: for the king, it was obferved, or any potentate, had a right to fortify any weak places, to fecure the country from danger.

BOOK IV. 1197.

They returned; and Richard, with his uſual generoſity, made an ample compenſation to the ſee of Rouen, giving, in exchange for Andeli, and its rock, and little iſland, the towns of Dieppe and Louviers, with their appurtenances, and other places. With alacrity, he then reſumed his works, on which was exerted the ſkill of the greateſt engineers of the age: and on the iſland he raiſed another caſtle, in which he meant often to reſide. To the caſtle on the rock he gave the name of Chateau Gaillard, intimating, that it ſhould brave, with gaiety, the ſtouteſt efforts of the enemy[b]. When he could repoſe from the toils of war, here Richard ſpent his days, in tracing lines of defence, and in viewing the mighty bulwark riſe. The milder arts of peace, which an imperfect polity and the languid ſtate of ſociety called for, he left in other hands. In his name, however, was a uſeful law, this year, made, which eſtabliſhed one weight and meaſure, throughout the kingdom of England[c].

About this time, an embaſſador was ſent by the emperor, who was in Sicily, to offer Richard an indemnification for the ranſom he had forced from him, in whatever manner ſhould pleaſe him beſt. The king had lately paid the remaining ſum, and diſcharged the hoſtages. Celeſtine was the occaſion of the extraordinary meaſure; for he had excommunicated Henry, nor would he relax the ſentence, though the emperor had raiſed three armies, and ſent them, under his generals, into Paleſtine. Saladin was dead, and his ſons and brother contending for the empire, the moment ſeemed favourable for another cruſade. But as the embaſſador

[b] Hoveden. Neubrig. c. ult. [c] Hoveden.

embaſſador was on his journey, Henry died at Meſſina, and his body was refuſed a grave. "He ſhall not be buried," ſaid the pontiff, "unleſs the king of England conſent, and "the hundred and fifty thouſand marks be reſtored to "him." How the affair ended, we are not told; but the untimely death of Henry, whoſe ſon was only in his third year, involved the empire and the church in another ſea of troubles. The cruſade ended as others had done. 1197.

Again was Richard in want of ſoldiers and money. The firſt he raiſed by a proclamation, that England ſhould furniſh him with three hundred knights, to remain one year in his ſervice, or ſhould levy a ſum of money, whereby the king might be enabled to procure that number, at the rate of three ſhillings to each knight *per* day. No council was aſſembled to ſanction the arbitrary meaſure. The biſhop of Lincoln alone refuſed to comply, and he admoniſhed the juſticiary not to enforce the odious impoſition[d].—The ſubſidy of money was raiſed, by a tax of five ſhillings, on every hide of land, throughout England, (which hide meaſured ſomething more than a hundred acres, and was commonly let at twenty ſhillings a year.) For this officers were appointed, and a ſevere enquiry taken in the ſeveral diſtricts; when the country was ſaid to conſiſt of 243,600 hides. But ſome lands, ſuch as the free fees of the parochial churches, were exempted from the tax[e]. Nor is here any council mentioned.—Rigorous reſearches were alſo made, to recover all debts due to the crown; and its various claims, under each head, were diſtinctly aſcertained, ſuch as forfeits, eſcheats, amerciaments, &c. The 1198.

[d] Hoveden. an. 1198. [e] Ibid.

BOOK IV. 1198. weight of these measures, says the historian, was felt from sea to sea[f]; yet were they followed by others, still more oppressive, because more tyrannical.

He revived the shameful forest-laws of his great-grandfather, Henry I. which the late king had mitigated. Armed with the terrors of absolute controul, the foresters proceeded into every county, and the prelates, earls, barons, knights, and freemen were commanded, in the king's name, to appear before them, to hear the royal mandates, and if summoned, to answer to their charges. The punishment, on conviction for killing game or wasting the wood in the forests, which the late king had remitted to the forfeiture of chattels, was again to be mutilation and the loss of sight; or rather, as it appears from a further clause in the statute, this punishment only regarded the killing of game, and waste was punishable by pecuniary fines. In all cases, the offender lay at the king's mercy, who could forgive or mitigate the penalty[g].—And here I must again observe, that no consent or advice of a council was asked, even in measures, which so nearly concerned the common interests of the nation; but the king repealed the late ordinance of his father, and revived an abrogated law with additional clauses, as if, in what regarded a supposed prerogative of the crown, he had been absolute lord of the persons and property of all his subjects. And such he deemed himself; such also, I believe, the constitution of the country then considered him.

As the truce ceased, hostilities recommenced, and were managed with an uncommon fury. Ordinary acts of desolation

[f] Hoveden. an. 1198. [g] Ibid.

lation ſatisfied, no longer, theſe hardened princes; and they vented their rage by putting out the eyes of their priſoners. But the arms of Richard, whom the confederacy ſtill ſupported, were moſt ſucceſsful. Near Giſors a battle was fought, wherein the French were defeated, and Philip, in the retreat, nearly loſt his life. The bridge into the caſtle broke down, as he croſſed it; and he was drawn with difficulty from the ſtream. "He drank, that day, of the "water of the Epte," ſaid Richard inſultingly, in an account he wrote of the battle. Himſelf had unhorſed three knights at a ſingle onſet, and made them his priſoners. The country was then ravaged far and near; and the enemy retaliated. — But the primate, who lately, at the entreaty of the pontiff, had been diſmiſſed from his high office, to which Geoffry Fitzpeter ſucceeded, coming into Normandy, undertook to pacify this inveterate animoſity. His endeavours were not without ſucceſs: when he was joined by a more able negotiator, deputed from the Roman ſee. Eager to ſtop the further effuſion of blood, and to draw theſe princes into another eaſtern expedition, the pontiff ſent this miniſter. Who the pontiff was, I ſhall hereafter ſay. As the kings could not be diſinclined from peace, they liſtened to the propoſals of the mediators; and a day was fixed for a general interview[h].

There was in France a pious prieſt, to whom fame aſcribed miraculous powers: who, at a word, could heal the ſick and expel devils; and what was more, could prevail on the miſer and uſurer to give their money to the indigent, and look for treaſures in heaven. He could alſo pro-

[h] Hoveden. Gervas.

BOOK IV. 1198.

prophecy: and he warned the monarchs, that one of them would ſoon die, if they continued their hoſtile practices. Richard, who admired theſe extraordinary characters, received a viſit from him. "I exhort you," ſaid the prieſt, "to marry off, as ſoon as may be, your three daughters, "infamous as they are, leſt ſomething worſe befall you."—"Hypocrite," replied the king; "thy falſhood is palpable: "I have not a ſingle child."—"You have three, I ſay," anſwered the prieſt; "pride, avarice, and luxury."—Richard called to the nobles who were with him. "Attend," ſaid he, "to the admonition of this good man, who "maintains, that I have three daughters, pride, avarice, "and luxury, whom he commands me to diſpoſe of. I "will. I wed my pride to the Templars, my avarice to "the Ciſtercian monks, and my luxury to the prelates of "God's church."—How Fulco, ſuch was his name, reliſhed the witty reply, is not ſaid; but the courtiers laughed, and the hiſtorian, who tells it, ſeems to have been ſcandaliſed[i]. The prophet was, ſoon afterwards, ill treated by the clergy of Liſieux, whoſe ſcandalous lives he cenſured, and by the military at Caen: but neither dungeons nor chains could hold him, and he went about preaching, and doing good.

1199.

Terms of peace.

Richard paſſed the chriſtmas at Domfront, and Philip at Vernon; and the fourteenth of January was the day of interview. From Andeli, the Engliſh monarch ſailed up the Seine, and Philip came on horſeback, down its weſtern bank. They met, and converſed familiarly, one from the ſide of his boat, and the other from his horſe. The circumſtance

[i] Hoveden.

cumſtance betrayed a want of confidence. As they were thinly attended, it ſeemed agreeable to both, that another day ſhould be named for a more ſolemn deciſion of their differences. This they agreed on; when, on the day, Peter of Capua, cardinal legate of the holy ſee, and a train of nobles, attended. In the aſſembly was but one wiſh, that England and France ſhould cloſe their hoſtile conteſts. Still no peace was made; and the mediators were ſatisfied, that a truce of five years ſhould be accepted; the terms of which were, that all things remained on their preſent footing. The kings conſented, ſwore to obſerve the truce, and departing, mutually diſbanded their armies.

Richard had been ſerved by a body of Brabanters. As theſe were returning homeward, under Marchadée their leader, they were attacked by ſome French noblemen, and many of them were killed. Marchadée rejoined his late maſter, and complained of the unjuſt treatment: but Philip declared he had no concern in it. The Engliſh monarch then, who was called into Aquitaine, left Normandy, and took the remaining Brabanters with him. On the way, he heared that Philip had begun to erect a fortreſs near the Seine, and had cut down part of a foreſt belonging to the king of England, which impeded his works. This was an obvious violation of the truce. Richard, therefore, marched back, and ſent his chancellor, the new biſhop of Ely, (for Longchamp was lately dead,) to tell the French monarch, that, if the works he had commenced were not inſtantly demoliſhed, the truce was at an end. The legate alſo interfered; and Philip promiſed to comply with the juſt requiſition. Richard was now ſenſible how unbinding

was

BOOK IV. 1199.

was the compact they had formed, and that a meaſure of more efficacy muſt be adopted; wherefore, he propoſed that a peace be concluded. A negotiation was opened, the propoſals of which were, that the king of France reſtore all the places he had taken, Giſors only excepted, in return for which he conſents to give up to Richard the nomination to the ſee of Tours; that Louis, ſon to the French king, ſhall marry Blanche of Caſtille, Richard's niece; that Philip ſhall ſwear to aſſiſt Otho, Richard's nephew, and ſon to the late duke of Saxony, who was now contending for the ſceptre of Germany; that the caſtle of Giſors ſhall be conſidered as Blanche's marriage-dower, and ſhall go with her to the French prince, to which the king of England ſhall likewiſe add twenty thouſand marks of ſilver. Such were the conditions; but as Richard could not delay his journey into Aquitaine, it was agreed to put off their final adjuſtment, till his return. He never returned[k].

It was now that the king of France acquainted Richard, that his brother, the earl of Mortagne, was again treacherouſly deſerting from him; and of this, he ſaid, he had a written document which he could ſhew. John, ſince the laſt reconciliation, had manifeſted every ſymptom of ſincere amity and allegiance, and he had been reinſtated in his vaſt poſſeſſions. Too lightly therefore did Richard give ear to an accuſation, which might not be ſtrictly true: he was enraged, and once more diſpoſſeſſed him of his lands and honours. The earl was amazed, and demanded the cauſe of this ſudden anger: of which being informed, he diſpatched two knights to the French court. Their orders were,

[k] Hoved. an. 1199.

were, to deny the charge, and to vindicate, in arms, the honour of their prince, in whatever manner the court ſhould determine. But neither the king, nor any champion in his court, would accept the challenge. No event could have proved more fortunate. Richard was convinced of his brother's innocence; and in the moment a warm ſentiment aroſe, of which the happy effects will be ſeen[1]. It is in itſelf probable, he had made overtures to Philip, though not in the decided form of treachery, which the latter had inſinuated. Any thing may be believed of John; but the king of France was a prince of too much character, to deſcend to a meaſure of revenge, ſo baſe and unmanly.

Richard dies.

While Richard was in Aquitaine, Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, his vaſſal, found a valuable treaſure in his domain, part of which he preſented to the king. He refuſed the preſent, and, as ſuperior lord, laid claim to the whole, which the viſcount would not ſurrender. Richard, whoſe mind never bent to oppoſition, with his wonted impetuoſity marched an army againſt the caſtle of Chalus, which belonged to Vidomar; and where, he truſted, the treaſure would be captured. The garriſon offered to ſurrender; but the king replied, he would ſtorm their fortreſs, and hang them up as thieves. In anguiſh they returned, and prepared deſpondingly for reſiſtance.—The king, with his Flemiſh general Marchadée, then walked round the walls, exploring where an aſſault might beſt be made, and returned to his tent. He had been ſeen from the rampart, where a youth ſtood, by name Bertrand de Gourdon, who

[1] Hoveden.

BOOK IV. 1199.

had charge of an engine. On it he laid a dart; raiſed his eyes to heaven; prayed, that God would protect their innocence; and drew the fatal cord. His aim, ſays an hiſtorian, was not diſtinctly pointed. But unfortunately, at the ſame inſtant, the king ſtept from his tent; heared the croſs-bow twang; and ſtooping his head, received the arrow in his left arm, juſt below the ſhoulder. He mounted his horſe, and rode to his quarters, giving orders to Marchadée, inſtantly to aſſault the caſtle. He did ſo; and the caſtle was taken. He then ordered, as he had menaced, the whole garriſon to be hanged, the man only excepted, by whom he had been wounded, him probably meaning to reſerve for a more painful death. During this ſpace of time, which muſt have been of ſome hours, the dart was in Richard's arm. Intent on revenge and ſavage butchery, he had not heeded its ſmart; but now Marchadée's ſurgeon attended, the experteſt practitioner, doubtleſs, in the army. Long did he labour to extract the arrow; when the wood parted, and the iron point remained in the wound. He had recourſe to his knife, which he uſed freely, and drew away the iron. As yet there was little danger; but, in a few days, from unſkilful treatment, and more, it is ſaid, from a diſordered habit of body, bad ſymptoms appeared, and a gangrene enſued. The life of Richard drew faſt to its cloſe[m].

It was now his firſt ſolicitude, to ſettle the ſucceſſion of his dominions, all of which he deviſed to John, requiring from thoſe, who were preſent, an immediate oath of fealty to him, and commanding his caſtles to be ſurrendered into his

[m] Hoveden. Gerv. p. ult.

1199.

his hands, with three parts of his treaſures. Such was the effect of the late favourable impreſſion. To his nephew Otho, he left his jewels; and the remaining part of his treaſure, to his ſervants and the poor.—Bertrand de Gourdon was then commanded to be brought in. He entered in chains, and ſtood before the dying monarch. "What "had I done to thee," ſaid the king to him, "to draw this "vengeance from thy arm?"—The youth anſwered intrepidly: "My father, and my two brothers, you ſlew with "your own hand: for me the like fate was intended. Now "take what revenge, you will: I ſhall bear joyfully any "torments, if you only die, who have done ſuch miſchiefs." —"I forgive thee my death," ſaid Richard:—"looſe his "chains, and put a hundred ſhillings in his purſe."—But the ſavage Marchadée did not let him go; and after the king's death, he flaid him alive, and hanged him.—His laſt orders were now given. "Take my heart," ſaid he, "to "Rouen; and let my body lie at my father's feet, in the "convent of Fontevraud." Reſigned, and acknowledging his crimes, he expired. It was the ſixth of April, the eleventh day after he had received his wound, the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-ſecond of his age[n].

His character

With pleaſure I take my leave of this turbulent and warring prince; and I am diſpenſed from the labour of delineating his character. His contemporaries did it in a ſingle word, when they called him the lion-hearted, *Cœur de Lion*. Had they looked to the tyger, rather than to the lord of the foreſts, they would have found, indeed, a more apt ſimilitude; but, in a romantic age, juſt appreciation was not to

[n] Hoveden. Diceto, Gerv.

BOOK IV. 1199.

be expected. The heart of Richard was throughout ſavage: it poſſeſſed no elements of that noble magnanimity, which has filled the breaſts of heroes. His vices, which were numerous, undiſguiſed and prominent, flowed in a ruffled ſtream from their ſource; and if he had the ſeeds of any virtue, overwhelmed in the current, they never ſprang into life. Hiſtorians have ſaid, that he was open, frank, generous, ſincere, and brave. Conſidered as habits of the mind, he did not poſſeſs thoſe qualities. When they appeared, it was but as momentary effuſions, or as caſual modes of the ruling paſſion. In certain deſcriptions, I am well aware, that I have ſoftened down too much the rude lines, I had before me. I did it not to veil their truth; but when the eye, for ſome time, has dwelt on the rougheſt ſcenes, the harſh impreſſion wears away, and we begin to be leſs diſturbed, and leſs diſagreeably affected.

The people of his dominions were ſo dazzled by the ſplendour of his achievements, which fame, as ſhe conveyed their ſtory from the eaſt, generally loaded with much romantic colouring, that, for the honour, they thought, it reflected on themſelves, they could not be too loyal and too ſubſervient to his will. With alacrity they ſubmitted to the heavieſt burthens; and did not ſeem to feel, they were oppreſſed, and often inſulted. Of the nine years he reigned, he did not paſs more than four months in England: yet they were never drawn from their allegiance, though John, the preſumptive heir to his crown, was preſent, and urged them to treaſon. Nor were his ſubjects in France leſs ſteady. Let this be compared with the events of the preceding reign, marred by internal broils, and inceſſant

defections

defections from a prince, who, weighed againſt Richard, might be called the father of his people. It was the vain ſplendour of his name, which endeared him to the nation, and the pity which his captivity had moved. Had he lived, they would have ſeen another cruſade; and would have cheerfully reſigned their laſt ſhilling, to promote the wild undertakings of their lion-hearted prince. To this he had engaged himſelf, when he left Paleſtine; and the diſturbances in France had alone diverted his thoughts from the theatre of glory.—One certain document we collect from the hiſtory of this reign, which is, that the government of England was moſt unſettled; and that the forms of a council, or a ſpecies of repreſentation, to which Henry ſeemed often to refer himſelf, originated from his own politic and prudential views, and not from a ſuppoſed order, which legiſlation had eſtabliſhed. As they aroſe, it was my aim to mark ſuch circumſtances, as could help to develope the growing features of our government. The word *parliament* I ſtudiouſly avoided. It occurs, I think, in one ancient author, who writes on the events of this period; but he lived poſterior to the times[o].

It was during the cruſades, modern writers have obſerved, that the cuſtom of uſing coats of arms was firſt introduced into Europe. The knights caſed up in armour, had no way to make themſelves be known and diſtinguiſhed in battle, but by the devices on their ſhields; and theſe were gradually adopted by their poſterity and families, who were proud of the pious and military enterpriſes of their anceſtors.—Richard carried *three lions paſſant* on his ſhield, and he was the firſt of our kings who bore them. That

[o] Joan. Bromton.

BOOK IV.

1199.

That he was a paſſionate lover of poetry, and himſelf a poet, is likewiſe ſaid. I have not ſeen the ſonnets which are aſcribed to him; but their merit, I conceive, muſt be light. As to the provençal bards or Troubadours themſelves, who were the firſt of the modern Europeans, that diſtinguiſhed themſelves by attempts of that nature, from the ſilence of our hiſtorians in their regard, it may be inferred, that they were held in little eſtimation. But this is not the place for a diſcuſſion, on which, hereafter, poſſibly, I may enlarge, ſhall the ſubject, on reflection, ſeem deſerving of it.

END OF BOOK IV.

THE

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# REIGN

OF

# KING JOHN,

With the EVENTS of the Period.

## BOOK V.

*Acceſſion of John.—Inauſpicious opening of his reign.—Innocent* III. *and the firſt tranſactions of his pontificate.—Peace with France.—John marries Iſabella of Angouleme.—Cauſe of Ingeburga, queen of France.—John meets the king of Scotland at Lincoln, and makes a progreſs through the realm.—The barons ſhew diſcontent, and John goes into Poitou.—Duke Arthur taken priſoner, and murdered.—Various reports of the murder, and its conſequences.—Innocent eſpouſes the cauſe of John.—The cruſaders erect a new empire at Conſtantinople.—Normandy and other provinces taken by Philip.—A truce with France.—Stephen Langton appointed to the ſee of Canterbury.—Controverſy between the pontiff and John.—England laid under an interdict.*

*interdict.—The king's vengeance.—Otho ſucceeds to the empire.—Conduct of John, and the further deſigns of Innocent.—Langton, with views againſt the king, goes to Rome.—Philip, commanded by the pope, prepares to invade England.—Pandulphus, the papal nuncio, lands.—John ſubmits, ſubjecting himſelf and kingdom to the pope.—The French king, checked by Pandulphus, enters Flanders.—The exiles return, and Langton adminiſters an oath to the king.—Meeting at St. Alban's, and further proceedings of Langton.—He confederates the barons.—A legate arrives, before whom John renews his ſubmiſſion.—Cruſade againſt the Albigenſes.*

BOOK V.

1199.

Acceſſion of John.

THE earl of Mortagne was in Normandy, when his brother died. Conſcious of his imperfect title to the ſucceſſion, and that his conduct had not ſecured the predilection of the people, the loſs of a moment, he ſaw, might exclude him from the throne. In inſincere and unavailing lamentations over Richard's grave, he ſpent no time; but ſent Hubert the primate, who was with him, and William Mareſchal, into England, there, with Fitzpeter the juſticiary, to maintain the tranquillity of the realm, and to awe the barons. Himſelf haſtened to Chinon, where the late king's treaſure was, which, with the caſtle, was delivered to him. But the barons of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, met, and ſwore fealty to the duke of Bretagne, alledging, that it was the law of their provinces, that the ſon of the elder brother ſhould ſucceed to his inheritance. This elder brother had been Geoffry, third ſon of Henry. The cities and caſtles followed their example, and declared Arthur their lord. He was but in his twelfth year; wherefore Conſtance, his mother, had recourſe to Philip, who with his

1199.

his army was again on foot, and committed the youth to his care. He ſent him to Paris, and in his name took poſſeſſion of the provinces.—The earl of Mortagne, with the troops he had with him, furiouſly entered Maine, razed the walls and houſes of its capital, and impriſoned its citizens: but he could make no longer ſtay. He returned to Rouen; and on the twenty-fifth of April, nineteen days after Richard's death, was girt with the ducal ſword of Normandy, by the archbiſhop, who, at the ſame time, encircled his brows with a golden coronet. This prelate, it will be recollected, had been the favoured miniſter of the late king, and the earl's moſt ſtrenuous opponent. The uſual oath was then adminiſtered—to preſerve inviolate the rights of the church, to adminiſter juſtice, to annul bad laws, and to enact good ones. Thus was Normandy ſecured[a].

Eleanor, mean while, vigorous ſtill and enterpriſing, had been in Aquitaine, where her intereſt was irreſiſtible; when ſhe joined the ſavage Marchadée with his mercenary bands, and entering Anjou, ſpread devaſtation. John was her favourite child; otherwiſe the little Arthur, it was thought, might have found an advocate in the breaſt of his grandmother. — In England, the primate and his aſſociates laboured ſtrenuouſly, and obtained from many nobles and inferior citizens, an oath of allegiance to John, duke of Normandy. But the general aſpect was unpromiſing. The biſhops, the earls, the barons, repaired ſilently to their caſtles. They were ſeen with their workmen, examining the walls; while men, arms, and proviſions were conveyed into them. The triumvirate met at Northampton, to which

[a] Hoveden. Diceto. an. 1199.

BOOK V.

1199.

place they ſummoned thoſe noblemen, whoſe diaffection they apprehended moſt. They came: David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to the Scottiſh king, Richard earl of Clare, Ranulph earl of Cheſter, father-in-law to duke Arthur, William earl of Tuteſbury, Waleran earl of Warwick, and William de Mowbray, with many more earls and barons. No more is recorded of the meeting, than that the miniſters ſolemnly pledged their maſter's word, would the noblemen bear allegiance to him, that they ſhould enjoy all their rights. *On this condition*, they ſwore to receive John for their ſovereign[b].

What theſe rights were, is not ſaid; nor do we diſcover whence aroſe the oppoſition, thus ſullenly manifeſted. From no ideas of a ſuperior claim in Arthur; or they would not have ſpoken of *their* rights only. It was dictated, probably, by a perſonal diſlike to the prince, of whoſe character they had had experience. The intrepid ſpirit of Richard had long awed their turbulence; and it was the weakeſt policy in the triumvirate to court their favour, by ſo immature a compliance with their wayward demands.

Immediately the duke came to England, on the twenty-fifth of May, and he found the nation aſſembled to celebrate his coronation. It was performed at Weſtminſter.—"Hear all ye people," ſaid the primate, riſing from his ſeat: "It is well known, that no one can have a right to "the crown of this realm, unleſs, for his extraordinary "virtues, he be unanimouſly elected to it, and then "anointed king, as Saul was, himſelf the ſon of no king, "nor royally deſcended. Such alſo was David. And ſo "was

[b] Hoveden. Annal. de Margan.

" was it ordained, to the end, that he, whoſe merit is " pre-eminent, be the lord of all the people. If, indeed, " of the family of the deceaſed monarch there be one thus " nobly endowed, he ſhould have our preference. This I " have ſaid, in favour of the noble earl John, who is pre- " ſent, brother of our late illuſtrious king, who left no " iſſue. He poſſeſſes prudence, and valour, and eminence " of birth. For theſe qualities, having invoked the holy " ſpirit, we unanimouſly elect him our king." So ſaying, while the aſſembly applauded the harangue, he proceeded to the ceremony. The uſual oaths, to protect the church, to abrogate bad laws, and to adminiſter juſtice, were tendered; when Hubert ſaid: " I adjure you, in the name " of God, and I enjoin you, not to undertake this high " office, unleſs your mind be reſolved to execute what " your lips have ſworn."—" With the aſſiſtance of heaven," replied John, " I will be faithful to my oath."—On the following day, homage was done to him; when inſtantly he repaired to St. Alban's, there to pray before the martyr's ſhrine: and the awful ſolemnity ended[c]. — The king was thirty two years old.

If this account of John's *election* to the crown of England be true, of which may be entertained ſome doubt, from the ſilence of more contemporary hiſtorians, I view it as the artful device of the triumvirate, to conciliate to their prince the diſaffected minds of the nobility. They would not ſpeak of his hereditary right, leſt the claim of Arthur might be rather urged; nor even of the will of the late king, which, at that time, might have been deemed to

[c] Mat. Par. an. 1199.

BOOK V. 1199.

have given a ſufficient title. A free and unanimous election would, at once, ſilence oppoſition, and be paramount to every pretenſion. Of precedents they were little ſolicitous, which, they knew, did not exiſt: but could they ſecure the crown, no jealous enquiries would be made, time would ſtrengthen the nomination, and other meaſures might be adopted. The prince himſelf, we may preſume, was privy to the whole deſign. Afterwards, when the primate was queſtioned concerning this extraordinary tranſaction, he replied, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, that he foreſaw, and had ſecret intimations which told him, that John would abuſe his power, and diſturb the realm; and therefore, that his hands might be leſs free, he had propoſed the meaſure of electing him to the throne[d]. A vain ſubterfuge to palliate a proceeding, which reaſon did not juſtify!—As to the right of Arthur, it was not generally admitted, as we may infer from the conduct of England and Normandy, after the three provinces, which adhered to him, had ſo decidedly announced their own reſolution, founded, they ſaid, on ancient uſage. Richard, when in Sicily, had declared him his ſucceſſor; but being returned to his dominions, he took no meaſures to ſecure to his nephew the title he had conferred, and dying, he left all to John. Thus, and by the preceding act, clearly ſignifying, that, in nominating his ſucceſſor, as he was himſelf without iſſue, he had only his own inclinations to conſult. Prince Arthur had now diſpleaſed him, and John poſſeſſed his heart. The authority of a will was great; but, as we have ſeen, the agents of the duke would not riſk it, againſt the diſaffection

[d] Mat. Par. ibid.

diſaffection of a party, whoſe enmity they feared. But I muſt likewiſe remark, how inconſiſtent their conduct was; firſt, by every exertion to influence the nation to receive him as their king, and to ſwear fealty to him; and when he preſented himſelf before them at Weſtminſter, then ſolemnly to declare, that he had no right, but what their ſuffrages ſhould freely confer.

Inauſpicious opening of his reign.

John, however, was in poſſeſſion of the object of his wiſhes; nor did he forget his benefactors. On the day of his coronation, he inveſted Fitzpeter in the earldom of Eſſex, and Mareſchal in that of Pembroke; and the primate he named his chancellor. — But embaſſadors arrived from the king of Scotland, William the Lion, no ſtranger to my reader, requeſting the ſurrender of the provinces of Northumberland and Cumberland, which in the reign of Henry II. had been wreſted from the patient hands of Malcolm. They had been held as a fief under England. If the king complied with his wiſhes, their maſter, added the embaſſadors, would ſerve him faithfully; if not, he knew how to enforce the juſtice of his claim. John begged he might ſee their king; and ſending the biſhop of Durham, as he hoped, to meet him, he went himſelf to Nottingham. William refuſed to move: but he ordered other meſſengers to repeat his petition to the king, and to ſay that, if he had not a deciſive anſwer, within forty days, the army he was collecting, ſhould enter the Engliſh borders. The young monarch diſregarded the bold menace, and commanding William de Stuteville to take charge of the two provinces, he embarked for France[e].

How

[e] Hoveden. Annal. Burton.

BOOK V.

1199.

How portentous is the opening of this reign! On the continent, the defection of provinces, under a rival prince, and a potent protector:—At home, the lowering diſaffection of a headſtrong nobility: — On the northern frontier, a warlike prince, at the head of a ferocious people: — On the throne, a weak and a capricious king, not reſpected, not loved, not feared.

Philip, on the death of the Engliſh king, releaſed from the truce he had made, had recommenced hoſtilities: beſides, the protection he had given to Arthur, would itſelf provoke animoſity. John returned to Normandy with an army, where many crowded to his ſtandard; and the earl of Flanders, with the other nobles, who had confederated with his brother, brought in their forces. The king of France conſented to a truce of ſix weeks; at the expiration of which, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, the monarchs met. The behaviour of Philip was high and indignant, irritated that his vaſſal had not offered him homage for the dutchy of Normandy; and the demands he made were inadmiſſible. He demanded the annexation of a wide territory to his own throne, and the ſurrender to Arthur of all his French poſſeſſions, Normandy excepted. No wonder, that they parted enemies.

There was an army in the field, commanded by William des Roches, in the name of Arthur. The fate of this youth has a charm, which commands our intereſt![f] Philip, in ravaging the country, deſtroyed a caſtle, which now belonged to the prince; at which the general expreſſed much anger, and either becauſe he ſuſpected the ſincerity of that monarch,

[f] See Shakeſpear's King John.

narch, or it may be feared, from a more unworthy motive, he reſolved to withdraw Arthur from his court. He effected it, pretending to the child and his mother, that the king of England would be their ſureſt friend. But on the very day he ſaw his uncle, it was whiſpered to the duke, that a dungeon was prepared for him. True or not, an alarm was taken, and in the ſilence of the night he was conveyed away, accompanied by Conſtance, and many others. They retired to Angers[g].—Soon after this event, the pope's legate, who was ſtill in France, again mediated, and procured another truce, which ſhould extend to the feaſt of St. Hilary.

1199.

Innocent III. and the firſt tranſactions of his pontificate

Innocent III. who, for many years, will occupy the foreground in the tranſactions of Europe, ſince the beginning of the laſt year, had been in the chair of St. Peter, a pope, whoſe actions will beſt portray his character, and of whom now I will only ſay, that he inherited all the ſpirit, which had once filled the breaſt of Gregory VII.[h] When, on the death of Celeſtine, choſen for his talents, his learning, and his ſuperior virtues, he was but in his thirty-ſeventh year, the age, indeed, of vigorous exertion, but what was deemed no recommendation to the ſacred office. The empire, at that moment, was without a head; and Innocent ſeized the occaſion to recover to his ſee privileges and territory, which his immediate predeceſſors had been unable to retain.—In Rome, the firſt magiſtrate was inveſted by him in the prefecture of the city, (a charge which hitherto the emperor had conferred,) who then did homage to him. He nominated the other officers, and received from the people an oath of allegiance. In the towns of the patrimony of the holy

[g] Hoveden.

[h] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 23.

BOOK V.

1199.

holy ſee, and in the caſtles of the barons, the ſame ceremony was performed, and Innocent was acknowledged their ſole ſovereign. The authority which till now the emperors had claimed, and had often exerciſed, ceaſed within the walls of Rome, and in its adjacent territory[i].—The Germans were in poſſeſſion of the marquiſate of Ancona and of the dutchy of Spoletto, with their dependances. Innocent, by menaces and a well-directed policy, expelled the intruders, whom the Italians hated, and reannexed the provinces to his ſee. He then viſited them in perſon, and every where received the homage of the people.—He confederated with the cities of Tuſcany, whom the German tyranny had exhauſted, and who now looked eagerly to the freedom, which the ſtates of Lombardy enjoyed. His letter to them opens thus curiouſly: "As God, the creator of the "univerſe, placed two great luminaries in the firmament, "the greateſt to rule over the day, and the leſs over the "night: ſo, in the firmament of the univerſal church, he "has eſtabliſhed two great dignities, the greater to rule "over ſouls, which are days, and the leſs over bodies, "which are nights. Theſe two dignities are the *pontifical*, "and the *regal*, powers. But as the moon, which, in all "things, is inferior to the ſun, draws her light from him; "ſo does the regal power derive the ſplendor of its dignity "from the pontifical ſource[k]." On ſuch allegorical jargon roſe the theory of papal monarchy!—Innocent, by theſe active proceedings, gave a luſtre to the tiara; and other towns having ſubmitted to his controul, he reviewed the general ſtate of his revenue, committed the adminiſtration to

[i] Geſta Innocent n. 8. Murat. an. 1198. [k] Bzovius Annal. Eccles.

to able officers, ſtrengthened the barrier and maritime places, attended in perſon to the deciſion of cauſes and the diſtribution of juſtice; and thus gaining the affections of the people, he could reward and encourage virtue, and ſtrike a terror to the heart of vice. He was firm, magnanimous, liberal, inſinuating[1].

On the death of Henry, the late emperor, his queen Conſtance took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Sicily, her claim to which has been related, and ſhe prevailed on the Sicilians alſo to crown her ſon. He was an infant, in his third year, named Frederic after his grandfather; and the time will be, when Europe ſhall ſee him the greateſt monarch of the age. The kingdom of Naples, it is known, was a fief of the holy ſee: Conſtance, therefore, by her embaſſadors, humbly entreated the pontiff to grant to herſelf and ſon the inveſtiture of its different provinces, on the ſame terms, as her predeceſſors had received it. By a formal compact between the kings of Sicily and the Roman ſee, which three ſucceſſive popes had entered into or confirmed, the crown enjoyed certain eccleſiaſtical privileges. It elected biſhops, it poſſeſſed legatine powers, it heared appeals, and it convoked councils. Innocent ſaw, with pain, this alienation of privilege from his own court, and he was willing to retrench it. But the circumſtance clearly announced to him, that what his predeceſſors had granted to a temporal prince, did not eſſentially appertain to the holy ſee. He informed Conſtance that, unleſs ſhe ſurrendered theſe rights of her crown, he muſt refuſe the inveſtiture. It was an ungenerous proceeding; and Innocent,

[1] Geſta Inn. ap. Murat.

BOOK V.

1199.

the greateſt canoniſt and civilian of the age, could not be ignorant, that a compact of ſuch importance was not to be broken. In vain did the empreſs ſtrive, by preſents, by prayers, by arguments, to prevail on the extortionary prieſt. She could obtain nothing, only on terms of great rigour, with which ſhe could not refuſe compliance. But as the negotiators returned, and with them a legate, to execute the papal mandate, Conſtance died, and dying named Innocent the guardian to her infant ſon. There was great policy in the meaſure: for his claim muſt be at once ſuſpended; and it did not ſeem, that a more active or more powerful guardian could be choſen, to protect the tender years of the prince [m].

Germany was a ſcene of diſcord.—Before the death of his father, this ſame infant had been choſen king of the Romans; and his uncle, Philip duke of Suabia, was appointed regent, during the minority. But now appeared the deep intrigue and political views of Innocent. Should this diſpoſition of things prevail, he reaſoned, and the crown of Sicily be united, on the ſame head, to the imperial diadem, and that in the houſe of Suabia, which had been ever hoſtile to the power of Rome, an intereſt muſt be formed againſt the latter, too irreſiſtible for any policy. Hitherto, the kingdom of Naples, had, in every emergency, ſupported the tiara, on which it was dependent, and to which it owed many favours; but more from a well-founded jealouſy of the imperial court, which long had ſeemed to aim at the empire of Italy. Meaſures then muſt be taken to obſtruct the completion of this alarming event. Frederic, it

[m] Geſta ibid.

1199.

it is true, was committed to his charge; and, in honour, he muſt promote his intereſt. He would do it, as far as this charge extended, which was to the throne of Sicily only. He had, beſides, near to his heart an intereſt, which was paramount to every other; namely, the intereſt of the Roman ſee. To extend this, and to guard it, as far as might be, againſt every poſſible diminution, muſt be the ardent labour of his life.—Thus he reaſoned, and formed his plan. A new king of Germany ſhould be choſen, on whom might deſcend the imperial dignity; and his ward ſhould be ſatisfied with the crown of Sicily.

But Philip, duke of Suabia, who ſuſpected theſe deſigns, and whom ambition urged to the meaſure, was able to perſuade the German ſtates to elect him their king. No one, indeed, could be better qualified; but it was a ſtep, on both ſides, ungenerous and faithleſs. He was uncle to Frederic, and in Germany the guardian of his empire; and they, unanimouſly, but a year before, had conferred this empire on him. Innocent, with indignation, heared the news; for though it, in part, realiſed the ſcheme he had himſelf projected, Philip was, by no means, the perſon he would have choſen. He was of the houſe of Suabia, which Rome and all the Italian ſtates had reaſon to execrate; and before his brother's death, he had invaded certain diſtricts of the holy ſee, for which he now lay under a ſentence of excommunication. He prevailed, therefore, on the archbiſhop of Cologne and other nobles, to oppoſe the election of Philip, and to raiſe againſt him a competitor. They aſſembled, and choſe Otho, of the houſe of Saxony, ſecond ſon of Henry the Lion, and nephew to the king of England.

BOOK V.

1199. Thus was laid the foundation of an inveterate conteſt. On the ſide of Philip was by far the major part of the German ſtates, and in Italy the Ghibelin faction, and the intereſt of the French court. Otho was ſupported, in Germany, chiefly by the eccleſiaſtical princes, by the pontiff and the Guelfs, and by the gold of England, which Richard had largely diſtributed[n]. — I have mentioned the Guelfs and Ghibelins, two powerful factions in Italy, the former on the ſide of liberty, and the latter on that of the imperial power, and which, for many years, will be ſeen to wave the banner of diſcord, and to perpetuate the horrors of war.

Thus paſſed the firſt years of Innocent, and they have diſplayed, I truſt, his character. We ſhall ſee it unfold more and more. He had alſo an eye to Paleſtine, for the concerns of Europe could not engroſs his thoughts; and his agents, in the different kingdoms, were buſily employed in forwarding the holy work. In France, his legate had been ſucceſsful; and what other buſineſs here rouſed his zeal, ſhall be related.

1200. Peace with France.

The kings, as the truce expired, had again held a conference, in which the treaty of marriage with Blanche of Caſtille had been finally ſettled, and the preliminaries of a peace propoſed. To negotiate with Alphonſo, and to conduct the princeſs into France, no one was judged ſo proper as the yet active Eleanor. She departed, while winter was moſt inclement; viſited the Spaniſh court; and before eaſter was returned to Bourdeaux with her grand-daughter. But the journey had fatigued her; wherefore, leaving her charge in the hands of the archbiſhop, ſhe proceeded herſelf

[n] Geſta ut ſup. Chron. Urſperg, &c.

ſelf to Fontevraud, to which holy repoſitory had lately been conſigned, the remains alſo of her daughter Jane, counteſs of Toulouſe, dowager queen of Sicily. — Peace was now concluded, on the ſame terms, as that with Richard, ſome years before, only that a new line of ſeparation was drawn between Normandy and France. The other articles are of little moment.—Then arrived the princeſs at her uncle's court, and a more ſolemn meeting was appointed, ſoon after midſummer, whereat Philip ſurrendered to the Engliſh monarch the city of Evreux, which he had lately taken, and its earldom, and all the caſtles, and towns, and territory, which his arms had conquered. John bent his knees, and did homage for them; and inſtantly, as it had been previouſly agreed, gave back the whole, as the marriage portion with his niece, adding to it the ſum of thirty thouſand marks in ſilver[o].—Seldom had ſo laviſh and improvident a contract been made; for France thus became poſſeſſed of many valuable and ſtrong fortreſſes in the neighbouring provinces; while the lady had herſelf parents, better able than John, to endow their daughter.

But he was not ſo generous to his nephew Otho, now contending for the German empire, whom not to aid by men or money he, on this occaſion, ſolemnly promiſed. Even when he ſent to demand the fiefs which Richard had given to him, and the legacy mentioned in his will, the baſe prince pretended that, by virtue of the oath he had made to Philip, he muſt refuſe to comply. — The cauſe of Arthur was, at the ſame time, ſacrificed by the French king, intent only on his own aggrandiſement. To John returned the

[o] Hoveden. an. 1200. Diceto. Annal. de Margan.

BOOK V.

1200.

the provinces, which had firſt declared for the duke, while he remained in poſſeſſion only of Bretagne; for which he did homage to his uncle, as duke of Normandy, who conſented that the youth ſhould continue, under the tutelage of Philip[p].

John marries Iſabella of Angouleme.

John had been, many years, married to Aviſa, heireſs of the houſe of Glouceſter, and a diſpenſation from Rome, which was thought neceſſary, had ſanctioned the union. From what motives, is not ſaid, he now found biſhops who would diſſolve this marriage, on pretence of conſanguinity, which the original diſpenſation had relaxed. Thus free, he diſpatched a brilliant embaſſy into Portugal, to demand the daughter of that crown, of whoſe accompliſhments fame ſpoke loudly. The embaſſy departed; and the king, to wear away the dreary interval, at the head of a powerful army, marched through the provinces, into Aquitaine. Every where they received him as their lord. But at Angouleme his heart was taken. The earl of that name had a daughter, Iſabella, long affianced to the count of la Marche. This was an obſtacle; but John declared his love; the father conſented; and Iſabella, ſeduced from the caſtle of her future huſband, who, reſpecting her tender years, had not married her, was preſented with the crown of England. The nuptials were celebrated at Angouleme, the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux officiating, who had been the principal agent in the divorce[q]. How the embaſſy was managed, we are not told.—Hence the army, with their king, proceeded ſouthward. He received the homage of the earl of Toulouſe for the dower, which had been given with his late wife, Jane

[p] Hoveden. Annal. Burton.

[q] Hoveden. Diceto. Annal. Burton.

Jane of Sicily, to remain for ever in his family, under the condition of ſerving the king with five hundred knights, in his wars in Aquitaine. He then turned towards the north, taking hoſtages from the lately revolted provinces, and arrived at Rouen, in all the ſplendour of triumph. Nor did he remain here. England ſhould witneſs his glory and the beauty of his queen. With her, therefore, he ſailed, in the month of October; and ſoon after their landing, they were together crowned at Weſtminſter, by the hands of the primate[r].

Cauſe of Ingeburga, queen of France.

France, for many months, had been in a ſtate of perplexity. It will be recollected, that Philip, after the death of his firſt queen, had married Ingeburga, princeſs of Denmark, with whom he never cohabited, and from whom, prevailing on the biſhops of his realm, he had obtained a divorce. She was ſaid to be fourth couſin to the deceaſed Iſabella. The king of Denmark carried his complaints to Rome; and Celeſtine then pope, rouſed, with ſome difficulty, to eſpouſe the cauſe of the injured princeſs, finally annulled the ſentence of divorce. But Ingeburga, mean while, was confined in a convent, without the limits of France, at a diſtance from every friend, and unprotected; and Philip had the audacity to take another lady to his arms, Agnes of the houſe of Morania. At this time, Innocent came to the papal chair. Alive as he was to every impreſſion, he ardently eſpouſed the cauſe of Ingeburga, and became her champion. But it was not with the uſual arms of chivalry that he fought. He admoniſhed the king to remove the adultreſs, and to take the queen into favour, having

[r] Hoveden. Annal. de Margan.

BOOK V.
1200.

ing firſt examined the documents, which were ſaid to eſtabliſh the conſanguinity of the queen. Philip diſregarded the paternal admonition; on which the legate was commanded to lay the kingdom of France under an interdict. At once, all religious ſervice ceaſed; the churches were ſhut; and the dead lay unburied on the ground. The king remonſtrated, appealed, ſeized the livings of the clergy, and with a high hand, forbad all obedience to the ſentence. But neither money, nor menaces, nor promiſes prevailed: the ſentence was obeyed; and Innocent triumphed in his ſuperior power. "Your majeſty "muſt ſubmit;" exclaimed the prelates and nobles, whoſe advice he had aſked. He did ſubmit; and the interdict was ſuſpended, at the end of eight months, on condition that the king made ſatisfaction to the eccleſiaſtics he had injured; that thoſe who had diſobeyed the ſentence ſhould preſent themſelves before his holineſs; that Agnes be diſmiſſed; that Ingeburga be treated as queen, whoſe cauſe ſhould be again examined, by the deciſion of which he ſhould abide.

A council met at Soiſſons. On one ſide was Philip, with the prelates and nobles of the land: on the other, Ingeburga with ſome biſhops, and a retinue of friends, whom her brother had ſent from Denmark. The cardinal legate preſided. Canoniſts from both courts were appointed to manage the debate; and a numerous audience ſtood in ſilent expectation. Ingeburga was uncommonly beautiful, and the hard treatment, ſhe had experienced, was known. Philip roſe. "I demand to be ſeparated from that lady," ſaid he, "to whom I am related within the prohibited "degree." — The Daniſh miniſters replied, detailing the parti-

particulars of the marriage treaty, and the ſolemn promiſes which had been made; and then ſhewing, that the allegation of kindred was moſt unfounded. But they ſaw in the legate's countenance, a predetermined partiality to the king. "We appeal from that judge," they ſaid, "to the pope." Ingeburga repeated the ſame words; and thus the ſeſſion ended.

Three days after, came another legate, a man of unſhaken probity, and who refuſed the preſents which Philip offered. The meeting was reſumed: but the Danes, in conſequence of their appeal, were gone; and Ingeburga was without an advocate. The king's council pleaded, and after many words, ſitting down, called for a reply. No one roſe. The queen's charms could give eloquence to no tongue. An eccleſiaſtic, at length, whom no one knew, meanly habited, and of an humble aſpect, raiſed his voice in the croud, and begged permiſſion to be heared. It was granted. With a flow of oratory he ſpoke; unfolded the intricacies, in which the queſtion had been involved; repelled objections; demonſtrated what the law was; and while admiration had ſeized the audience, he carried conviction to the breaſts of the judges. They retired to prepare the ſentence.—It was now ſignified to the king, that judgment would be pronounced againſt him. He, therefore, departed in haſte, taking Ingeburga with him, and ordering the legates to be told, that he was ſatisfied, and ſhould acknowledge her for his queen. Nothing more was done. But he confined this queen in the royal caſtle of Etampes, where ſhe was treated with reſpect, though ſecluded, not from his ſociety only, but from all free inter-

BOOK V.

1200. courſe with the world. Innocent often wrote to her, and unceaſingly urged the king to be kind to her, and to remember ſhe was queen of France[s].

In this ſame year died Agnes, whom Philip had diſmiſſed, leaving two children, who were afterwards ligitimated. What was the real cauſe of his diſlike to Ingeburga is only related on ſurmiſe: but the means which were uſed in her favour, could not poſſibly give life to any ſentiment of affection. The reader may be pleaſed to hear that, twelve years after, they were reconciled.—I made no remarks on the unchriſtian practice of puniſhing kingdoms, in the manner France was, for the tranſgreſſions of their princes; nor on the deference ſhewn to the eccleſiaſtical ſentence; nor on the boundleſs ſway of power, which Innocent poſſeſſed, over the greateſt princes of the earth.

1201. After the ceremony of his coronation, John had ſent an embaſſy into Scotland, hoping that William, whoſe reſentment he feared, might be induced to viſit him. It had been expected, he would have invaded the northern provinces; but in a night he ſpent before the ſhrine of Saint Margaret, he felt himſelf admoniſhed not to hazard the expedition; and he had diſbanded his army. Pleaſed with this attention of an embaſſy, he now complied with John's requeſt, and met him at Lincoln, to which place the king had come to receive his royal gueſt. A more auguſt aſſembly had ſeldom been ſeen. — There was a popular belief, that great calamities would fall on the king, who ſhould enter the walls of Lincoln. Stephen had deſpiſed the ſuperſtitious notion, and his reign was miſerable: and Henry, his

John meets the king of Scotland at Lincoln, and makes a progreſs through the realm.

[s] Geſt. Innocent. n. 49, &c. ap. Murat. Hoveden.

his ſucceſſor, more prudent and ſagacious, being at Lincoln, was not willing to riſk the dangerous trial. But his ſon, on this occaſion, againſt the advice of many, boldly paſſed the ominous gate, and offered a golden chalice on the new altar of St. John. — The kings then aſcended Bore Hill, which was ſoon covered by ſpectators innumerable. They converſed; while the prelates and nobles ſtood round; and William, kneeling down, pronounced the uſual oath of allegiance, whereby he renewed his vaſſalage, ſwearing on the croſs of Hubert of Canterbury, to bear true fealty to his liege lord, and to maintain the peace of both kingdoms, *ſaving his own right*. Three archbiſhops, thirteen biſhops, and twenty-nine noblemen of both realms, whoſe names are recorded, beſides many others, and the croud of ſpectators, witneſſed the extraordinary act. The royal vaſſal then riſing from the ground, petitioned, that the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland, be reſtored to him, as his juſt inheritance. A debate enſued; but nothing was determined; and the king requeſted, he might be allowed ſome months to deliberate. Early, on the following morning, William departed with the ſame noble eſcort, which had attended him through England[t]. — For what lands he did this homage, unleſs for his own kingdom of Scotland, cannot be ſhewn; for he poſſeſſed not, at that time, a foot of earth in this country. But why, thus voluntarily, he again ſubjected himſelf to a vaſſalage, from which, by an authentic charter, he had been releaſed by the late king, is not eaſily underſtood. It muſt have been from the hope, that the act of ſubmiſſion would move the king to comply more readily with his requeſt.

[t] Hoveden. Annal. de Margan. Chron. Walt. Heming.

1201.

The king of Scotland was departed, when meſſengers arrived, announcing the approach of the citizens of London, with the body of Hugh, biſhop of Lincoln. He has been, more than once, mentioned, and due praiſe has been given to his virtues and to his exemplary conduct. Returning from the Chartreuſe of Grenoble[u], whither he had been to viſit his brethren, (for he was of the Carthuſian order), he fell ſick in London, and died. John went to ſee him in his illneſs, and he confirmed his will, which was then neceſſary to give it validity. Hugh had requeſted to be buried in the new church at Lincoln, which himſelf had built; and from a reſpect to his high character, the citizens of London would attend him to his grave. As the proceſſion came near to the city, the king and all his nobles went out to meet it. The bearers halted; when John, aſſiſted by his attendants, took the bier on his ſhoulders, and bore it forwards. They were relieved by other noblemen, who proceeded to the porch of the great church. Here were the prelates, in their hallowed robes, who received the precious burthen, and conveyed it to the middle of the choir. On the next day the ceremony of interment was performed[v].—The reader will not be ſurpriſed to hear, that miracles, round the ſhrine of the worthy biſhop, were ſaid to be performed, as numerous as the credulity of the age was great.

From Guildford, where the monarch ſpent the chriſtmas, we now follow him, in a progreſs through the kingdom; and Iſabella was the attendant of his journey. They were again at Lincoln; croſſed the Humber into Yorkſhire; were at

[u] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 105. [v] Hoveden. Diceto. Annal. de Margan.

at Beverley, at Scarborough, and proceeding northward, viſited the extreme boundaries of the realm. It was in the moſt inclement months of winter. But not for pleaſure, or to ſhew his fair partner only, did he travel. Oppreſſion marked his ſteps: expenſive entertainments drained the purſes of the people; and he everywhere exacted large ſums, on pretence of treſpaſſes in his foreſts. Before this, he had demanded an aid of three ſhillings, on every hide of land. At York, through which he returned, his brother the ſon of Roſamond, met him, and a reconciliation took place. The high-minded prelate had not allowed the above aid to be levied within his liberties; he had given many other cauſes of offence; and as to his general conduct, it had continued to be inſolent to his inferiors, hoſtile to the higher clergy, and indecorous to himſelf. But it was not, without a heavy amerciament, that he gained his brother's favour.—Eaſter now approached, when the royal travellers haſtened back to the ſouth, and again were crowned at Canterbury. Hubert, as uſual, performed the ceremony; and at his own coſts entertained munificently the whole court, and the numerous attendants[w].

The barons ſhew diſcontent, and John goes into Poitou.

The cloud, which we ſaw at a diſtance, now began to gather more viſibly. News had come, that the barons of Poitou were in arms; and on this John commanded, that the earls, and barons, and military tenants of his realm, ſhould be ready with their arms and horſes, in whitſun-week, at Portſmouth, to ſail to the continent. The late arbitrary, though, perhaps, warrantable, impoſition of three ſhillings, and the more recent oppreſſions in the north,

[w] Hoveden. an. 1201. Diceto p. ult.

BOOK V.

1201.

north, joined to the prodigality and ungracious demeanour of their prince, had ſtill more ſoured the ſullen humour, with which, at his acceſſion, the nobles received him. The ſummons of attending their lord to France was, they knew, no breach of privilege; but it did not pleaſe them, and they aſſembled at Leiceſter. On this they debated, and came to an unanimous reſolution, which they ſignified to the king: "That they would not ſail with him, unleſs he reſtored to "them their rights." — What theſe were, remained ſtill unexplained. But ſo unſettled was the concert, they had formed, that John could break it by a menace. He ordered theſe refractory vaſſals to ſurrender their caſtles: to ſave which they gave their children into his hands, as hoſtages for their future fidelity; and, on the appointed day, were ready at Portſmouth. From this place, many were permitted to return home, on paying a ſcutage, the money they would have expended in the ſervice; and the reſt embarking with the king and Iſabella, ſailed to Normandy[x].

Near Andeli, the French king received them; and they waited on him at Paris, where every attention was exhibited, Philip relinquiſhing his own palace for their more commodious accommodation. And here alſo the articles of the laſt peace were confirmed anew, under a more ſolemn guarantee of the barons of both nations. — Berengaria, the young dowager queen, has been long out of ſight. Now ſhe came to the king at Chinon, to which place he went on leaving Paris, where the object of her viſit, viz. the ſettlement of her dower, was honourably compleated. It does not appear, that ſhe was ever in England, of which ſhe had been,

[x] Hoveden. Annal. Burt.

been, ſome years, queen. Bayeux, with its dependences, and two caſtles in Anjou, and a thouſand marks, to be paid half-yearly, were ſettled on her[y].

The diſturbances in Poitou and Aquitaine continued; at the head of which was Hugh de la Marche, the baron, from whoſe arms John had raviſhed his queen, the beautiful Iſabella. To chaſtiſe the rebels, the king advanced with his army; but he did not mean to engage in the toil of fighting battles and of ſtorming forts. He had hired, and brought with him from England and other countries, champions, men expert in the uſe of arms; and as he entered Poitou, he halted, and forming his court, ſent challenges to the principal rebels, firſt charging them with the crime of treaſon to himſelf and to the late king. The mode of warring was unprecedented, and in the true ſpirit of chivalry. But the barons, appriſed of the inſidious purpoſe, refuſed to appear, alledging that they were ready, indeed, to vindicate their honour; but that they ſhould not contend with any but their peers. Thus illuded, the weak prince returned into Normandy, leaving Robert de Turnham behind him, to oppoſe the malcontents. Their diſaffection gained ſtrength and numbers from the inſolent meaſure, and its puſillanimous proſecution[z].

Another legate came into France, deputed from his holineſs, to raiſe further ſupplies for the holy land. The kings readily promiſed a fortieth part of their annual revenue; and John ordered his chief juſticiary Fitzpeter, now earl of Eſſex, to levy a ſimilar contingent on his Engliſh ſubjects. It had been done in France. The inſtructions addreſſed by the

[y] Hoveden. Annal. Burt. [z] Ibid.

BOOK V.

1201.

the juſticiary to the ſheriffs and bailiffs, of the different towns and counties, are conveyed in the moſt artful terms. He ſuſpected, it is evident, that a precept would not have been complied with. "At the earneſt requeſt of a cardinal "from the pontiff," he ſays, "and with the advice of his "nobles in France, our king has granted a fortieth part of "the value of all his revenues, for the uſe of the holy land. "His ſubjects there have voluntarily done the ſame; and "at their prayer it is, that he has written to his nobles "here, begging and exhorting them, with a pure heart, "and from a motive of benevolence, to accompliſh the "ſame good work. It is not to be granted, nor is it aſked "on any pretence of right, or cuſtom, or compulſion, or "of any authority whatever from the court of Rome." The mode of levying the ſubſidy is then diſtinctly appointed; after which the particular ſums were to be regiſtered with the names of the perſons, and their reſpective poſſeſſions, rated according to their annual value. They who paid this tax, and conſequently every other, were earls, barons, military tenants or knights, and free tenants, otherwiſe called ſocmen: ſuch of the clergy alſo, who poſſeſſed lay-fees. The juſticiary finally orders, that the names of thoſe ſhall be regiſtered, and ſent up to him, who may refuſe to comply with the king's petition[a]. — The inſtrument is curious, and cloſes the hiſtory of the minute and accurate Roger Hoveden. With reluctance I quit his honeſt page.

1202.

Duke Arthur is taken priſoner, and murdered.

The late peace had ſeemed to promiſe ſome years of tranquillity to both countries: but powers ſo conſtituted, as thoſe of France and England were, could not poſſibly be friends.

[a] Hoveden p. ult.

friends. Philip was ambitious, and his rival was a weak prince. The latter, beſides, had now loſt his confederates, particularly the earl of Flanders, who had taken the croſs, and was departing, with many others, to Paleſtine. The barons of Aquitaine were in arms, and they called on their ſuzerain lord, the French monarch, to aid them againſt the oppreſſion of their immediate ſovereign. And the claims of duke Arthur might, at all times, be made a ſource of plauſible contention. On the mind of a politic prince, againſt theſe motives, the obligations of a treaty would weigh as nothing. Philip, reſolved not to let paſs the favourable occaſion, in an interview with the Engliſh king, made on him the moſt exorbitant and unprovoked demands. In a moment, peace was at an end, and the French forces entered Normandy. Caſtles, as uſual, were taken; while John made ſome reſiſtance; but Gournai, a place of great ſtrength, finally fell. Here the young duke joined his protector, and receiving from him the honour of knighthood, he was girded with the ſoldier's ſword. At the ſame time, Philip promiſed him his daughter in marriage, Mary, an infant by Agnes de Meranie; and inveſting him in the dutchy of Bretagne, which he held under his uncle, as alſo in the earldoms of Poitou and Anjou, the youth did homage for them in the hands of Philip. "Here," then ſaid the king, "are two hundred knights; march with them, and "take poſſeſſion of the provinces which are your's[b]." It was now the middle of ſummer.

The military band inſtantly entered Poitou, where hearing that the caſtle of Mirabeau was an object deſerving of

[b] Mat. Par. an. 1202. Guil. Armoric. Annal. Waver.

BOOK V. 1202.

their firſt attention, it was reſolved to beſiege it. Queen Eleanor was there. Fontevraud, with its pious recluſes, and the gloomy monuments of her deceaſed huſband and children, had not detained her long. Mirabeau ſoon ſurrendered; but Eleanor had retired, with ſome choſen ſoldiers, to a tower which would not be ſo eaſily taken. Her unfriendly behaviour to Conſtance, the mother of Arthur, and the violence with which ſhe had eſpouſed, on a late occaſion, her ſon's ſucceſſion to the throne, juſtified this hoſtile attack. Arthur drew his men round the tower; and while he prepared to aſſault it, he was joined by the earl of la Marche, with a powerful reinforcement. Still reſiſtance was made, and Eleanor had the addreſs to diſpatch a meſſenger into Normandy, to inform John of her perilous ſituation. At the head of an army, he flew to her relief, and was within ſight of Mirabeau, before the enemy had been appriſed of his march. A battle enſued, fiercely fought on both ſides, in which Arthur bravely fleſht his maiden ſword; but the fortune of the king prevailed. The duke was captured, and the earl of la Marche, and the Engliſh hiſtorians ſay, the whole force of the enemy. They were ſent into different priſons, in Normandy and England; and the caſtle of Falaiſe received the expiring hope of Bretagne[c].

The unexpected ſucceſs filled the Engliſh monarch with delight, as it did Philip with confuſion. The latter retired to Paris; and John, after ſome days, repaired to Falaiſe. He ordered his nephew to be brought to him. With gentleneſs he ſpoke to him, exhorting him to renounce the friendſhip

[c] Mat. Par. Ypodig. Neuſtr.

1202.

friendſhip of Philip, and to prefer an intereſt, at once more honourable and more natural: "For I am your uncle," continued he, "and your liege ſovereign. Be faithful only "to me, and I will heap honours on your head."—The ill adviſed youth ſternly replied: "Give me back the crown "of England, and all the lands, which my uncle Richard "held, on the day he died. They are my juſt inheritance; "and till they be reſtored, I ſwear, you ſhall never long "live in peace."—Troubled and provoked by the haughty anſwer, the king commanded his nephew to be taken to Rouen, and to be more ſtrictly guarded. He was never more heared of[d].

1203.

Various reports of the murder, and its conſequences.

The ſecreſy which veiled this murderous deed, while it added to its atrocity, gave riſe to conjectures and reports, which, as the imagination formed them, were peculiarly affecting and lamentable. Tale grew out of tale, and the more accumulated it was, the more it was credited. The uncle, men ſaid, was the murderer of his nephew. They talked of a dark night; of a boat rowing to the foot of the tower, where Arthur lay; of ſhrieks heared; and of fiſhermen, who had found the bloody corpſe. A general horror ſeized the minds of all. But the Bretons were moſt affected. They had loſt their darling prince, whoſe name, with a ſuperſtitious veneration, they had learned to cheriſh; Conſtance, his mother, was lately dead; and Eleanor his ſiſter, called the *damſel of Bretagne*, was in the hands of her murderous uncle. The nobles aſſembled at Vannes, and Guy de Thouars, laſt huſband of the deceaſed dutcheſs, appeared at their head. He held in his arms Alice, a little infant,

[d] Mat. Par. 1203.

BOOK V.

1203.

whom Conſtance had borne to him. The tale of the late aſſaſſination was now told, we may preſume, and probably with the following circumſtances, which are ſtill related in the country. John, they ſaid, to ſcreen the deed he meditated, taking his nephew from the dungeon in Rouen, proceeded with him towards Cherbourg, viewing the coaſt, as he paſſed along. Late, one evening, followed by a few attendants, whom he had commanded not to approach, they came to a high cliff, which overhung the ſea. The king looked down the precipice; drew his ſword; and riding furiouſly againſt the prince, ſtabbed him. Arthur cried for mercy, and falling to the ground, the murderer dragged him to the brink, and hurled him, yet breathing, into the waves below[e].

The Bretons ſtood in need of no incentive to their juſt indignation. They unanimouſly ſwore to revenge their prince's death; they choſe the infant Alice, for their ſovereign; named Guy, her guardian, and the general of their confederacy; and at once reſolved to carry their complaints before Philip, their ſuzerain lord, and to demand juſtice. He liſtened to their petition; and ſummoned John to a trial before his peers, as a vaſſal of the French crown. The proceſs was in the regular order of feudal juſtice. But the ill-fated monarch did not appear; on which, with the concurrence of the barons, this ſentence was pronounced on him: "That John, duke of "Normandy, unmindful of his oath to Philip his lord, "had murdered his elder brother's ſon, a homager to the "crown of France, within the ſeignory of that realm; "whereon

[e] Argentré Hiſt. de Bretag. c. 78. Annal. de Margan.

" whereon he is judged a traitor, and as an enemy to the " crown of France, to forfeit all his dominions which he " held by homage, and that re-entry be made by force of " arms [f]."

Philip, when the ſeaſon would permit, entered Normandy; and the Bretons, co-operating with his deſigns, laid waſte the neighbouring country. But no reſiſtance was made: the caſtles opened their gates, and the towns every where received the victors. John, in the mean while, ſupinely indolent and immerſed in pleaſure, was at Caen, not ſolicitous, by any defence, to remove the charge of murder from his name, nor heeding the progreſs of the enemy's arms. " Let them proceed," ſaid he liſtleſsly; " in a ſingle day, I will retake all their conqueſts." The Engliſh barons, who were with him, having in vain urged him to action, would no longer witneſs theſe diſhonourable ſcenes. They obtained permiſſion, and returned into England. He had now few ſoldiers left near his perſon; but he came to Rouen, ſmiling before the citizens, though every day brought the news of freſh diſaſters. " The king," the people ſaid, " was infatuated by ſome ſpell or witch-" craft." Iſabella, only, never parted from his ſide [g]. Thus paſſed the ſummer months.

Innocent eſpouſes the cauſe of John.

But John, whon neither honour nor the preſervation of his ſtates could animate, had implored, ingloriouſly, the aid of Rome. Innocent eſpouſed his intereſt; and by two envoys, whom he deputed to the French court, he commanded Philip to convene an aſſembly of his vaſſals, and to ceaſe from hoſtilities. The duke of Burgundy and other nobles

[f] Vit. Phil. Mat. Weſt. an. 1202. Annal. de Marg.

[g] Mat. Par.

BOOK V. 1203. nobles reſiſted the incongruous mandate, adviſing Philip not to liſten to meaſures, which came thus recommended, and that they would oppoſe any violence, which ſhould be offered to the independence of his crown. An anſwer, therefore, was returned, "that the quarrels of princes re-"garded not the ſee of Rome, and that in the concerns of "his vaſſals, the king would attend to no orders from that "ſource."—The pontiff, in his reply, inſiſts, that it is an eſſential duty of his office, to interfere in all matters, which may affect the ſpiritual intereſt of the faithful, and that ſuch are wars, and hoſtile invaſions; that he aſſumes no undue rights, nor pretends to infringe the ſecular juriſdiction: but that he is the arbiter of peace and war. He wrote to the French biſhops, enforcing the ſame maxims: "We pretend not," ſays he, "to trouble or to weaken "the power of the monarch; nor ſhould he oppoſe our "juriſdiction. We do not call in queſtion the feudal rights, "which belong to his crown: but we pronounce on what "is *ſinful*, the correction of which, over all deſcriptions of "men, appertains to the holy ſee." The biſhops ſupported their king, appealed to Rome, and the controverſy was ſuſpended[h].—Under this broad pretext of impeding or chaſtiſing ſin, an eccleſiaſtical tribunal was erected, which drew to itſelf the cognizance of almoſt every proceſs, and abſorbed the neareſt intereſts of ſtates.

Philip had projected the attack of Chateau Gaillard, the raiſing of which by the hand of Richard I mentioned, and now, to convince the pontiff and the nation, that he would not be controuled in his purpoſes, even when the altercation

[h] Rigord. p. 46, 47. Inn. ep. 165, 167.

tion was warmeſt, he drew together his army and machines of war, and ſat down before the proud fortreſs. Roger de Lacy commanded in it. The hiſtorians of the age have detailed the particulars of this memorable ſiege, which laſted for the long ſpace of ſeven months. Wonderful exertions were made on both ſides; but only one attempt was hazarded by John, to relieve the brave garriſon. This failed of ſucceſs, though conducted by the earl of Pembroke, a man of vigour and great capacity. The king then haſtened to the ſhore, and ſailed to England, leaving this bulwark of his Norman territories a prey to the determined efforts of his rival[i]. Nor was it to retrieve his fame, that he appeared amongſt his Engliſh ſubjects. He accuſed the barons of having deſerted his perſon, whereby the enemy had been empowered to invade his dominions with ſucceſs; and under this plea, he ſeized the ſeventh part of all their moveables. To the clergy alſo he extended the ſame impoſition, though they had given occaſion to no ſuch complaint. And the primate, and Eſſex the juſticiary, were the inſtruments of theſe extortions[k].

1203.

I have ſaid, that another cruſade had been formed, under the animating influence of Innocent; and as thoſe engaged in it were principally the French and Flemiſh noblemen, who had eſpouſed the Engliſh intereſt, the circumſtance, whilſt it was moſt unfavourable to John, enabled Philip to purſue his deſigns more confidently. The place of general rendezvous was Venice, to which, in the year 1202, a great army had reſorted. They were commanded by Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, under whom were the earl of Flanders

1204.

The cruſaders erect a new empire at Conſtantinople.

[i] Guil. Brito. l. 7. Annal. Waver. [k] Mat. Par.

1204. ders and many puiſſant barons. The earl of Flanders was Baldwin, the ninth of the name. But, inſtead of proceeding to the reſcue of Paleſtine, they joined the Venetians, and ſailed to Zara, a town in Dalmatia, which the king of Hungary had lately taken from the republic. The pontiff oppoſed this expedition, as contrary to the vow of the cruſaders, and threatened excommunication. His threats were diſregarded, and Zara ſurrendered. Here the army wintered, and here the generals received a deputation from young Alexius, ſon to Iſaac Angelo, emperor of Conſtantinople, whom his brother, named alſo Alexius, had, a few years before, dethroned and impriſoned. Would they reſtore the emperor to his throne, the prince offered to re-eſtabliſh, over the eaſtern church, the juriſdiction of the Roman ſee, to pay to the cruſaders two hundred thouſand marks, and to ſupply their armies with proviſions, and moreover to aid them in their conqueſt of Paleſtine. The treaty, after ſome oppoſition, was accepted. But here again, notwithſtanding the firſt article, Innocent interfered, from an apprehenſion that, by the power and treachery of the Greeks, the army would be diſſipated, and the primary object of their expedition be loſt. Still the flattering proſpect prevailed, and the allurements of the treaty; and by this time, the prince himſelf had joined the army. They ſailed from Zara, and within two months, on the twenty-third of June, appeared within ſight of Conſtantinople.

Alexius, ſeeing the armament approach, ſent a nobleman to demand, what was the motive of their coming? If they wanted money or proviſions, they ſhould have both, provided they quitted his dominions; it would be at the peril of

of their lives, if they remained, or attempted any violence. —"Tell your maſter," replied Conon de Bethune, in the name of the army, "that we are not in his territories; but "in thoſe of his nephew, who there ſits before you. If "he is diſpoſed to reſtore the empire to him, we will "entreat the prince to pardon the tyrant, and to permit "him to live in ſplendour. But come no more here, un-"leſs to fulfill this condition." — Advancing then nearer to the city, they ſhewed the prince to the people; but receiving no anſwer, inſtantly they landed, attacked the walls, and carried them by ſtorm. Alexius fled: but the Greeks drew their dethroned emperor from priſon, and ſeating him in his palace, announced the event to the victors. They demanded the ratification of the treaty, which had been made with his ſon; and this being complied with, the whole army entered Conſtantinople in triumph, conducting with them the prince who, a few days after, on the firſt of Auguſt, was alſo crowned emperor, in the church of St. Sophia. — Their next meaſure was to pacify the pontiff. The chiefs wrote to him, pointing to the hand of providence which had led them, they ſaid, on their journey, the happy conſequence of which would be the reunion of the churches. Of this alſo young Alexius aſſured his holineſs. The anſwer of Innocent is wary and circumſpect, intimating, that he was not to be deceived by profeſſions, and that the event ſhould prove the ſincerity of Alexius, and juſtify the irregular conduct of the cruſaders.

The face of things ſoon changed. Alexius, in poſſeſſion of the throne, deemed himſelf ſecure, and began to treat

BOOK V.

1204. his protectors with leſs reſpect, and to diſcontinue the contributions of money and proviſions. They were not men to be inſulted. The Greeks alſo, whom the conduct of their young emperor, in calling in the Latins, had juſtly irritated, meditated his downfall. Hoſtilities opened. Another Alexius was proclaimed emperor by the people, and the reigning prince being ſeized, was maſſacred. Iſaac did not long ſurvive his ſon.—The Latin barons then aſſembled, and the delegates from Rome having pronounced, that it was lawful to wage war againſt a murderer, they unanimouſly reſolved, for the honour of God and the proſperity of the church, boldly to attempt the conqueſt of the imperial throne of Byzantium; and they ſettled a treaty of partition, ſhould their arms prove ſucceſsful.

It was the month of March, in this year, when they again beſieged the city. The uſurper, with a large army, was within the walls; but he ignominiouſly retired, and Conſtantinople, within a few days, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Horrible was the ſcene which enſued; while the victors, with the ſacred croſs on their ſhoulders, committed every exceſs, which cruelty, avarice, luſt could inſtigate. Even their religious notions gave an ardour to their rapacity. In the churches and monaſteries of Conſtantinople, had been depoſited a great collection of relics, drawn from the eaſtern countries. On theſe the ſuperſtitious Latins ſeized with avidity, ſome, indeed, to poſſeſs the rich coverings which contained them, and others, from a veneration to the things themſelves. And this holy pillage it was, which, at this time, filled the weſt with an overflow of bodies, arms, heads, and other members, on which a miſguided piety

piety could faſten with enthuſiaſm, not ſenſible how empty the devotion was, and how ſpurious, in general, were the objects of their veneration.

A pauſe from devaſtation, at length, enſued; when twelve electors were appointed, who choſe Baldwin, earl of Flanders, emperor; and, on the ſeventeenth of May, he was ſolemnly crowned. Agreeably to their convention, a diviſion was then made of the territory, and the Venetians, and the marquis of Montferrat, and other chiefs, were inveſted with great poſſeſſions. Thus began the empire of the Latins at Conſtantinople, which laſted for more than fifty years.—Nor was it any longer difficult to prevail on Innocent, to approve this glorious achievement. The revolution was unexpected, and he reſolved to ſtrengthen it by his utmoſt exertions. From Paleſtine now, and from every quarter of Europe, crowds haſtened to Conſtantinople, to partake of the ſpoil, to join the victorious Francs, and to witneſs the fall of a proud and a perfidious nation[1].

Normandy and other provinces taken by Philip.

The ſiege of Chateau Gaillard continued. But Philip, when he heared that the Engliſh king had left Normandy, ſent to its governors and the barons of the neighbouring provinces, requeſting to be received as their ſovereign, ſince their immediate lord had deſerted his ſtation; otherwiſe, they muſt expect to feel the utmoſt vengeance of his arm. With great loyalty they rejected the propoſal; but, hopeleſs of preſent ſuccour, they agreed to offer hoſtages for a year's truce, after which, ſhould no aid come, they would receive Philip, they promiſed, for their maſter, and reſign their caſtles to him.—John was in England, and he had the

[1] Geſt. Inn. Villehard. Nicet. &c. ap. Murat. Fleury, &c.

BOOK V. audacity, meeting his nobles at Oxford, to demand from them an aid of two marks and a half, on every knight's fee. They granted it. The church alſo promiſed their contributions.

1204.

But news now came, that the brave de Lacy, defending the laſt ſtone of his caſtle, and in want of bread, had been taken priſoner, and that the fortreſs was in the hands of Philip. Meſſengers likewiſe, ſoon afterwards, arrived from the barons of Normandy, to implore aſſiſtance, as the year advanced, and the French king with a mighty force was prepared to invade their poſſeſſions. "They may act as "they like beſt," replied the monarch; "from me no aid "will come."—Philip entered Normandy. The caſtle of Falaiſe firſt ſurrendered, and then the towns of the lower province, while the Bretons co-operated with the arms of France; and, in a few weeks, Rouen alſo capitulated, and Arques, and Verneuil. By midſummer, the whole province did homage to the French king, two hundred and ninety years, after it had been diſmembered from the monarchy. Its fate was now fixed for ever.—In this unexampled tide of victory, Philip did not relax. Maine ſubmitted, and Touraine, and Poitou, and Anjou, a few caſtles only excepted, and la Rochelle [m].—Immerſed in pleaſure, and ſatisfied, ſays an hiſtorian, with the poſſeſſion of his queen, John remained unmoved. He had collected much treaſure, and on this he relied for the recovery of his dominions, whenever it ſhould be his will to diſtribute it. "By God's feet," ſaid he laughing, "ſome Engliſh "ſterlings ſhall ſoon redreſs theſe evils [n]."—Queen Eleanor, who

[m] Mat. Par. Guil. Brito. Annal. Waver. [n] Mat. Weſt. an. 1204.

who long had witneſſed the glory of the Engliſh name, and to the exaltation of which ſhe had ſo largely contributed, now ſaw its decline, and died in anguiſh. She was in her eighty-ſecond year. 1204.

The lethargy, for a moment, ſeemed to diſſipate. In the ſpring of this year, John aſſembled a great army, announcing his intention to land in France; and a fleet attended him at Portſmouth. But the primate and others, from what motives is not ſaid, oppoſed the deſign. Probably, they had been bribed by Philip, or acted even under a more baſe influence. The king therefore himſelf embarked with a ſmall retinue; but, on the third day, he relanded on the ſame ſhore, furious, as it ſeemed, from reflection, and feigning diſappointment. If his vaſſals, he pretended, could thus deſert him, when a cauſe of ſuch magnitude demanded their ſervice, they ſhould feel, at leaſt, that he was their ſovereign: and on this pretence of diſobedience to their lord, he exacted a heavy fine, from all orders in the ſtate[o]. To this meaſure, it may be preſumed, his miniſters had adviſed him. The nation could, as yet, ſubmit. Had he preſented himſelf in force on the Norman coaſt, a powerful diverſion had been made in his favour by Guy de Touars, father to the infant ducheſs of Bretagne, whom the conqueſts of Philip juſtly alarmed. He had ſufficiently revenged, he thought, the murder of Arthur; but alone he could not oppoſe the arms of France. Thus was Philip permitted, in unmoleſted ſecurity, to enjoy the happieſt fruits of conqueſt, in giving ſtability to his meaſures, and bending, by gentle impreſſions, the ſtubborn minds of his 1205.

Norman

[o] Mat. Par. an. 1205. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

BOOK V.

1206.

Norman ſubjects, particularly, to a yoke which, they had long profeſſed to hold in deteſtation.

A truce with France.

But, in the ſummer of this year, John really led an army to the continent, which he landed at la Rochelle. The barons of Poitou were ready to join him; the country every where ſubmitted; and he advanced againſt the capital of Anjou. Angers was taken, and in it many priſoners. But when Philip approached, and a battle was expected; to the ſurpriſe of all men, John conſented to a ceſſation of hoſtilities. This was followed by a truce for two years; when the weak and miſguided monarch, leaving his enemy in poſſeſſion of the provinces he deſerved to rule, returned, loaded with new infamy, to meet the curſes of an inſulted nation [p].

1207. As no oppoſition had hitherto thwarted his moſt oppreſſive ſchemes, he could proceed, he doubted not, to freſh extortions. At Oxford, where the nobles and prelates were aſſembled, he demanded the thirteenth part of their chattels. They murmured, ſays the hiſtorian, but dared not refuſe; and the tax was levied on laity and clergy. The ſon of Roſamond only boldly withſtood the meaſure, and ſecretly retiring from the country, denounced an anathema againſt the king's officers, who ſhould collect the plunder, as he called it, in the dioceſe of York, or dare to lay hands on the poſſeſſions of the church, in any quarter of the realm [q]. He came no more to England.

Stephen Langton appointed to the ſee of Canterbury.

At this time, there was no primate. — Hubert had died two years before, when ſome young monks of the convent of Chriſtchurch, ſecretly elected Reginald, their ſubprior, and

[p] Ibid. an. 1206. [q] Mat. Par. Tho. Stubbs an. 1207. Annal. ut ſup.

and placing him on the archiepiſcopal throne, in the ſilence of the night, exacted an oath, that he would reveal to no one what they had done, without their further permiſſion. He ſwore it, and inſtantly, with a few companions, ſet out for Rome, hoping that the pontiff would ratify the choice, which had been made. But the vain man had hardly reached the continent, when he publicly announced his election, and ſhewed the letters he bore with him to his holineſs. He continued his journey.—Informed of the diſingenuous conduct, the young monks angrily joined their brethren; and they agreed to petition leave from the king to elect an archbiſhop. The man of their firſt choice had violated the compact, by which his promotion held. John granted their requeſt: but privately he ſignified to the meſſengers, that the biſhop of Norwich would be peculiarly pleaſing to him; that he only had been admitted to the ſecrets of his heart; and that his tranſlation to the ſee of Canterbury would be advantageous to the kingdom, as to himſelf. The monks complied; and the biſhop being choſen, was ſolemnly proclaimed primate, in the preſence of the king, who, at the ſame time, inveſted him with all the poſſeſſions and rights of the ſee[r]. — Thus was opened a new ſource of contention, the progreſs of which will fill with miſery the remaining years of John.

Apprehenſive that Reginald, who was gone to Rome, might poſſibly obtain the good-will of Innocent, the king thought it more expedient, to ſend thither a deputation of monks, at the head of whom was Elias de Brantfield. Their expences were royally defrayed from the treaſury; and the object

[r] Mat. Par. an. 1205. Chron. Walt. Heming.

BOOK V. 1207.

object of their miſſion was, to procure from the pontiff, the confirmation of the choice lately made by themſelves and the king. — But the Engliſh prelates of the dioceſe of Canterbury, who had not even been conſulted on the occaſion, bore the neglect impatiently. If hitherto they had not ſingly choſen their primate, they had, at leaſt, concurred with the monks, and the privilege, they maintained, was their equal claim. To ſupport this claim, and to complain of the late tranſaction, the biſhops alſo ſent deputies to Rome. To the perſon of the new primate they had no objection.—Innocent was thus acknowledged ſupreme arbiter in the conteſt, and his deciſion, it ſeemed, was called for. The parties appeared, in a public conſiſtory, before him; the agents of the biſhops, the friends to Reginald, and the deputation of monks, in the intereſt of John.

The cauſe of the prelates was firſt decided. It appeared, from ancient uſage and ſpecial grants, that the right of election belonged to the monks. The biſhops, indeed, only pretended that jointly with them, they had choſen the three laſt primates. It had been ſo; but the convent invariably reſiſted their interference, nor had they been influenced by their votes. The monks aſſembled in chapter: the biſhops often at Weſtminſter, and not on the ſame day. Innocent therefore, to decide a controverſy, which had long been agitated, decreed that the monks, in future, ſhould be the ſole electors. The arrangement was indecent, and adverſe to the genuine ſpirit of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment; but a precedent, which centuries had confirmed, merited, perhaps, ſome attention.

Now

Now pleaded the monks. The few who adhered to Reginald, requeſted the confirmation of their choice; and the king's deputies preſented the biſhop of Norwich. Thus the latter reaſoned. Reginald, they ſaid, was clandeſtinely elected in the night, without the uſual ceremonies, without the royal aſſent, and not with the concurrence of the ſeniors of the convent. "We petition, therefore," they continued, "that John of Norwich be confirmed our pri-"mate, whoſe election was canonically made, and in the "preſence, and with the conſent of our lord the king."— "Your boaſted election," replied the ſolicitor for Reginald, "muſt be neceſſarily void: becauſe whatever ours was, "irregular even and unjuſt, it ſhould have been annulled, "before you proceeded to a ſecond choice. I petition, that "Reginald be our primate." — Much altercation enſued: it did not ſeem, that the parties could be induced to coaleſce in one choice; and Innocent judged that both candidates had been uncanonically elected. He took the advice of his cardinals, and pronounced ſentence, whereby both elections were voided, and both candidates forbidden to proſecute any further claim to the ſee of Canterbury[s]. And the bribe which was offered to him, amounting, it was ſaid, to eleven thouſand marks, he rejected with indignation[t].—That the pontiff, on this occaſion, exceeded the limits of his prerogative, as it was then admitted, and which the parties, by their application, themſelves acknowledged, will not be eaſily ſhewn.

It was then ſignified to the deputies, that they were at liberty to elect whom elſe they pleaſed, provided he were

[s] Mat. Par. an. 1207. Chron. Walt. Heming. [t] Geſt. Inn. n. 131.

 qualified,

BOOK V.

1207.

qualified, and a native of England. The latter condition might ſurpriſe, but it was ſoon unriddled; for the pontiff recommended to their choice Stephen Langton, a member of the ſacred college, whoſe ſcience, he ſaid, and virtues were conſpicuous, and whoſe promotion would be profitable to the king and the Engliſh church.—The king, it appears, had promiſed his deputies, to receive the primate they ſhould elect; but they, at the ſame time, had ſworn to elect no other, than the biſhop of Norwich. They replied, therefore, that, without the conſent of their maſter and that of their community, no choice, they ſhould make, would be deemed canonical, or agreeable to the laws and liberties of the king and kingdom. "Your power," anſwered Innocent warmly, "is ſufficiently ample; and as "to the royal aſſent, learn, that here it has not been "thought neceſſary, when elections are made in the pre-"ſence of the pontiff. I command you, under pain of "excommunication, to chuſe him for your primate, whom "I named to you." — The monks, intimidated by the menace, reluctantly and with murmurs, aſſented. Only Elias de Brantfield would not comply; while the others, ſinging the *Te Deum*, led Stephen to the altar: and on the ſeventeenth of June, he was conſecrated by Innocent himſelf at Viterbo, where he then reſided[u].

Stephen Langton, born in England, had ſtudied at Paris, where his literary acquirements had raiſed him to offices of high dignity. He was a canon of the cathedral church, and chancellor of the univerſity. There he remained many years. He alſo poſſeſſed a prebend in the church of York. But

[u] Mat. Par. Geſt. Inn. Annal. Waver. Chron. Walt. Heming.

1207.

But the fame of his learning and many virtues reaching the ears of Innocent, he called him to Rome, employed him in the concerns of the ſee, and promoted him to the dignity of cardinal prieſt, under the title of St. Chryſogonus. An eccleſiaſtic, in the confidence of the ambitious Innocent, and by him forced on the ſee of Canterbury, would be, it was with reaſon apprehended, a dangerous agent of his court. We ſhall ſee what his conduct was.

Controverſy between the Pontiff and John.

But the pontiff, well aware that a prince of John's temper would not be led without difficulty, wrote to him, in terms of much gentleneſs, extolling the merits of Langton, whoſe learning, he ſaid, and virtues would be beneficial to him; and exhorting him to receive him kindly as his primate. Previouſly to this, he had ſent him four golden rings, richly ſet; and to enhance the value of the preſent, he explained, by various conceits, the myſteries they ſignified. John was pleaſed.—Innocent alſo wrote to the monks of Canterbury, commanding them to receive the archbiſhop, and to obey him.—The charms of the rings at once vaniſhed, when the ſecond letter came. Furious at the unexpected news, he turned his rage againſt the monks. They were all traitors, he ſaid: had firſt choſen Reginald; then, to palliate their crime, had elected the biſhop of Norwich; had taken money from his treaſury; had gone to Rome to procure the confirmation of this meaſure; and to complete their infamy, had there choſen Stephen Langton, his declared enemy, and had obtained his conſecration. He diſpatched two knights, with an armed band, to drive the monks from their convent. They marched to Canterbury, and entering the cloiſters drew their ſwords. "In the

BOOK V. 1207.

" king's name," they exclaimed, " we command you, as " traitors, to quit the realm; or, in a moment, we will " ſet fire to theſe walls, and burn you with your convent." The menace ſufficed. All the monks, whom ſickneſs did not prevent, departed, and going into Flanders, they were received into the convents there. But their effects were ſeized and confiſcated; and the lands of the archbiſhopric and of the monaſtery lay without culture[v].

He then ſent meſſengers with letters to the pope. They contained, in reproachful and menacing language, that, having injuriouſly ſet aſide the biſhop of Norwich, he had made primate one Stephen Langton, a man utterly unknown to him, and educated in the kingdom of France, amongſt his enemies; and what was ſtill more prejudicial to the liberties of his crown, he had not even aſked his conſent to the unprecedented meaſure. It was truly wonderful, he continued, that neither his holineſs, nor the court of Rome, ſhould have reflected, how neceſſary his friendſhip had till now been to them, and that they drew more wealth from England, than from all other ſtates on this ſide the Alps. The liberties of his crown, he added, he would defend, if neceſſary, with his life; and that no conſideration ſhould prevail on him, to relinquiſh the election of the biſhop of Norwich. " If this be refuſed to me," he concluded, " no further journeys ſhall be made to Rome, to " the ſerious detriment of my kingdom. And as the pre- " lates, I have near me, are amply ſtored with ſcience, I " will no more beg from ſtrangers either advice or juſtice[w]."

The

[v] Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver. [w] Mat. Par.

1207.

The reply of Innocent to the meſſengers, and by letter to the king, was temperate, firm, and in the genuine ſpirit of the Roman ſee. Having noticed the petulancy of his language, which he contraſts with the moderation of his own addreſs, he proceeds to the objections made againſt the primate. He was educated in France, he allows, and what then? There he had gained renown and ſcience. But he is a ſtranger, it is pretended. Yet to this ſtranger, he ſays, the king had thrice written, ſince his promotion to the ſacred college, and it had been his wiſh to have drawn him near to his own perſon. By the ties of nature and duty he was attached to his king and country. As a man highly qualified to undertake the great charge, the monks had choſen him; and on that election he inſiſts. But the royal conſent, it is urged, had not been aſked.—Here the pontiff informs us, what the hiſtorian had not related, that two monks had been deputed from Rome to the king, to obtain his conſent, and to requeſt that, he would ſend his agents who might witneſs the tranſaction. The monks had been detained on the road; but the letters they bore, had been delivered to the king's meſſengers. The electors alſo, he ſays, had by letter implored his aſſent. "And "I," continues Innocent, "who poſſeſs ſupreme juriſdic- "tion over the ſee of Canterbury, and who know that, "when elections are made at Rome, it was never cuſtomary "to wait for the conſent of kings, I implored your royal "approbation. That I did, and to do more was not my "duty. I then proceeded, as the holy canons have direct- "ed." He exhorts him to acquieſce in the juſt meaſure, and not to involve himſelf in difficulties, which may prove inextricable;

BOOK V. 1207.

inextricable; not to liſten to the counſels of falſe friends. "Reſiſtance to God and the church," he concludes, "in "a cauſe, for which the glorious martyr, Thomas, lately "ſhed his blood, muſt bring danger to you; particularly "as your predeceſſors, Henry and your brother, abjured "the pernicious practice, in the hands of the apoſtolic "legates. If you ſubmit, it ſhall be my care, that the "rights of your crown be not injured[x]."

Thus ſpoke the imperial Innocent: but neither were his maxims new, nor his conduct unconſtitutional. If he was not free to decide on the merits of the election, why were deputies ſent to plead before him? In them, by the king himſelf, was allowed to reſide the power of chuſing a primate. They choſe Stephen Langton. His conſecration only was precipitate; before which the royal approbation ſhould have been received, whatever might be the prerogative of the Roman ſee. That decency demanded.

In co-operation with the pontiff, other means were uſed to ſooth or intimidate the king to ſubmiſſion. Nothing prevailed. The cardinals were, therefore, convened: after which, orders were ſent to the biſhops of London, of Ely, and of Worceſter, to wait on the king, in the name of Innocent. Their further commiſſion was, to exhort him, with a reſpectful liberty, no longer to oppoſe, what was called the will of heaven; but to receive Langton, and relieve the church of Canterbury. Should they find him obdurate, then were they commanded to lay England under an interdict, and to menace the king with a heavier rod, if he did not relent. — The ſame meſſenger brought letters

[x] Mat. Par.

1207.

letters to the ſuffragan biſhops, requiring from them obedience to their primate, and ſtrenuous exertions in the cauſe of their liberties. — He brought alſo letters to the Engliſh barons; wherein they were requeſted, to uſe their influence on the monarch's mind, and thus prevent the evils, which his rebellion againſt the church muſt draw on the nation[y].—Where was now the ſpirit of the lowly Jeſus, whoſe vicars or immediate deputies theſe men, in their proudeſt domination, ſtill dared to ſtile themſelves?

1208.

England laid under an interdict.

Early in the ſpring, the three biſhops waited on the king. They declared their commiſſion, and humbly entreated him, to admit the primate, and to recall the exiled monks. His happineſs, they ſaid, depended on it, and the welfare of the ſtate; for that the pontiff muſt be obeyed. — John grew pale with anger, and his lips quivered. — They proceeded to menace the interdict. "No more," exclaimed the king furiouſly, and he inveighed againſt the pope and his cardinals, "By God's teeth, if either you, or any "others, dare to interdict my territories, I will ſend you "and all your clergy to Rome, and confiſcate your pro-"perty." And as to the Romans, he added, who might be found in his dominions, he would put out their eyes, and cut off their noſes, and diſpatch them to his holineſs, that nations might witneſs their infamy. "You; begone "from my ſight, if you have any ſolicitude for your perſons." They trembled, and retired[z].

Some weeks paſſed, and the ſacred mandate urged. It was lent. The biſhops, therefore, pronounced the ſentence;

[y] Mat. Par. Inn. ep. 113, 159, 160. Annal. Waver.

[z] Mat. Par. an. 1208. Annal. Waver.

BOOK V. 1208.

tence; and in a moment, the nation felt all its direful effects. I have ſaid what they were. The public functions of religion ceaſed, confeſſion only excepted, the ſacrament of the dying, and the baptiſm of infants. Not a bell was heared to toll; not a taper was lighted; not a canticle was ſung, through the realm of England. The bodies of the dead lay unburied, or they were covered with unhallowed earth, in the fields or by the way ſide, without a prayer or the miniſtry of the prieſthood[a].—But the biſhops, having done their work, ſecretly withdrew to the continent, and with them went thoſe of Bath and Hereford. Langton, mean while, had come to Pontigny, where he breathed the air, which Becket had breathed, and where, by contemplation, he might learn to emulate his zeal and his unbending firmneſs. But heaven had bleſſed him with a happier prudence.

The king's vengeance.

Naturally impetuous, with no good ſenſe to moderate the propenſity, and now goaded by paſſion, and ill-adviſed, the king, who ſhould have ſtriven to conciliate the minds of his people, and thereby ſtrengthen a cauſe, which was, in ſome points, juſt, gave way to the extravagance of rage, and multiplied his enemies. As he had threatened, he ſent officers to command the other biſhops and their dependents, inſtantly to quit the kingdom, and to ſeek redreſs, if they wanted it, at Rome. He ſeized all the revenues of the church, appointing laymen to their adminiſtration: took poſſeſſion of the abbeys, and turned their wealth into the exchequer. Many eccleſiaſtics were impriſoned, or otherwiſe ill-treated; and their concubines, ſays the hiſtorian, were

[a] Mat. Par. an. 1208. Annal. Waver.

were taken from them, and compelled to buy their liberty by heavy fines. But the prelates, directed by a wiſe policy, refuſed to leave the kingdom, and the officers had not been empowered to uſe force. They remained therefore, ſubſiſting on the ſlender allowance, with which they were ſupplied [b].

A negociation, at this time, was opened with Rome, but it ended fruitleſsly: and John, fearing that a heavier ſentence might follow the interdict, which he valued little, reſolved to provide againſt it. Perſonal excommunication, he knew, would break aſunder every tie, which bound his vaſſals to the throne. He appointed commiſſioners, with an armed force, to wait on all the nobles of the realm, and on them principally, whoſe allegiance he ſuſpected moſt, requiring hoſtages from every family, that, in caſe of need, he might have it in his power to awe their conduct. Many obeyed the mandate, and gave him the deſired pledge; their children, or their neareſt friends. They came to the caſtle of William de Braouſe, a noble baron, and demanded hoſtages. "My ſons ſhall not go near him," ſaid Matilda their mother to the officers: "he murdered his own ne-"phew, whom he ſhould have protected."—"Thou haſt "ſpoken like a fooliſh woman," obſerved the baron chidingly.—Then turning to the officers: "If I have done any "thing," ſaid he, "againſt my ſovereign, let a day and "place be named; for I am ready, and ever ſhall be, to "make him ſatisfaction, without hoſtages, according to the "judgment of his court and of my peers." The anſwer was reported to the king, who tyrannically gave ſecret orders,

[b] Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

BOOK V.
1208.

for the immediate apprehenſion of the whole family: but they eſcaped into Ireland. They afterwards periſhed miſerably[c].—Thus paſſed the firſt year.

Otho ſucceeds to the empire.

Whilſt England and its king, were thus involved in the conſequences of an inglorious controverſy, Otho, that king's nephew, had gained an empire. I related the beginning of the noble conteſt between him and Philip of Suabia, through which the latter was ever ſucceſsful. The intereſt of the eccleſiaſtical princes and the patronage of Rome, which ſided with Otho, bent before the ſuperior ſtrength of his rival; and after a battle loſt, in 1206, he was compelled to retire within his own territory of Brunſwick. Then his friends deſerted him; and ſoon afterwards, even Innocent, whoſe politics could move with the ſtream, became leſs obdurate, and liſtened to terms of peace. Otho came to England, and received from his uncle five thouſand marks, the only aid it was in his power to beſtow. And now the final exaltation of Philip ſeemed ſecure. He had an army in the field, ready to cruſh the weak remains of an expiring oppoſition; and his embaſſadors were gone to Rome, to prepare for his brows the imperial diadem; when, in a moment, the brilliant proſpect vaniſhed. Otho de Wittelſpach, to whom he had refuſed his daughter, entered his chamber, and at a ſingle ſtroke laid him dead at his feet. It was at Bemberg, on the twenty-ſecond of June, in the preſent year[d].

The noble-minded Otho received the news with horror. But the ſtates aſſembled, and unanimouſly elected him king of Germany and the Romans; and to ſecure, more laſtingly, the

[c] Mat. Par. Annal. de Margan. [d] Chron. Urſperg, &c. ap. Murat.

1208.

the return of concord, Beatrix, a minor daughter of his late rival, was affianced to him. To the ſtates he granted their requiſition of ſuch ancient rights, as they demanded; and he renounced all claim to the immenſe territories, of which his father, Henry the Lion, had been deſpoiled. The next ſtep was, to regain the love of Innocent. This he did; but the promiſes he made to him, of reſtoring to the church the lands of the counteſs Matilda, and other principalities, were highly imprudent, and proved the ſource of fatal diſaſters. At the head of a ſplendid army, Otho then marched into Italy, receiving, as he went, the homage of the people, and at Milan, the regal crown. The pontiff waited at Viterbo. Otho croſſed the Appennines, and paſſing through Tuſcany, joined Innocent at Viterbo. The meeting was moſt gracious; and together they proceeded to Rome, where, after repeating the engagements he had entered into, Otho was crowned by the pontiff. Clouds ſoon darkened this too refulgent ſcene[e].

1209.

Conduct of John, and the further deſigns of Innocent.

The Engliſh monarch perſevered in his mad career. He had led an army againſt Scotland, and compelled its king to purchaſe peace, and to ſurrender his two daughters, as hoſtages for its performance. And now returning, with the vain pomp of a conqueror, he commanded the hedges of his foreſts to be cut down, and the ditches to be levelled, that the deer and other animals might conſume the produce of the fields. Before this, he had iſſued a proclamation, forbidding any feathered game to be taken. They were the acts of a tyrant: but he ſtill hoped to ſecure the allegiance of his inſulted ſubjects, by requiring a renewal of their

[e] Murat. ut ſup.

BOOK V.

1209. homage. They renewed their homage; even children twelve years old[f].

But the pontiff, who, from the refractory ſpirit of the king, ſaw the litttle ſucceſs which would attend the interdict, reſolved to inforce his power; and the ſacred college adviſed the meaſure. He ſent orders to the three biſhops, whom he had before employed, to excommunicate the king of England, and to publiſh the ſentence in all the churches of the realm. But the biſhops were themſelves abſent, and their brethren, to whom they delegated the high commiſſion, from motives of fear or favour, with-held the fatal cenſure. The mandate, however, was known; and the news, in whiſpers, was repeated from door to door. An officer of the exchequer quitted his poſt, alledging, that he might not ſerve an excommunicated prince[g].—The reader knows what were the direful effects of excommunication.

1210. Chriſtmas again returned, when the nobles met their king at Windſor; for the ſentence ſtill remained unpubliſhed, and they feared, by freſh irritation, to excite his vengeful jealouſy. But the Jews were now called on, to repleniſh his exhauſted treaſury; and that they might not evade the contribution, they were ſeized, and impriſoned, and tortured. Thus was a great ſum collected; and with this he levied an army, and prepared to ſail for Ireland. Not that any circumſtances, then peculiarly alarming, demanded his preſence; but it ſeemed his wiſh, to affect an appearance of occaſional vigour, and to diſſipate, by military parade, the ſullen combinations of his Engliſh vaſſals.—Since the death of

[f] Mat. Par. Annal Waver. Chron. de Mailros.

[g] Mat. Par. Mat. Weſt an. 1219. Annal. Waver.

1210.

of Henry, Ireland, a prey to faction and contentious feuds, had exhibited the ſame ſcenes of violence, as had long afflicted it. The Engliſh ſettlers, by various fortune, ſupported their conqueſts, and ſometimes extended them; and ſometimes the native princes prevailed. On the ſixth of June, the king landed, at the head of a formidable army. No where was reſiſtance made. The refractory barons, who had incurred his indignation, retired from the ſtorm; while the Iriſh chieftains repaired to his court, conſenting to pay tribute, and to make their ſubmiſſions. It was then wiſely ordained, that the Engliſh laws and cuſtoms ſhould, in future, be followed; and a regular code or charter was eſtabliſhed. The arrangement, doubtleſs, only extended to thoſe, who acknowledged allegiance to the throne of England; but what province could, at that time, claim independent ſovereignty? The monarch of the land had ſubmitted. Thus, under the ſame head and the ſame ſyſtem of polity, were both kingdoms united. For the more regular adminiſtration of the laws, a diviſion, likewiſe, of ſome provinces into counties was made, over which preſided ſheriffs and other officers. No military exploit marked this auſpicious journey, and John returned, after an abſence of two months, leaving the biſhop of Norwich, his deputy. His firſt care was, as he had received inſtructions, to cauſe money to be coined of the ſame weight and form, as that of England, for the convenience of traffic, between the two kingdoms, and which, by a royal proclamation, was made current in both [h].

John

[h] Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

BOOK V.

1210. John landed, in triumphant confidence, and ſummoned all the heads of the religious houſes to meet him at London. Money was again wanted. They obeyed the call, men and women; to whom he declared his exigences, and demanded an immediate aid. The fate of the Jews menaced them, and they complied; raiſing, ſays the hiſtorian, the ſum of a hundred thouſand pounds. With this he levied another army, and marched into Wales, ſtriking terror to the hearts of its princes, and deſolating the country, even to the foot of Snowdon. The princes ſubmitted, and gave him hoſtages. —But at Northampton, which, on his return, he viſited, he met the miniſters of an all-puiſſant monarch, before whom the laurels of his late achievements faded. Theſe were Pandulphus, a ſubdeacon in the Roman church and the confidential ſervant of Innocent, and Durandus, a knight of the temple. They were ſent by the pontiff, to propoſe terms of accommodation, between the king and his clergy. In their firſt requiſition, that Langton ſhould be received, and the proſcribed monks and biſhops be permitted to return, he readily acquieſced. But when they ſpoke of the reſtitution of their effects, and a full reparation of the damages they had ſuſtained, John rejected the demand. The conference thus cloſed, and the nuncios returned into France[i].

1211. Before this time, alſo Otho had been excommunicated. He had violated his promiſe, made to Innocent; had even invaded the territories of the holy ſee; and had dared to attack the poſſeſſions of young Frederic, king of Sicily, the vaſſal of Rome and the ward of Innocent. The ſentence operated;

[i] Mat. Par. Mat. Weſt. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

operated; and we ſhall ſee its completion, in the utter downfall of that incautious prince. — Mean while, the refractory behaviour of John had been reported at Rome; and Innocent, whoſe mind acquired vigour from the ſwell of obſtacles, at once reſolved to proceed in the diſplay of the mighty power, which then attached to the tiara. Before it the imperial diadem and the crown of England ſhould bend. He publiſhed a bull, which abſolved all the vaſſals of the king from their allegiance, and expreſſly forbad them, under pain of excommunication, to hold intercourſe with their prince, at his table, in the cabinet, or in private converſation. But he ſtill had friends, who did not deſert him, and who, perhaps, in an age of darkneſs, could appreciate this ſhameleſs abuſe of power. Among theſe were three biſhops, and William earl of Saliſbury, and Fitzpeter the juſticiary, and twenty-ſeven barons, whoſe names are recorded[k].

For the firſt time, has William, earl of Saliſbury, been mentioned. He was the other ſon of Roſamond, better known, in the annals of chivalry, by the name of Longſword. What had been his education, or the firſt incidents of his youth, is not, I believe, recorded; but, in the laſt reign, on the death of William, earl of Saliſbury, ſon to him who was ſlain by Luſignan, Longſword married Ela, the heireſs of the noble houſe, and with her received the honours and arms of Saliſbury. In the troubles of this reign, with a brotherly attachment, he generally ſided with the king.

The

[k] Mat. Par.

BOOK V.

1212. The Welſh, impatient of their late ſubmiſſion, again broke from their mountains, and laying waſte the country, returned laden with ſpoil. Acts of wanton barbarity had aggravated the inſult. John, therefore, with a mighty force prepared to march againſt them, ſwearing, he would level their bulwarks, and eraſe from the earth the name of Welſhman. He was at Nottingham; and before he would taſte food, he commanded the hoſtages to be hanged, who had been ſurrendered to him, the year before. But as he ſat at table, ſome minutes after, indulging himſelf with his uſual intemperance, a meſſenger entered with letters from the king of Scotland. He was followed by another meſſenger from Lewellyn, a Welſh prince. He alſo brought letters. They whiſpered to him, that the contents were ſecret and important. After table, he retired; and the letters were read. They ſpoke of a conſpiracy, and warned him to beware. John ridiculed the admonition, and ordered his army to proceed to Cheſter. But here other meſſengers came, and their advice ſtill imported, that, if he purſued his plan of war againſt Wales, the conſpirators, who were the nobles in his army, would avail themſelves of the circumſtance, and either ſlay him in the field, or deliver him to the enemy.—Though the minds of many had been long alienated from ther prince, it rather ſeems, that the preſent was a ſcheme, deviſed by the Welſh princes, to avert a blow which, they had reaſon to apprehend, would fall heavy on their nation. The ſcheme anſwered. He read the laſt advice with horror, and in the conſciouſneſs of his own guilt could ſee, what grounds he had to fear. He reflected alſo, that he was an excommunicated man, and that his

ſubjects

ſubjects had been releaſed from their allegiance. He no longer heſitated: the army received orders to diſband; and himſelf repairing to London, diſpatched officers to ſuch noblemen, as he moſt ſuſpected, to require hoſtages from them. They complied, two only excepted, who immediately withdrew from the kingdom[1].

The fears of the king were ſomewhat allayed, and his indignation began to ſubſide, when it was reported to him, that a hermit in Yorkſhire had publicly predicted, that, before the next Aſcenſion-day, his crown ſhould be taken from him, and be placed on another head. He ordered the hermit to be brought to him. "Shall I die then, at "that time," ſaid John to him, "or in what manner ſhall "I be depoſed?"—"Depend on it," replied the prophet, "that, on that day, thou ſhalt not be king. If I be con-"victed of a lie, puniſh me."—The king commanded he ſhould be carefully guarded, till the iſſue of his prediction might be known. But the multitude, for whoſe faith no tale is too marvellous, gave full credit to the hermit, and looked eagerly to the completion of his words.—The hiſtorian, with ſome exaggeration perhaps, goes on to deſcribe the inauſpicious view of things: noblemen, whoſe wives and daughters, John had ſhameleſsly inſulted; others, whom his exactions had brought to extreme penury; and others, whoſe relations and neareſt friends he had driven from their homes, poſſeſſing himſelf of their wealth and property. In every baron he had an enemy. With exultation they had received the papal mandate, which broke aſunder the awful tie of allegiance; and they ſent an inſtrument, ſigned, it

[1] Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver. Chron. Tho. Wikes.

BOOK V.

1212.

was reported, with their names, to Philip the French king, inviting him to come to England, where his ſtandard would be joined, and a crown only waited his acceptance. So relates the hiſtorian[m].

Langton, with views againſt the king, goes to Rome.

Stephen Langton, at the ſame time, and the biſhops who were with him, ſeeing no end to the reſiſtance of their prince, and well-appriſed of the ſtate of parties, reſolved to co-operate with the malcontents, and aid their wildeſt wiſhes. They went to Rome, and preſented themſelves before the pontiff. To him they detailed the enormous conduct of John, ſince the interdict had been laid on England; his oppreſſion of the church and its miniſters; and his obſtinacy, which no meaſures could ſoften. "To your "holineſs," they ſaid ſupplicating, "we have recourſe: "hear our prayer; give help to the church of England." Innocent was moved. He aſſembled a conſiſtory; took their advice; and finally pronounced his decree. It was; "that John be depoſed, and another, more worthy of the "crown, be elected in his place, whom the pope ſhould "nominate."—Agreeably to this reſolution, he wrote to the king of France, ſignifying his deſire, that, for the remiſſion of his ſins, he would undertake the laborious charge; and when he had diſpoſſeſſed the tyrant of his throne, he and his deſcendants ſhould inherit it for ever.—This nomination of Philip, than whom no prince was ever leſs ſubſervient to the views of Rome, plainly indicates, that the wiſhes of the diſaffected barons were known to Innocent, and which Langton alſo might have urged. The politic pontiff was aware, that no prince, whom they ſhould diſregard,

[m] Mat. Par. Mat. Weſt.

1212.

difregard, would be admitted to the throne, and that the circumſtance might ſtrengthen the refractory John on it.

He then wrote to the great men, the knights, and warriors of different nations, exhorting them to take the croſs, as if againſt the enemies of their faith, to follow the ſtandard of France, and avenge the church's injuries. Who ſhould give their money, or perſonally aid the expedition, ſhould enjoy, he promiſed, the protection of the holy ſee. Pandulphus, the agent, whom we have already ſeen, received orders to return to France, and with him Stephen Langton and the biſhops. "But ſhould it happen," enquired the envoy in a private interview, "that I find in the Engliſh "king ſymptoms of repentance, and a will to ſatisfy our "church, and thoſe he has injured, how muſt I proceed?" Innocent put into his hand a written form of peace or ſubmiſſion: "To which," ſaid he, "if he will ſubſcribe, he "ſhall recover our favour." They departed[n].

1213.

Philip, commanded by the pope, prepares to invade England.

The archbiſhop, with his aſſociates, having reached France, convoked a ſolemn meeting, wherein they announced to the French king, to his prelates, and to the whole nation, the ſentence of depoſition they had procured againſt their ſovereign. In the pope's name, and for the remiſſion of their ſins, they enjoined them, to invade the realm of England, and to throw the tyrant and the church's enemy from his throne. Pandulphus, it ſeems, was not preſent on the occaſion.—Thus called on, Philip could not refuſe a commiſſion, which, to a prince leſs ambitious, muſt have held out allurements irreſiſtible. To Normandy, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, which were now his, he might add

[n] Mat. Par. Mat. Weſt.

BOOK V. 1213.

Aquitaine, and with it the imperial crown of England. He ſummoned all his vaſſals to meet him at Rouen, in the eaſter-holidays, with their arms and horſes, under pain of felony. His navy alſo, and what other ſhips he could collect, were ordered to rendezvous in the mouth of the Seine, and to take on board proviſions, and what elſe the momentous expedition might demand[o].

The news of theſe preparations rouſed the Engliſh monarch; and he prepared to reſiſt. It was the month of March. He iſſued writs to the bailiffs of the ſeaports, commanding them to regiſter all ſhips, and to take care, they were equipped, and anchored in the harbour of Portſmouth, by the middle of lent. The ſheriffs of the counties received other writs, directing them to ſummon all the tenants of the crown with their retainers, and every man capable of bearing arms, whatever his condition might be, to meet him, near Dover, in the eaſter-week, under the ſevereſt penalties. So general a call on the ſervices of the ſubject, had not been witneſſed, ſince the conqueſt; but, in caſes of invaſion, the feudal law had ordained the generous proviſion. Awed by the ſudden ſummons, the nation, in a moment, was in arms; and they marched, from all quarters, to the place of rendezvous; while the channel ſwelled with the ſpreading armament. In a ſhort time, Kent had not proviſions for the multitude; when it was ſettled to diſmiſs thoſe, who came without arms, and to retain only ſuch, who were equipped for immediate ſervice. Now landed from Ireland the biſhop of Norwich, with five hundred knights, and other ſoldiers. The army encamped

[o] Mat. Par. Mat. Weſt. Annal. Waver.

encamped on Barham-down, ſixty-thouſand fighting men, whoſe breaſts, ſays the hiſtorian, had loyalty animated, no prince in chriſtendom had matched their proweſs. The fleet of England, alſo, outnumbered that of the enemy; and John had reſolved, that the ocean ſhould firſt witneſs the ſuperiority of his arms P.

Pandulphus, the papal nuncio, lands.

Thus the ſolemn criſis ſeemed to approach.—The monarchs, in anxious ardour, weighed the great event:—The troops, on the oppoſite ſhores, with minds variouſly agitated, indulged their expectations:—And the ſhips were preparing to unfurl their canvaſs to the winds;—when lo!—two knights of the temple landed at Dover, and proceeding to the Engliſh camp, were admitted to the king. "We "come," ſaid they, in a tone of much reſpect, "from "Pandulphus the ſubdeacon, and the ſervant of our lord "the pope. For your advantage, and for that of the realm "of England, he petitions to ſee your majeſty."—John heared their addreſs, and aſſented. "Let him immediately "come to me;" he replied, and diſmiſſed the meſſengers.—In a few days, Pandulphus arrived, and being introduced to the king, he ſpoke: "At this moment, Philip, the French "monarch, eſcorted by ſhips innumerable, and at the "head of his army, only delays his departure from the "Seine, that, with greater multitudes, which ſtill crowd to "his ſtandard, he may invade your realm; eject you from "it, as a rebel to the Lord and to the Roman pontiff; and "by his grant, take poſſeſſion of your throne. The exiled "biſhops come with him, and the clergy and laity, whom "you proſcribed; under his auſpices, to re-occupy their "ſees

P Ut ſupra.

BOOK V.
1213.

" ſees and poſſeſſions, and to transfer to him their fealty,
" which once was due to you. He declares, beſides, that
" he has the names of the nobles of your land, pledged to
" him for their liege ſubmiſſion. He doubts not, there-
" fore, of ſucceſs. Now look to your own good: re-
" pent, and avert the wrath of heaven. As yet you may
" regain the throne, from which you have been caſt down,
" for contumacy, by our lord the pope. Promiſe to ſtand
" to the award of the church, and you ſhall experience the
" clemency of the holy ſee. But for the fulfilling of this
" promiſe, ſureties muſt be given[q]."

The weak prince, as the nuncio ſpoke, grew pale, and trembled; and the confidence which, a few days before, the preſence of his army had inſpired, at once gave place to a general diſtruſt. The ſixty thouſand men, he thought, were leagued, in ſecret treaſon, againſt him; and the former notices, he had received of deſigns againſt his life or liberty, fell, with heavier recollection, on his mind. The fatal day alſo approached, which the hermit had predicted. Thus abaſhed, he ſaw little room for heſitation, and conſented to the meaſures of Pandulphus, however generally they had been propoſed. In the preſence of ſixteen earls and barons, the chief men of his kingdom, and with his hand on the goſpels, he then ſwore to obey the ſentence of the church; and on the life of the king the ſixteen nobles ſwore, ſhould he recede from his oath, that, to their utmoſt, they would compel him to fulfil it[r].—From this circumſtance, which we ſhall ſee confirmed, it appears moſt evident, that even the miniſters of the crown approved

[q] Mat. Par. an. 1213. [r] Mat. Par. Mat. Weſt. ib.

approved the meaſures of the nuncio, and acted in concert with him. From any controul of the papal power, in whatever form they ſhould now admit it, it would be much eaſier, they might plauſibly reaſon, afterwards to relieve the nation, than from the ſtrong arm of Philip, ſhould he land with his mighty army. Land he would, if no ſecret ſtratagem impeded it; and in the diſcontented ſtate of things, the event of another conqueſt threatened.

John ſubmits, ſubjecting himſelf and kingdom to the pope.

On the thirteenth day of May, the Monday preceding the feaſt of the Aſcenſion, the king and Pandulphus, the earls and barons of his court, and a vaſt concourſe of people, aſſembled at Dover; and before them John ſolemnly ſwore to the following articles: — To obey the pope in all things, for which he had been excommunicated; to receive into favour the proſcribed biſhops, and others, particularly cardinal Langton, and the prior and monks of Canterbury; to make full ſatisfaction to the clergy and laity, for the damages they had ſuffered, on account of their compliance with the interdict; to pay down, in part of reſtitution, the ſum of eight thouſand pounds ſterling; to give letters of ſafe-conduct to the primate, and the other exiled prelates, that they may return to their churches; not to proſecute any perſon, layman or eccleſiaſtic, for any matter relating to the late diſagreement; to confirm theſe things by letters patent, in the manner the injured parties ſhall require, with which ſhould he not comply, they ſhall be empowered to adhere to the pope, and himſelf ſhall loſe all the right of patronage, he now holds in the Engliſh church. When theſe conditions ſhall be executed, the king to be abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication, and the interdict

to

BOOK V.

1213.

to be taken from the realm. — Such were the leading articles, drawn up in the form of a charter, to which John ſet his ſeal; when four great barons, William earl of Saliſbury, Reginald earl of Boulogne, William earl of Warren, and William earl of Ferrars, ſwore, as their peers had before done, on the ſoul of the king, that he would inviolably adhere the to compact[s].

But as yet enough had not been done to ſatisfy the inſulted honour of the pontiff; to ſecure the nation, under his patronage, from the danger of an invaſion; or to anſwer the views of the diſaffected nobles, who ſaw, with pleaſure, the tyrant thus brought low. Tueſday paſſed, and we may preſume, that it was a day of anxious deliberation; for, on the morrow, the ſame great council, with the king and Pandulphus, again met near Dover. — Had any part of the projected meaſures been adverſe to the wiſhes of the proud peers of England, can we perſuade ourſelves, they would have tamely witneſſed their completion, or have followed the heels of a Roman nuncio, from their camp to Dover, co-operating with his ſchemes, as they are called, and giving a legal ſanction to them? — Now did John reſign his crown, with the kingdoms of England and Ireland, into the hands of the pontiff, whom Pandulphus repreſented. The inſtrument of conveyance ſpecifies; That having offended God and the holy church, no means of juſt ſatisfaction remained to the king, but to humble himſelf and his dominions: "Wherefore," it goes on, "willing to do it, "under the influence of the holy ſpirit, not compelled by "the interdict or by any fear, but of my own free will, "and

[s] Mat. Par. ib.

" and *with the general advice of my barons*, I concede to God, " and to the apoſtles, Peter and Paul, and to the Roman " church, and to our lord Innocent, the pope, and to his " lawful ſucceſſors, the kingdom of England and the king- " dom of Ireland, with all their rights and appurtenances, " for the remiſſion of my ſins and thoſe of my family, in " future to receive them from, and to hold them under " him and the Roman ſee. And to this ſubmiſſion of fealty " and homage, I hereby bind my heirs and ſucceſſors; in " ſign of which, it is my will, and I decree that, from the " revenues of the ſaid kingdoms, the ſum of a thouſand " marks be annually paid to Rome, ſeventy for England, " and thirty for Ireland, in lieu of every other ſervice and " obligation, and with the reſerve, to myſelf and heirs, of " the adminiſtration of juſtice, of the liberties of the realm, " and of the peculiar rights of the crown. And ſhould I, " or any of my ſucceſſors, preſume to infringe this charter, " they ſhall forfeit, unleſs on admonition they repent, all " right to the throne. May this conceſſion and duty re- " main firm for ever.—Witneſs my own hand, in the pre- " ſence of Henry archbiſhop of Dublin, John biſhop of " Norwich, Geoffry Fitzpeter, William earl of Saliſbury, " and nine other barons." Their names are recorded[t].

The charter, as it is termed, being duly framed, John preſented it to the nuncio, to be delivered to the pontiff. Then, before the whole aſſembly, but not, it ſeems, with the uſual rites of vaſſalage, or in the hands of Pandulphus, he pronounced the following form of homage:—" I John, " by the grace of God, king of England, and lord of Ire-

[t] Mat. Par.

BOOK V. 1213.

" land, henceforth will be faithful to God, and the " bleſſed Peter, and the Roman church, and to my lord " the pope lord Innocent, and to his lawful ſucceſſors. I " will not deviſe by deed, word, or counſel, that they be " injured in life or member, or be circumvented by ſnares. " I will impede their harm, and avert it, as far as I may be " able. The advice, they ſhall intruſt to me by themſelves, " their nuncios, or their briefs, I will hold ſecret, nor " ever reveal it to their injury. The patrimony of St. " Peter, and eſpecially the realm of England, and that of " Ireland, I will aſſiſt to hold and maintain againſt all men. " Thus may God aid me, and theſe his holy goſpels; " Amen[u]."—In ſpeaking he had held his hands, we may preſume, on the ſacred volumes. The prelates before mentioned, and the barons, were witneſſes, alſo, to this extraordinary deed. But Pandulphus, a man of ſingular moderation, and who, in a tranſaction of peculiar delicacy, had conducted himſelf with a temper, equally pleaſing to all parties, and ſeldom before ſeen in a Roman envoy, is, on the occaſion, charged with an act of intemperate exultation. Some money, which the king had offered, ſays the hiſtorian, as an earneſt of his ſubjection, he trampled under his feet; at which the archbiſhop of Dublin expreſſed his diſpleaſure, and remonſtrated[v]. The act, doubtleſs, was meant to ſignify, that the ſpiritual controul of his maſter looked down on kingdoms and ſpurned their riches.

So ended this memorable day, the fifteenth of the month of May. — With regard to the tranſaction itſelf, which modern

[u] Mat. Par.

[v] Mat. Par. Chron. Tho. Wikes. et Walt. Heming. et Mailros. Annal. Waver. et Burt.

modern writers know not how to view with decent compoſure, I will obſerve, that, had themſelves been eye-witneſſes to it, their indignation had been leſs violent. With difficulty, ſome minds diveſt themſelves of their common habits of thought, and go back, in imagination, to ages which have paſſed away. An extraordinary power, which I have ſeduloufly traced, was then aſcribed to the Roman biſhop, and of more kingdoms, than of Sicily, he was acknowledged to be the ſuzerain lord. Acts of feudal homage were common, and were not attended with diſgrace. We ſaw the king of Scotland voluntarily ſurrender the independence of his crown; and princes and the great barons daily transferred their fealty, on the ſlighteſt provocation; and the Engliſh monarchs were in the conſtant habits, of performing the humiliating ceremony, as to us it appears, in the hands of the kings of France. But however this may be, the ſurrender, which John made of his crown, was the authentic act of the nation, expreſſed in as full a manner, as the moſt ſolemn deeds then were. The primate was not preſent, for an obvious reaſon, nor the archbiſhop of York, the ſon of Roſamond, who was then dead: but the archbiſhop of Dublin witneſſed the charter, and the biſhop of Norwich, deputy of Ireland, and Fitzpeter, the juſticiary of the realm of England, with other barons. The great council of the nation, as it is called, ſeems to have been aſſembled in its wonted ſolemnity. Such meetings, by ſome writers, on leſs important occaſions, have been dignified with the appellation of *parliament*. What probably were the motives which induced the juſticiary, a man of great experience, as he is repreſented, and of con-

BOOK V.

1213.

ſummate wiſdom, to forward the extraordinary meaſure, I have ſaid. Others might be variouſly influenced. The biſhop of Norwich, in particular, was an enemy to Innocent, whoſe promotion to the ſee of Canterbury he had impeded. This only may be affirmed with confidence, that they preferred the meaſure, on the beſt view of things, as moſt tending to the good of the nation; and that to their eyes it carried little of the ignominy, which we have affixed to it. Pandulphus ſeems to have co-operated with the wiſhes of the prelates and barons at home, as he had with thoſe of the exiled party; and what is remarkable, the hiſtorian, who can often be ſevere when Rome is concerned, neither reflects on the nuncio, or his proceedings; nor does he intimate, that any part of the tranſaction raiſed the ſmalleſt oppoſition, or gave offence, excepting in the ſingle inſtance which I mentioned.

The French king checked by Pandulphus, enters Flanders.

Having executed his commiſſion, Pandulphus, taking with him the charters and the eight thouſand pounds, which had been paid for the immediate relief of the exiles, ſailed to France. He waited on them, and ſhewing them the terms of pacification, which pleaſed them well, exhorted them to return to England, with the diſpoſitions of cordial amity, where they would receive an ample reparation of all their wrongs. Thence he repaired to Philip, who was on his march towards Boulogne, and recounting the ſucceſs of his negotiation in England, he addreſſed the aſtoniſhed monarch, exhorting him to deſiſt from his enterpriſe, and to return home. "Without offence to the Roman biſhop," he continued, "you cannot purſue your deſigns on Eng-" land and its king. He is ready to make ſatisfaction to

" God,

" God, to the holy church, and to her miniſters; and to " obey the commands of our lord the pope." — Philip did not reſtrain his anger. " Already," ſaid he, " I have ex- " pended more than ſixty thouſand pounds on this expedi- " tion. I undertook it by the pontiff's command, and for " the remiſſion of my ſins."—Pandulphus withdrew, reite- rating the inhibition, in his maſter's name. But the army continued their march; and Philip diſpatched orders to his fleet, inſtantly to leave the Seine, and join him in the port of Boulogne [w].

In the French army, which all the great vaſſals of the crown followed, was Ferdinand, recently advanced to the earldom of Flanders. He had refuſed, indeed, to join the enterpriſe, unleſs certain towns, which had lately been annexed to the French crown, were reſtored to him. The truth was, that he was actually confederated with John, through the inſinuating perſuaſion of Reginald earl of Bou- logne, his relation, who, not long before, in diſguſt, had relinquiſhed the intereſt of France. At this criſis, there- fore, he ſignified to Philip, that he ſhould favour no longer the unjuſt attempt on England; and ſullenly retired. The monarch, with the advice of his generals, at once reſolved to enter Flanders, and to put it out of the earl's power, to obſtruct the immediate proſecution of his deſign. But al- ready Ferdinand had appriſed the Engliſh council of the danger, which he apprehended; and a powerful army, commanded by the earl of Saliſbury, with many ſhips, had been ordered to ſail to his aſſiſtance. The French fleet had arrived on the coaſt; when Philip marched into Flanders.

The

[w] Mat. Par.

BOOK V.
1213.

The impetuous incurſion was irreſiſtible, and many towns fell. In the mean while, the Engliſh fleet anchored, and finding that of the enemy almoſt deſerted by the troops, who were pillaging the country, they attacked them, captured three hundred, and ſank and burnt a hundred more. Philip, engaged in the ſiege of Ghent, flew to the reſcue of his fleet. It was too late. Some advantage, indeed, he obtained over the enemy, who had landed; but ſeeing it impracticable to ſave the remaining ſhips, he ordered them to be fired, and withdrew with his army. So vaniſhed the proſpect he had indulged, of adding a ſecond crown to his empire. But the Engliſh generals joined the earl of Flanders, with whom, it ſeems, a plan was in agitation, for the recovery of the loſt provinces in France, and to break down the power of Philip[x].

The exiles return, and Langton adminiſters an oath to the king.

John heared the news of this ſucceſs with rapture, and underſtanding that all danger of an immediate invaſion was at an end, he diſbanded his forces. He likewiſe ſent money to his troops in Flanders, promiſing that, with the ſpring, a powerful ally would join their arms; and in the mean while, he urged them to infeſt and pillage the territory of his enemy. Another army he then ordered to attend him at Portſmouth, where it was his intention, he ſaid, to embark, and from the ports of France, to carry devaſtation to its centre. The vaſſals aſſembled, as the ſummons directed; but their chiefs refuſed to proceed, unleſs the ſentence of excommunication were firſt taken from the king. With reluctance, the diſconcerted monarch liſtened to the ſtubborn reſolution, which diſcontent had dictated; and in compliance

[x] Mat. Par. Daniel p. 558.

compliance with it, ſent meſſengers to the exiles, bearing with them letters from twenty-four barons, as a pledge of the ſecurity, in which they might return, agreeably to the ſettled form of pacification, and be indemnified for the injuries they had ſuſtained.

The exiles received the joyful tidings, and came to England with ſpeed; Stephen Langton, the biſhops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, and a croud of inferior clergy, monks, and laity. The king, who was at Wincheſter, went out to meet them. He fell at the feet of the prelates, and imploring their forgiveneſs, was re-conducted by them to the door of the principal church, where the multitude waited. The primate here pronounced his abſolution, and immediately entering the church, preſented to him a book of the goſpels, and with it the heads of an oath, he had prepared. Without heſitation the king took it. "I ſwear," he ſaid, "to love the church and her miniſters, and to "defend and maintain them, againſt their enemies, to the "utmoſt of my power. The good laws of my predeceſſors, "and eſpecially thoſe of king Edward, I will renew. Bad "laws I will annul. I will adminiſter juſtice to all my "vaſſals, according to the juſt judgments of my court, and "give to every man his rights. Before eaſter next, I will "make full ſatisfaction for all the damages I have cauſed, on "account of the interdict, or again fall under the ſentence "from which I am now releaſed." He then renewed his oath of fealty and obedience to the pope and his ſucceſſors, in the words of the late charter given to Pandulphus. Thus cloſed the ceremony, and the king, with the cardinal, the prelates, and the nobles, dined at the ſame table

BOOK V. 1213.

table in great feſtivity. This was on the ſixteenth of July.[y]

The oath which the cardinal primate, with an aſſurance, that courtly politicians might condemn, thus dictated to his prince, ſeems to have originated in a ſcheme, boldly projected and maturely weighed. It differed, indeed, little from the coronation-oath, which he and his immediate predeceſſors had taken; but the preſent occaſion of its renewal was ſingular, and it brought it, with no common impreſſion, to the recollection of the public. We ſhall ſoon ſee the important purpoſe, which it was meant to ſerve. Why Langton, at the ſame time, cauſed the oath of fealty to the pontiff to be repeated, is not ſo evident. But the circumſtance proves, that, as he originally moved his holineſs to adopt the extravagant meaſure, from motives which we do not ſufficiently penetrate, ſo he would ſhew that he ſtill approved the ſame, and would call on the nobles of the land, a ſecond time, in their collected capacity, to give it the ſanction of their preſence. That the reconciliation, between this politic churchman and the king, was ſincere, we may not ſuppoſe. John viewed him as an intruder into the the ſee of Canterbury, whoſe entrance he could no longer impede, and as the principal author, doubtleſs, of the late attack on the independence of his crown. If Langton deſpiſed the unſteady and inglorious prince, it was but natural. He forgave, perhaps, the oppoſition, he had experienced from him, which his good ſenſe would be ready to juſtify; but he had taken his reſolution, we know, to avail himſelf of the general diſcontent and the weakneſs of the monarch, thereby

[y] Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

1213.

thereby to reſcue his country from oppreſſion, and to give it the benefit of better laws.

Meeting at St. Alban's, and further proceedings of Langton.

John now preſumed, that he could call on his vaſſals to follow his ſtandard, and be no longer waywardly oppoſed. But his firſt ſtep was, to command the ſheriffs of counties to chuſe four commiſſioners, with an officer in each diſtrict, whoſe buſineſs it ſhould be, to enquire into the loſſes the exiles had ſuſtained, and to report the ſame before a council, appointed to meet at St. Alban's, on the fourth of Auguſt. This, he hoped, would be received as an earneſt of his ſincere deſign of fulfilling every part of his engagement. He then committed the care of the realm to the juſticiary Fitzpeter, and to the biſhop of Wincheſter, commanding them to do nothing, without the advice of the cardinal; and again haſtened to Portſmouth. Here his army had remained; but they now informed him that, in waiting his return, their money was ſpent, and that they could not proceed, unleſs they were ſupplied from his treaſury. John rejected their demand, and angrily ſailed with his family, truſting he ſhould not be deſerted by men, on whoſe allegiance, he vainly fancied, he might rely. But the nobles, with indifference, ſaw him embark, and themſelves returned home. He landed on Jerſey, and waited; but as no one came, again, in indignation, he ordered his veſſel to depart, and regain the Engliſh port[z].

The fourth of Auguſt, mean while, had paſſed, when the great council aſſembled at St. Alban's. Fitzpeter and his colleague announced to them the terms of pacification, which had been ſettled with the king, and then, in his name,

[z] Mat. Par.

BOOK V. 1213.

ordained; "that the laws of the firſt Henry be every where "obſerved, and all unjuſt laws be utterly aboliſhed." They commanded the ſheriffs, the rangers of the foreſts, and all other the king's officers, as they valued their lives and members, to be guilty of no extortion, to offer no injury, and to ceaſe from ſuch oppreſſions, as hitherto they had practiſed with impunity[a].

Such were the wiſe ordinances of St. Alban's, made in the abſence of the prince, and under a commiſſion, we may preſume, with which he had inveſted his miniſters. We now ſee the tendency of the oath, which Langton had extorted from him; and his deep-laid plan begins to open. But here the laws of Henry are only mentioned; and in the oath, a more general expreſſion was uſed, with a particular reference to the laws of St. Edward. The reaſon of this will ſoon appear. I wiſh alſo to notice the good underſtanding that ſubſiſted between the primate and the miniſters of the crown, of which an undeniable inſtance here occurs, which ſhews, that they proceeded in concord to the accompliſhment of one deſign.

The irritated monarch, who wanted capacity to fathom the views of the cardinal and his aſſociates, only meditated vengeance. He collected another army, reſolving to chaſtiſe the refractory nobles, by whom he was lately deſerted; and he advanced to Northampton. Hither came the primate: "This proceeding, Sir," ſaid he, "tends to the "violation of the oath, you took before me. Your vaſſals "muſt ſtand to the judgment of your court, and not be "thus wantonly haraſſed by arms. It was that you ſwore "to."

[a] Idem.

" to."—" The concerns of my realm," vociferated John, " ſhall not be impeded by you, my lord; nor do they ap- " pertain to you;" and the next morning, early, he march- ed towards Nottingham. But Langton, unintimidated, followed him: " Either deſiſt," he proceeded, " from this " attempt, or I will excommunicate all thoſe, your ma- " jeſty only excepted, who ſhall preſume to bear arms, till " the interdict, which ſtill holds, ſhall be withdrawn." The menace ſucceeded: but the cardinal did not quit the king, till he had prevailed on him to name a day, on which the barons, who had offended him, ſhould appear in his court, and anſwer to his charges [b].

Modern men can applaud this behaviour of Langton, inſolent as it was, becauſe, they ſay, it was the cauſe of civil liberty which he patroniſed; and in that cauſe, the common rules of decency bind, it ſeems, no longer. On Becket they can be ſevere and unrelenting; though to his prince he never uttered language ſo unſeemly, and the cauſe he maintained was to him and to thouſands, equally momentous, and far more ſacred. But the policy of the cardinal was here tranſcendent. From his ſovereign he drew an oath, to the obſervance of which, by a bold importunity, he compels him to adhere, while the clauſe, which he principally urges, embraces that privilege, which the nobles, he knew, held moſt dear. Thus did he make their cauſe his own, attaching them to himſelf by ſuch a tie of intereſt, as, on a future day, he could not doubt, would give confidence, and rouſe the moſt timid to a manly co-operation with his beſt deſigns.

[b] Mat. Par.

BOOK V.

1213.

The primate confederates the barons.

Within three weeks, from the laſt great meeting, again aſſembled the prelates, abbots, priors, deans, and barons of the realm, at London, in the church of St. Paul. Nor was the king here preſent. What was the oſtenſible motive of the convention, is not related; but, probably, it regarded the cauſe of the exiles. In it the primate relaxed ſome part of the interdict, which was to continue, we know, till the whole treaty ſhould be fulfilled. But ſo fortunate an occaſion was not thus lightly to paſs away. In the unſuſpectful hour of general debate, Langton called aſide, as it was reported, certain barons, whom, with an air of ſolemn ſecrecy, he thus addreſſed: "You heared that I abſolved "our king at Wincheſter, where I forced him to ſwear, "that he would aboliſh unjuſt laws, and re-eſtabliſh good "ones, namely, thoſe of king Edward, and that theſe "ſhould be obſerved by all his ſubjects. I have lately found "a charter of Henry I. by which, if you be ſo diſpoſed, the "liberties we have long loſt may be reſtored to our country." So ſaying, he produced the charter, and cauſed it to be read to them[c].

It was that which Henry I. had granted, in the firſt year of his reign; which Stephen had renewed; and which Henry II. had confirmed. It contained ſome laws of the Confeſſor, with ſuch amendations as the conqueror, with the conſent of the barons, had introduced: and, as many tranſcripts of it having been taken, as there were counties, they had been depoſited as records, in the abbeys of each county[d]. But little attention was paid to this important inſtrument. The government of the kings continued irregular, if not unlimited;

[c] Mat. Par. [d] Mat. Par. an. 1100.

limited; and in an age, when few could read, when arms engaged their thoughts, and not the diſcuſſion of laws and polity, the charter was neglected; and gradually its memory ſank. The number of copies ſecured it, indeed, from deſtruction, but not from oblivion. Yet, at all times, a traditional recollection, indiſtinct in many, of days long paſſed, when, under another race of kings, their anceſtors were reputed more free and happy, attached itſelf to the mind; and the name of Edward and his laws was repeated with a warmth, approaching to enthuſiaſm. This, in the Saxon families, was moſt natural; but the Normans alſo imbibed the impreſſion, and as the conduct of their kings aggrieved them, their partial fondneſs ceaſed, and they looked anxiouſly to the reſtoration of the rights of Engliſhmen, and the re-eſtabliſhment of better laws.

The barons liſtened, while the charter was interpreted, and their looks and geſtures expreſſed the warmeſt joy. "For thoſe rights," they exclaimed, "when the proper "ſeaſon ſhall come, if neceſſary, we will die."—Swear it," ſaid the primate. They ſwore. Himſelf then promiſed them his utmoſt aſſiſtance. Thus was the confederacy formed, and the aſſembly ſeparated[e].—We may now underſtand that, by the laws of the Confeſſor and the charter of Henry, was meant, in a vague acceptation, the ſame code of rights and liberties.

Fitzpeter earl of Eſſex, the juſticiary, ſeems not to have been preſent on this memorable occaſion. It was ſickneſs, probably, which confined him at home; for early in the next month he died. His loſs, ſays the hiſtorian, was to England

[e] Mat. Par.

BOOK V. 1213.

England irreparable. He was the pillar of the ſtate, verſed in its laws, generous in his diſpoſitions, affluent in the gifts of fortune, and allied in blood or friendſhip to all the noble families of the realm. His ſovereign feared him; but he permitted him ſtill to hold the reins of government. When the news came of his death; "It is well," ſaid John, laughing violently; "in hell he may again ſhake hands with Hu-"bert, our late primate, whom he will ſurely find there." Then turning to thoſe who were with him, he ſubjoined: "By God's feet, now, for the firſt time, I am king and "lord of England." And, in truth, releaſed from a miniſter, who could controul his wayward character, he regarded leſs the engagements he had been induced to make, and thought by what means he could beſt annul the whole obligation of the late treaty[f].—With this view, and on this occaſion, it was reported, that he ſent an embaſſy to Miramoulin, emperor of Morocco, offering to reſign his kingdom to him, and to hold it under tribute; to renounce the law of Chriſt, and to become Mahometan, in order to purchaſe his protection.—Modern hiſtorians reject the ſtory as incredible, and as fabricated by the monks, to vilify the memory of their ſovereign. But to them he was not peculiarly obnoxious; and ſo circumſtantially is the tale told by the hiſtorian[g], who heared it, he ſays, from the mouth of Robert of London, one of the envoys, that to critics leſs faſtidious it may bear many marks of authentic truth. The folly of John was adequate to the wildeſt undertakings.—Miramoulin deſpiſed the weak monarch, and rejected the profered ſubmiſſion.

The

[f] Mat. Par. [g] Ibid.

The league of the barons, or, at leaſt, their general views, which the converſation of each day circulated, could be no longer hidden from the king. But how could he diſſipate their deſigns? By experience, ſays the monkiſh hiſtorian, he had learned, that the pontiff was of all men the moſt proud and ambitious, inſatiable of money, and prone to every crime, when allured by rewards or promiſes.—Innocent was ambitious; but the other charges applied not to him.—The king diſpatched meſſengers to Rome, loaded with preſents, and by them he promiſed ſtill larger gifts; and he vowed an eternal fealty, would he engage, as the occaſion offered, to confound the machinations of the primate, and to excommunicate the barons whoſe confederacy he feared. But already a legate had been appointed, and was on his road to England.—This new propoſal of the king contained matter of great delicacy. Innocent weighed it maturely, and diſmiſſed the meſſengers, with various letters of inſtruction to the king and his legate. This was Nicholas, biſhop of Tuſculum, who arrived in England about the end of September [h].

A legate arrives, before whom John renews his ſubmiſſion.

A council met in London before the king and the legate, where was firſt diſcuſſed the queſtion, of the reparation to be made to the exiles. The terms which the king offered ſeemed highly equitable, and Nicholas approved them; but the cardinal, with the other ſufferers, would not conſent, inſiſting, that the whole of their loſſes ſhould be firſt aſcertained, and the debt be at once diſcharged. The legate, they diſcovered, was wholly devoted to the king.—On the following day they debated the queſtion of the interdict; but

[h] Mat. Par. ep. Inn. 130, 131.

BOOK V.

1213.

but neither here was any thing decided: when John, whoſe cauſe was now in the hands of the legate, at his requiſition, came forward, and before the altar, in the church of St. Paul where the council was held, repeated the act of ſubmiſſion, whereby he had, on a former day, ſubjected his crown, and the realms of England and Ireland, to the Roman ſee. Even the charter of reſignation, which, ſealed with wax, had been given to Pandulphus, now received a golden ſeal, and was delivered to the legate, to be preſented to his holineſs. The council adjourned. Other meetings, in the ſucceeding months, aſſembled; but nothing was concluded, and the interdict remained, and juſtice was not done to the ſufferers[i].

The conduct of the legate ſoon rouſed the further reſentment of Langton and the Engliſh biſhops. He had been empowered by the pope, to fill the vacant churches and abbeys, with the king's conſent: but he complied ill with his inſtructions, nominating men, whom neither ſcience nor virtue qualified for the office. In vain were complaints made; and Langton called a ſynod at Dunſtable. They agreed to appeal to the pope; on which the cardinal ſent a meſſenger to Nicholas, appriſing him of the appeal, and forbidding him to proceed to any other appointment, which was the known privilege, he ſaid, of the metropolitan ſee of Canterbury. The legate diſregarded the inhibition; but conſulting with the king, he diſpatched Pandulphus, who was lately come to England, with proper inſtructions to the pontiff. Arrived in Rome, Pndulphus repreſented, in dark colours, the behaviour of the primate, and his views,

[i] Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

1213.

views, urging, that he and his colleagues loved money; and that, in the reparation which they demanded of their loſſes, they were too rigid and exacting: "Beſides," he added, "it is their aim to reduce their ſovereign to undue ſub-"miſſions, and to abridge the liberties of the realm." He then ſpoke of the king, on whom he laviſhed praiſes, and than whom, he ſaid, he had not ſeen a more humble and more modeſt prince. Here he preſented the charter, with its golden ſeal. Simon Langton, the primate's brother, who aſſiſted at the interview, attempted to reply; but his voice gained no attention. The eloquence of the golden ſeal was irreſiſtible[k].

1214.

Cruſade againſt the Albigenſes.

But whilſt occurrences ſuch as theſe, the preludes to a greater event, have engaged our thoughts; in the ſouthern provinces of France, a ſcene was exhibited, from which reaſon and religion turn with horror. Already I have ſaid, who were the Albigenſes, and what their principal tenets. In vain had theſe been condemned, and their abettors puniſhed, when legates came from Rome, by their preſence, to check the ſpreading evil. It only ſpread the more; for the pageantry of dreſs and equipage, which attended theſe courtly miſſionaries, ſerved to give an edge to the declamations of the ſectaries, whoſe favourite topic of invective was, the wealth and worldly demeanour of churchmen. Soon then it appeared, that all orders of men had taſted of the poiſoned cup: towns, villages, and hamlets, in the provinces eſpecially of Gaſcogne and Languedoc, ſwarmed with them; and what was extraordinary, when we conſider the tenets of thoſe men, tending to pull down grandeur and

[k] Mat. Par.

BOOK V.
1214.

level diſtinction, even the nobles quitted the ſplendid worſhip of their anceſtors, and joined their vaſſals in the ruſtic faith. Then it was, in the year 1208, that Innocent commanded a cruſade to be preached againſt them, and ſent his legates, for that purpoſe, into France. Philip received them, and applauded the meaſure; but he could not, engaged as he then was, do more than promiſe a powerful body of men, and permit his ſubjects to enroll themſelves, as their zeal might direct. The promulgation of the cruſade was attended with great ſucceſs; for the expedition ſeemed to threaten few difficulties, and all the pardons, rewards, and privileges, which other cruſaders had enjoyed, were held out to them. By way of diſtinction, theſe wore the croſs on the breaſt. The duke of Burgundy, the earl of Nevers, the earl of Montfort, and other great barons, with many prelates and abbots, were ſoon in arms.

Raymond VI. earl of Toulouſe, had declared himſelf the protector of the Albigenſes, and had warmly imbibed their doctrines. This drew on him the hatred of the orthodox, and the vengeance of Rome. He was excommunicated. Could we credit the repreſentations of his enemies, (and ſuch were his hiſtorians,) Raymond was the moſt brutal and infamous of mortals. By what art could he now avert the impending ſtorm? He appeared before the legate, and caſting himſelf on his mercy, conſented to abide by his deciſion. It was inſtantly decided, that he ſhould ſurrender ſeven caſtles into the hands of the legate, and give ſureties for his future ſubmiſſion. This being done, he received abſolution, ſtanding in his ſhirt, and was led by the neck into the church, while the legate, as he ſlowly paſſed through the croud, beat him with rods.

The

The army of the cruſaders entered Languedoc. Toulouſe, indeed, and other places immediately dependent on the count, were, by his ſubmiſſion, ſecured from their attack; but his vaſſals, the lords of other diſtricts, equally infected with error, and leſs pliant than himſelf, might expect no mercy. Beziers was taken by ſtorm, and in it thirty thouſand ſouls were maſſacred. Carcaſſonne, a neighbouring town, capitulated, and its fate was leſs bloody. Here, while the ſoldiers were buſied in moving the engines, and ſcaling the walls, the miniſters of religion had aſſembled, and had dared to invoke the father of mankind, in addreſſes to his holy ſpirit! Such was their enthuſiaſm; a paſſion, which can ſanctify exceſs, and veil with piety the wildeſt crimes.

As yet the cruſaders were without a general, acting under the guidance of their reſpective leaders, or all directed by the legate's voice. It was thought neceſſary to chuſe one; and the election fell on the earl of Nevers, who declined the honour; and then on the duke of Burgundy, who likewiſe refuſed it. A committee, therefore, was appointed, who nominated the earl of Montfort; and he reluctantly conſented to accept the important charge.—Simon de Montfort, from the honours he had poſſeſſed in England, ſometimes called earl of Leiceſter, was nobly deſcended; and the hiſtorians of the day laviſhed all their powers, in praiſing the endowments of his mind, and the accompliſhments of his perſon. His piety, they ſay, and his love of virtue equalled theſe. What was his real character will beſt appear from his conduct.—Inveſted with ſupreme command, he took poſſeſſion of many caſtles, which had ſurrendered,

BOOK V.
1214.

and ſent miſſionaries to convert their inhabitants. But already the term being expired, for which the cruſaders had enliſted, many of them retired, at the head of whom was the count de Nevers. Nor did the duke of Burgundy long remain. De Montfort ſaw himſelf deſerted by the army, while the winter-ſeaſon came on. He had reſources, however, within himſelf, which could counteract theſe untoward events. The ſplendor of his name kept the enemy in awe, and his addreſs and engaging manners drew ſtrangers to his ſtandard. With theſe he took the field, whilſt the inclement blaſt ſtill howled; and conquered many places. The count de Foix, a powerful baron, and a protector of the heretics, then ſubmitted to his arms.

With pain had Raymond witneſſed theſe ſucceſſes, which he could not impede, and he knew not where their progreſs might terminate, unleſs in the utter ruin of his vaſſals. Thus was he anxious, when a meſſenger came from the general to propoſe, that he would ſurrender to him the domain of all the places and territory, which he had already ſubdued. It was the advice, he added, of the legate; and ſhould he refuſe it, he muſt expect a declaration of war againſt himſelf. The ſecret views of Montfort were at once diſcloſed.—The earl reſiſted the unjuſt demand, urging his rights and the treaty he had concluded with the legate, when his excommunication was reverſed; and he would himſelf, he ſaid, inſtantly claim juſtice at the foot of St. Peter's chair.—With this view he went to Rome.

The ambitious deſigns of Montfort alſo rouſed a more potent enemy. This was the king of Arragon, whoſe ſiſter the earl of Toulouſe had lately married, and who, beſides,

was

was count of Provence, and lord of many towns in Languedoc. His faith was orthodox; but that did not incline him to ſurrender his juſt rights, into the hands of a man, whoſe only claim was a ſucceſsful invaſion. In vain did Montfort ſtrive to allure the king, who not only refuſed to comply, but, underhand, ſignified to the barons and men of power in the neighbourhood of Beziers and Albi, that, would they reſume their arms, he would aſſiſt them with all his forces. Men, whom the want of an animating ally had only driven to ſubmiſſion, took fire at the profered aid, and ſeized their arms. In a moment, the general ſaw a hoſt ſpring up before him, whoſe activity was ſuch, that, before he could make reſiſtance, only three towns and five caſtles remained in his poſſeſſion.

In the ſpring, the counteſs brought him a reinforcement of troops, with which he recovered ſome caſtles; and other cruſaders joined him from different countries. To draw any advantage from ſuch auxiliaries, no common addreſs was neceſſary. They were raw and undiſciplined, whoſe period of ſervice did not exceed forty days; but they glowed with zeal, looking to the crown of martyrdom, if they fell, or elſe to the remiſſion of all their ſins. Montfort led them into action, and no danger could appal them, or fortreſs withſtand their furious onſet.

The earl of Toulouſe was returned from Rome, where he had experienced ſome lenity from the pontiff; and he had waited on the emperor Otho, and had ſeen his ſovereign, the French king. With theſe no artifice ſucceeded; for they beheld in him, what in their zeal they hated moſt, the ſecret advocate of hereſy. It was well known, what had

BOOK V. 1214. had been the motive of his ſubmiſſion, and himſelf ſeemed little diſpoſed any longer to wear the maſk. During the ſiege of Lavaur, he gave aſſiſtance to the enemy. The king of Arragon began to waver in his attachment; and again the legates pronounced Raymond excommunicated.—I deſcribe not the ſtreams of blood, nor the flaming piles, which every where marked the progreſs of the orthodox army; while it is not my intention to inſinuate, that exceſſes were not committed, which provoked reſentment, and juſtified ſome retaliation. But who firſt drew the ſword? Or was it ſo great a crime, to have diſſented from the faith of Rome?

Twelve ſtrong places now fell before de Montfort; and he marched againſt Toulouſe. It was the third year of the war. Toulouſe was then a vaſt city, nor were the beſiegers ſufficiently numerous to encompaſs its walls. The general ſaw his error, and having retreated towards Cahors, which ſurrendered to him, he had the mortification, in a few weeks, to ſee himſelf almoſt wholly deſerted. So uncertain was the ſtate of this varying warfare. An army of feudal vaſſals, I have elſewhere obſerved, ebbed and flowed, as does the ocean; but an army of cruſaders, within reach of their homes, as this was, ſtill more reſembled that changeful element. Many towns were then retaken, and a general leſs expert than de Montfort, muſt have beheld every fortreſs torn violently from his arms. He, with the intrepidity of a hero, coolly maintained the ground he had taken, and in all his loſſes ſtill kept the advantage of conqueſt, waiting till an army might return, which he ſhould lead to other victories. He was in Caſtelnaudari, a town of ſome ſtrength, when news was brought, that the earl of Toulouſe

and

and other barons, at the head of a great force, were marching to inveſt the place. The general, with his litttle army, retired to the caſtle. I ſhall not deſcribe the ſeries of this ſiege, which raiſed to higher fame the warlike name of de Montfort; for he foiled, by repeated ſallies, every effort of the enemy, and defeating him in the field, compelled the count to raiſe the ſiege with ignominy. Nor was this all. Soon freſh ſuccours arrived, when he extended his conqueſts, and by the beginning of the next year, 1212, we find little more than Toulouſe and Montauban, in the hands of the enemy.

While the horrors of war thus raged, an underpart, often more atrocious, was acted by thoſe, whom the canons of the church forbad to ſtain their hands with blood. Some, indeed, there were, whom a benevolent zeal moved, and theſe by means which reaſon muſt applaud, ſtrove to convince the underſtanding, and to draw the heart from error. Their endeavonrs were not without ſucceſs. The more ardent miſſionaries accompanied the army, projecting, with the generals, plans of battles and ſieges; marking for deſtruction thoſe, whoſe erroneous conduct had been moſt conſpicuous; animating the ſoldiers, by proſpects of an eternal crown, to deeds of carnage; and preaching the tenets of him, who was meek of heart, to the priſoners, the wounded, and the dying, while the butcher held his dagger to the throat, and the piles blazed round them. If few were reclaimed from error, who can wonder? We ſee them, as the hiſtorians relate, inſulting the miniſters, rejecting their advice, braving the executioners, and either, with the cool fortitude of conviction, ſtepping forward to death,

BOOK V. 1214.

death, or with an impetuous enthuſiaſm, as ancient martyrs had done, ruſhing to its arms. And, ſurely, theſe men had better pretenſions to the appellation of martyrs, than they who wantonly courted danger, and when they fell, had on their heads the crimes, which unprovoked hoſtility, licentious devaſtation, and premeditated murder could perpetrate. Theſe no papal decrees could authoriſe. Men, from obſtinacy of character or from views of intereſt, may ſacrifice much in the cauſe of error; but they will not ſteadily die in its defence, unleſs that error has impreſſed on their minds all the conviction of truth. Then are they martyrs.

De Montfort, now in poſſeſſion of an extenſive territory with its towns and caſtles, viewed himſelf as its lord, and convened an aſſembly at Pamiers. The ordinances here made, for the partition of lands amongſt his barons, and for the re-eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity, of a better police, and of the ſervices of religion, were wiſe, and breathed a ſpirit of moderation and forbearance.—The cauſe of count Raymond ſeemed irremediably loſt; and again he had recourſe to the king of Arragon, imploring his mediation. This prince was returned triumphant, from a great victory gained over the Saracens in Spain. He conſented to be his brother's friend. A long negotiation commenced, firſt with the legates and with the prelates aſſembled at Lavaur, and then with the pontiff. But the intereſt of de Montfort prevailed, which was deemed the intereſt of religion. The pope wrote to the king of Arragon, warmly entreating him to renounce the cauſe of the heretic, and menacing cenſures, if he perſiſted. The menace he contemned,

temned, and at once declared war againſt the darling of the church. Simon expoſtulated on an attack, which, he ſaid, was unprovoked, and ſent a defiance to the king.

Hitherto the French monarch had himſelf taken no active part in a war, which his vaſſals principally had waged; but now unexpectedly he ſaw himſelf involved. Two prelates had come to Paris, from the catholic army. They were introduced to Louis, the young prince, then in his twenty-fifth year, and working on his ardent character, they prevailed on him to vow, that he would take the croſs, and lead an army againſt the Albigenſes. Philip, from whom the meaſure was concealed, heared it with much anger, but he could not with-hold his conſent. He conſented; and that a becoming magnificence might attend the expedition, he ſummoned a meeting of his nobles, when the number of men, the order of the march, and the time of departure, were regulated. But the report of a league between the emperor and the king of England, which threatened France with an invaſion, at the moment tranſpired, and fruſtrated the expedition.

De Montfort, whom the proſpect of the ſplendid ſuccour had elated, was left expoſed to the ſwelling power of the enemy. Nor was this his greateſt trouble. The agents of the king of Arragon at the court of Rome, ſo well employed their eloquence, that Innocent was prevailed on to eſpouſe their cauſe. They repreſented, that the ambition only of de Montfort upheld the war in Languedoc; that the heretics were broken down; that the few barons ſtill in arms, were contending for their poſſeſſions, which had been violently wreſted from them; that were theſe reſtored,

BOOK V. 1214.

peace would return, and the miſſionaries, unmoleſted, might diffuſe the bleſſings of truth; that whilſt the unſatiable intereſt of one man, under the maſk of zeal for religion, drew armies to his ſtandard, the cauſe of the church was ſacrificed in Spain; that there was ſtill a greater cauſe, which remained neglected in the eaſt, and which he, emulating his predeceſſors, had nobly vowed to maintain: but did it become his wiſdom, they concluded, than whom no wiſer had graced the tiara, thus to abandon the glorious enterpriſe, in ſupport of a man, who abuſed his favour, to riſe to greatneſs on the ruins of provinces and the blood of their inhabitants?

The forcible addreſs, in which there was much truth, ſucceeded. Innocent ſent orders to de Montfort to ſurrender to the barons, who claimed them, the places he had taken, and to deſiſt from further enterprizes. At the ſame time he recalled the indulgence, and commanded a cruſade to be preached againſt the Saracens of Paleſtine. In amazement, the general convened the legates, and the chiefs of the army; when it was reſolved inſtantly to diſpatch a deputation to Rome. By their means, ſays the hiſtorian, Innocent was diſabuſed of his error, and renewing his firſt order, ſtrengthened the commiſſion of his legates, and empowered them to purſue the war, with renovated vigour. But the imprudent meaſure had diſconcerted the plans of de Montfort. Few ſoldiers came; many retired; and the king of Arragon, with a great army, was ready to enter Languedoc.

On the tenth of September, he entered, at the head of a hundred thouſand men, and ſat down before Muret, a ſmall

ſmall town on the Garonne, three leagues below Toulouſe. In its neighbourhood, ſays an hiſtorian, lived a lady whom the king loved, and her he wiſhed to free from the inquietude which the garriſon of Muret often occaſioned. This gave motion to a hundred thouſand men! With him were the earls of Toulouſe, of Foix, and of Comminges.—De Montfort was at Fanjaux, eight leagues diſtant, when the news came to him. He was aware that Muret could make no reſiſtance, and he haſtened to its aid. But his whole force, when collected, hardly amounted to one thouſand men. With theſe he advanced, and entered the town, on the oppoſite ſide of the river. Terms of peace were then offered to the king, which he rejected, and the general was made ſenſible, that the day was come, which ſhould crown all his victories, or number him with the departed champions of the croſs. Full of the glorious thought, he told his ſoldiers, that he meant not to endure the ſlow horrors of a ſiege, or to waſte his time in ſallies; he would meet the enemy in the field, and offer him battle. The biſhops aſſembled, and one of them, in the hearing of the troops, pronounced an anathema againſt the earl and his accomplices. He then advanced in his robes, holding a port on of the true croſs in his hands. The ſoldiers, armed as they were, alighted from their horſes, and coming up, each, in his turn, bowed before the ſacred ſign. But the ceremony would be tedious; wherefore the biſhop of Comminges, impatiently took it into his hand, and ſtepping forward, with it bleſſed the multitude: "Go," ſaid he, "in the name of him who died on this croſs: I pledge "myſelf for you at the day of judgment, that he who ſhall

BOOK V. 1214.

" fall, this day, in battle, ſhall riſe to the crown of martyr-
" dom." More than once he repeated the ſolemn words. They mounted their horſes.—De Montfort alſo, with his eyes raiſed to heaven, praid: " God of armies," he ſaid, " thou didſt chuſe me for thy general. In this day of " trial, hear my ſupplication; and let the world know, " how juſt is the cauſe, which thou haſt committed to me." He roſe from the ground; and the trumpet ſounded.

The army, not more than nine hundred men, all cavalry, left the town, and as they entered the plain, formed into three bodies. The enemy, prepared to receive them, did not deign to move. The circumſtance was perhaps favourable. De Montfort ſaw the royal enſign, and ruſhing forward, broke the firſt line. The king was in the ſecond. Him he aſſailed; the battle thickened; and in a few moments, the monarch fell. Diſmay at once ſpread through the ranks; no order prevailed; and thouſands were butchered without reſiſtance. The victory of de Monfort, in a few hours, was complete; for the hiſtorians relate, that nearly twenty thouſand men were ſlain of the enemy, while the cruſaders did not loſe more than one knight and a few ſoldiers!—The general, ceaſing from the carnage, halted, and offered up his vows to heaven. Such was the battle of Muret.

It might have been expected, that the war was at an end. But deſtitute of troops, as de Montfort was, he could draw little advantage from his victory. Only he ravaged the country, unmoleſted, and kept the enemy in alarm. Soon afterwards, a new legate came from Rome, to negotiate a peace, and a numerous re-enforcement, whom the fame of

of the late victory roused, joined de Montfort. With these he extended his conquests; and soon the most refractory, awed by the impression of his name, listened to terms of accommodation. The principal barons submitted, and the bold zeal of the heretics was, for a time, suppressed[1].

[1] Hist. Albigen. et scrip. contemp. passim.

END OF BOOK V.

THE

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# REIGN

OF

# KING JOHN,

With the EVENTS of the Period.

## BOOK VI.

*John lands at la Rochelle.—The emperor Otho is dethroned.—Battle of Bouvines.—The interdict is taken from England.—The barons meet at St. Edmundſbury.—Their further proceedings.—Runnemede.—Magna Charta.—John meditates vengeance, and retires.—Conduct of Innocent.—Preparations for a civil war.—The barons are excommunicated, and Langton goes to Rome.—Fourth council of Lateran.—England deſolated by the king's forces.—The barons excommunicated by name.—Prince Louis is invited over.—A Roman legate obſtructs his deſign.—The prince lands.—His cauſe is agitated at Rome.—He purſues his conqueſts, and lays ſiege to the caſtles of Dover and*

*and Windſor.—John takes the field.—Perplexity of the barons.—The king falls ſick and dies.—General view.—Concluſion.*

BOOK VI.

FROM the horrors of the war, I have deſcribed, ſo adverſe to the mild ſpirit of truth and the beſt intereſts of human reaſon, I return, with pleaſure, to the troubled politics of England. Reaſon here applauds the ſtrife, which the oppreſſion of an unworthy prince provoked; while religion does not condemn it; and the eye of the ſpectator carried forward on the ſcene, beholds, with a ſecret rapture, the dawn of freedom ſlowly emerging from the gloom.

1214.

John lands at la Rochelle.

Early in the preſent year, John, to whom no view of things at home could give pleaſure, and whom the ſeaſon preſſed to execute his part of a league which had been lately formed, again prepared to embark for France. The barons, he now, at leaſt, hoped, would be ſubſervient to his wiſhes. They obeyed his ſummons. And ſtill more to gain the good will of the people, and of the church, he diſpatched meſſengers to Rome, who might obtain, on terms they ſhould propoſe, the final relaxation of the interdict. On the ſecond of February, with his queen, he went to Portſmouth, and thence ſailing, landed with a powerful army at la Rochelle[a]. — The league, I have mentioned, was with his nephew the emperor Otho, and with the earl of Flanders; the leading clauſe of which was, that, while John, on the ſide of Aquitaine, inſulted the French provinces, the emperor, at the head of the allied army, ſhould enter France, by the north-eaſtern frontier.—A momentary digreſſion is neceſſary.

Otho,

[a] Mat. Par. an. 1214. Annal. Waver.

1214.

The emperor Otho is dethroned.

Otho, whoſe aſcent to the imperial throne I deſcribed, by a ſeries of imprudences had ſeemed to have projected his own downfall. By retracting the promiſe he had made to Innocent, to ſurrender to the holy ſee certain poſſeſſions, which he claimed, and by urging rights which, perhaps, were due to his crown, he provoked the indignation of the haughty pontiff. Not ſatisfied, he cited young Frederic king of Sicily, the ward of Innocent, to do him homage for his territories, the avowed fief of the Roman court; and when the prince, as became him, refuſed compliance, Otho ordered his generals to enter Apulia. In vain did Innocent remonſtrate; and as it was not in his character long to endure controul, he excommunicated the emperor. Maturely had the pontiff weighed this laſt exertion of power, from the accompliſhment of which he reſolved not to recede. The Romans hated Otho: the intereſts of Sicily muſt be combined with his own: he could expect much from many German princes, naturally allied to the houſe of Suabia: the Ghibeline faction in Italy was powerful: finally, the French monarch, who had oppoſed his elevation, and had leagued with his rival the late emperor, muſt warmly eſpouſe any meaſure, which ſhould tend to the humiliation of a man, the nephew of him he hated. So reaſoned Innocent.—But Otho, notwithſtanding, had himſelf marched into Italy; and Calabria being over-run, and the neighbouring provinces, little remained to oppoſe his arms. In the iſland of Sicily, a conſpiracy formed in his favour, invited him to the throne; and fortune, he thought, was ready to crown his brighteſt wiſhes, when a mine ſuddenly ſprang, againſt the effects of which no meaſures had been taken.

BOOK VI.

1214.

The relentleſs Innocent, aided, we are told, by the politics of the French king, had projected the great deſign. He had a legate alſo in Germany, the archbiſhop of Mentz, well-diſpoſed to co-operate with his views. To him he propoſed, and through him to other biſhops, to publiſh the ſentence of excommunication, he had himſelf iſſued againſt Otho. The ſentence was publiſhed; and agreeably to its ſpirit, a league with many German princes was, at the ſame time, formed, who ſwore, inſtantly to proceed to the depoſition of the emperor, and to raiſe young Frederic to his throne. Otho heared the news, and leaving his conqueſts behind him, returned towards Germany. But as he paſſed through Italy, and the free ſtates of Lombardy, he had the mortification to find, that his wily enemy the pontiff, had debauched the allegiance of many, and that they were leagued againſt him. He proceeded, and in a diet at Nuremberg threw himſelf on the loyalty of his vaſſals. The generous meaſure gave audacity to the faction. They ſeized their arms, and proclaimed Frederic. Otho, thus braved, carried fire and ſword into the territories of his enemies, the principal of whom were the king of Bohemia, and the duke of Bavaria. Meanwhile, Frederic, urged by repeated calls, through many difficulties, made his way to Conſtance. He was received by his friends, and crowned at Mentz, with an applauſe, that ſpoke the increaſing power of his faction; for the exertions of Innocent had been unceaſing, and the king of France loudly proclaimed himſelf his ally. Otho, whoſe falling intereſt every hour witneſſed, retired to his patrimonial eſtates of Brunſwick. Now it was, that he entered into the league I mentioned.

mentioned. His empire in Germany was at an end, he ſaw; but he might be able to revenge himſelf, in his fall, on Philip, the inſtrument of his ruin[b].

Landed with his army at la Rochelle, the Engliſh king caſt his eye to the northern provinces, which lately had been ſevered from his crown. Many barons of Poitou, impelled by threats, or allured by promiſes, came in, and renewed their allegiance; amongſt whom was the earl de la Marche, to whom Iſabella, the Engliſh queen, it will be remembered, had been once affianced. He then traverſed the province, and entering Anjou, took its capital by ſtorm, and conquered other places. The brilliant ſcene ſoon clouded. Philip commanded his ſon to make head againſt the king of England, who, by this time, had entered the Lower Bretagne, and was beſieging an important caſtle. The Engliſh army outnumbered the enemy; but when John prepared for battle on their approach, the Poitevin barons acquainted him, that they were not diſpoſed to fight. He quitted the field, and leaving his conqueſts to the mercy of the young prince, precipitately withdrew to Parthenai, a caſtle at the extremity of Poitou[c]. Here cloſed his exploits and the campaign of Aquitaine, when he was at liberty to contemplate the operations of the allied army, on the ſide of Flanders.

The battle of Bouvines.

Otho, with what troops he could collect, in the ſpring had quitted Brunſwick, and he was permitted, unheeded by his rival, to advance into Flanders. The impolitic meaſure is not accounted for by the hiſtorians. In Flanders he was joined by other German troops; and here he found

[b] Murat. citans auctores coæt. Chron. Urſperg. [c] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI.

1214.

the dukes of Brabant and Limbourg, the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, and William earl of Saliſbury, with other great men and generals, at the head of their reſpective forces. An Engliſh army had been there ſince the preceding year, when they ſailed to aſſiſt Ferdinand againſt the French monarch; and John, before he left England, had tranſmitted to them great ſums of money. The chiefs reviewed their forces, when they were found to amount to a hundred and fifty thouſand men. The heart of Otho once more beat high.—Philip, on the other hand, did not ſhrink from the mighty conteſt. He viſited the frontier of his country, and left his ſon, with a ſufficient force, to watch the motions of the Engliſh king. Now it appeared, that the plan of operations had been well concerted; for being thus obliged to divide his forces, the great ſtrength of the nation was no longer at his command. Under the walls of Peronne, his faithful barons had marſhalled their vaſſals; and hither Philip came, about the twentieth of July. The army did not exceed fifty thouſand men. They marched; and on the twenty ſeventh, which was a Sunday, near the bridge de Bouvines, between Tournay and Lille, both armies came in ſight. In the centre of the French line was the king, and in the oppoſite battle ſtood Otho: on the left was the count de Dreux, facing the earl of Boulogne and Saliſbury with the Engliſh forces, and on the right, was the duke of Burgundy, facing the earl of Flanders.

I ſhall not detail the various chances, nor the achievements, of this memorable day, than which none ſo brilliant had yet graced the annals of France. Philip, whoſe proweſs

was

was unrivalled, and whoſe conduct, as a general, fame loudly echoed, narrowly eſcaped with his life; as did Otho. Their armour, tempered by the ableſt workmen, ſhivered or blunted the recoiling weapons, and bent to no concuſſion. Dragged from his horſe by a German ſoldier, who had faſtened his barbed javelin on the top of his cuiraſs, the king, with all his armour on, ſprang from the ground, and extricating himſelf, mounted the horſe of Peter Triſtan, a valiant knight, who nobly preferred the prince's ſafety to his own. Otho, in ſimilar danger, reſiſting a hundred ſwords, and ſeized round the body by William de Barres, the bold knight, who had foiled our Richard, when tilting with him on the plains of Sicily, was reſcued by the impetuous fury of his horſe, wounded mortally in the eye.—But the French knights were every where irreſiſtible; and the glory of the day was theirs. Formed into a ſquadron, they guarded their king and the royal banner, which, for the firſt time, is mentioned to have borne its *fleurs de lis;* and, as the tide of battle ſwelled, they mixed in the thickeſt conflict. — On the right wing of the enemy, the earl of Flanders, thrown from his horſe and bleeding, when his troops were broken, ſurrendered his arms to the lords de Mareuil. Here the Burgundians fought, and their duke owed his life to the attachment of his ſoldiers.—The earl of Boulogne, late in the day, and when all was loſt, ſtill obſtinately reſiſted. But his horſe being ſtabbed under him, he fell; and as three knights contended for the honour of making him their priſoner, he gave his ſword to the chevalier de Guerin, who fortunately came up. De Guerin, elected biſhop of Senlis, this day acted as *marechal* under the king, in the arrangement

BOOK VI.

1214.

ment of the battle. The ſon of Roſamond, alſo, William earl of Saliſbury had ſurrendered himſelf to the biſhop of Beauvais. He was the prelate whom Richard, as has been told, confined ſo long in priſon, and at Bouvines he fought with a ponderous club, alledging, that the church-canons did not permit him to ſhed blood. He met Saliſbury, buſied in carnage, and beat him to the ground. — Night began to fall, and as the defeat of the enemy was complete, the battle ceaſed[d].

Otho, having eſcaped from the field, withdrew, as he could, into Brunſwick, where he is no more heared of, leaving his rival in the quiet poſſeſſion of empire, and where, four years after, he died.—The conqueror, by ſlow marches, proceeded to Paris, diſtributing his priſoners, who were numerous, in the caſtles as he paſſed; only reſerving the earl of Flanders to grace his triumph. He entered his capital, and for eight days, all was feſtivity and gladneſs.— As the hiſtorians, who relate this great event, were principally of the French nation, we may be allowed to ſuſpect ſome partiality in the narration. They augmented, perhaps, the number of the enemy, or they diminiſhed their own; and the ſame may be ſaid of the wounded, the killed, and the priſoners. No troops were braver or better diſciplined than the Brabanters, the Flemings, the Germans, and the Engliſh, and their generals were the greateſt warriors of the day; but the battle was won by the knights, or cavalry, which, on the ſide of Philip, was uncommonly numerous.

It

[d] Guil. Brito, Rigord. Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

It was not, it is ſaid, till after his return to Paris, that Philip was fully ſenſible of the great importance of the victory he had gained; for he now diſcovered, that ſecret intrigues had been carried on with many barons of the realm, and that they only waited the moment of his defeat, publicly to take up arms. This would have been on the ſouth of the Loire, and in Anjou, Maine, and Normandy, the nobles of which provinces, allured by promiſes, or the proſpects which another change might open, ſhewed a wiſh of returning to their former ſovereign. The victory of Bouvines diſſipated their raſh deſign; and Philip prudently diſſembled his knowledge of it. But, not long afterwards, he advanced with an army into Poitou, where the king of England was, and by the mediation of the legate, concluded with him a truce of five years. What policy induced Philip to adopt this meaſure, when, with eaſe, it ſeems, he might have diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of their remaining territory in France, does not appear. Probably it was owing to the diſaffection in the barons, which had appeared, and which he feared to ſtimulate.

The interdict taken from England.

Before this time, the interdict had been taken from England. The meſſengers returned from Rome, bringing letters to the legate, who had not quitted the realm, which empowered him to remove the heavy grievance, and to compromiſe the diſpute with the exiles. On this he ſummoned a great council to meet him in London, before which an accurate ſtatement was laid of the money already paid, and of the debt ſtill due. This amounted to thirteen thouſand marks, for the payment of which two biſhops ſtood ſureties. Thus ended this irkſome buſineſs. And then

BOOK VI. 1214.

then the legate, on the twenty-ninth of June, ſolemnly withdrew the interdict. It had laſted more than ſix years, to the injury of religion, the confuſion of all order, and the detriment of the ſtate. The tidings rang through the land, and the hearts of the people thrilled with gladneſs [e].

The barons meet at St. Edmundſbury

Concord thus reſtored, though ſhame had marked his own arms and thoſe of his allies, John might expect to find more good humour in his vaſſals, than hitherto he had experienced. On the twentieth of October he returned to England. The abſence of many in the expedition to France, and the eventful criſis of the war in Flanders, had, for a time, ſuſpended the deliberations of the friends to liberty. The cardinal alſo, whoſe mind of ſuperior energy invigorated, whilſt it modelled, the great deſign, had been engaged in the concerns of the interdict. But now no motive of further delay operated; and as the weeks of winter, the ſeaſon of purpoſes and ſtratagem, came on, the barons met their friends, and they talked of the league they had formed with Langton, and of the oath they had taken. "The time," they ſaid, "is favourable: and the feaſt of "St. Edmund approaches, when multitudes reſort to his "ſhrine. There we may aſſemble, without ſuſpicion," It was reſolved.

The day came, the twentieth of November; and as the devotion was faſhionable, the barons repaired to St. Edmundſbury, unobſerved. Their meetings here were frequent, but ſecret; and in one of them, again was the charter produced, containing, in ſubſtance, the laws of the Confeſſor, which the primate had put into their hands. The ſight

[e] Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

1214.

ſight of the venerable inſtrument rouſed the ſpirit of freedom; and without further deliberation, they haſtened, in a body, to the church of the martyr. A more ſolemn and heart-ſwelling ceremony had never been witneſſed. As ſeniority gave precedence, the barons advanced to the altar, and with their hands laid on it, ſwore: "If the king "refuſe to grant the rights, we claim, we will withdraw "our fealty, and wage war on him, till by a charter, un-"der his own ſeal, he ſhall confirm our juſt petitions." Each baron pronounced the oath. It was then agreed that, after chriſtmas, they ſhould wait on the king, and preſent their petition to him; and, in the mean time, ſhould provide themſelves with arms and horſes, that, if he receded from his oath made before the primate, which was probable, they might be in readineſs to ſeize his caſtles, and force him to compliance. This done, they ſeparated, and withdrew[f]. — Langton, it appears, was not preſent on the occaſion.

1215.

Their further proceedings.

The king, when chriſtmas came, held his court at Worceſter. But alarms diſturbed its feſtivity, and on the day itſelf, departing, he repaired to the New-Temple in London. The barons were here; and in a military array, which announced their purpoſe, they waited on the king, and preſented their petition. It was, "that he would "*confirm* certain liberties and laws of the Confeſſor, with "other privileges, granted to themſelves, to the realm of "England, and to the Engliſh church, as are contained in "the charter of Henry I. and in the laws juſt mentioned." They added: "At Wincheſter, Sir, when you were

[f] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1215.

" abſolved by our primate, that was your promiſe; and the " oath you took, binds you to a compliance."—John, with much agitation, heared the bold addreſs, and ſurveying their arms, ſaid: " Your petition contains matter, weighty " and arduous. I muſt have leiſure till eaſter, that, with " due deliberation, I may be able to do juſtice to myſelf, " and ſatisfy the dignity of my crown." — Debates enſued, and, on both ſides, propoſals were made; when the king finally conſented, that the cardinal, the biſhop of Ely, and William earl of Pembroke, ſhould be his ſureties, that, on the appointed day, he would give them the ſatisfaction they demanded. On this the barons returned home.—But from this delay, John vainly fancied great advantage might be drawn. He cauſed the oath of fealty to be renewed by his ſubjects, and the act of homage by his vaſſals. And then, (which would ſhield him, he thought, from every danger,) on the ſecond of February, he took the croſs, declaring his intention of leading an army into Paleſtine[g]. But, by no precaution, did he attempt to recover the favour of the people, or to weaken the combination of the nobles.

In eaſter-week, the barons met at Stamford, in great military pomp, numbering in their retinue two thouſand knights, with their retainers variouſly armed, and pledged to the cauſe of liberty. The names of the barons, as recorded by the hiſtorian, are forty-five; but it ſeemed, he ſays, that nearly the whole nobility of the realm had now joined the league.—The king was at Oxford.—On the Monday, therefore, after eaſter, (which was the appointed day,) the barons proceeded to Brackley, where a deputation,

[g] Mat. Par. an. 1215. Annal. Waver.

tion, compoſed of the primate, the earl of Pembroke, and ſome others, met them from the king, requeſting to know, in his name, what were thoſe laws and liberties, which they demanded from their ſovereign? They delivered to the deputies a ſchedule, containing the chief articles of their petition. "Theſe are our claims," they ſaid, "which if "not inſtantly granted by the king, and confirmed to us "under the royal ſignet, our arms ſhall force him to com-"pliance." The deputies returned, and the cardinal, with the ſchedule in his hand, expounded its contents. "And why do they not demand my crown alſo?" exclaimed John furiouſly: "Theſe things are vain and frivolous, "contrary to the plaineſt reaſon.—By God's teeth, I will "not grant liberties to them, that ſhall make me a ſlave." It was to no purpoſe, that they urged every argument to obtain his compliance. He ordered them to return, and to let the barons know, what his reſolution was[h].

The confederated nobles ſtood not in heſitation. They received the king's reply, and at once choſe Robert Fitz-Walter their general, naming him the *marechal of the army of God and of the holy church;* which ſignified that, as the king had violated his oath, they viewed themſelves, in the language of the times, as engaged in a holy war, againſt the enemy of juſtice and of the church: and ſeizing their arms, they marched againſt the caſtle of Northampton. But they were without engines, and their attacks on the walls were fruitleſs.—When we know how premeditated the inſurrection was, this improvidence muſt ſurpriſe us.—Fifteen days paſſed, when they raiſed the ſiege, and proceeded to Bed-

[h] Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

BOOK VI. 1215.

ford, which was delivered into their hands. Here meſſengers arrived from the capital, with ſecret advice, that the principal citizens were in their intereſt, and that the gates would be open to receive them. The tidings gave them joy. They marched to Ware, and on the following morning, which was Sunday, the twenty fourth of May, while the people were at maſs, the army, in ſilence, entered the city. And now conſcious of their ſuperior ſtrength, the barons iſſued proclamations, requiring all ſuch, who had hitherto remained neutral, to join them againſt their perjured prince, and menacing, in caſe of refuſal, to treat them as the public enemies of the ſtate. The commination was hardly needful, for few, it ſeems, were ſincerely attached to the royal party; and as the proclamation called for a deciſion, they quitted their caſtles, and joined the ſtandard of freedom. Some only, at the head of whom was the earl of Pembroke, and Saliſbury now returned from captivity, judged it moſt expedient, not to depart from court. The biſhops alſo remained, with the primate[i].

Runnemede.

Great, at this moment, was the terror of the king. He ſaw himſelf deſerted, ſcarcely ſeven knights remaining near his perſon; and it was evident, ſhould the barons proceed, that all his caſtles muſt fall, and himſelf become their priſoner. The duplicity, he had often practiſed, it would be now, he thought, moſt expedient to exerciſe; and circumſtances might ariſe, which would diſſipate the league, or lull its leaders into a fatal ſecurity. He reſolved to give them their terms, and to throw himſelf on fortune, for ſuch redreſs or vengeance, as time ſhould offer. "Go," ſaid he to

[i] Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

to Pembroke and other deputies, "inform the barons, "that, for the good of peace and the exaltation of my realm, "I will freely grant them the laws and liberties, which "they aſk. Tell them to name a day and a place, where we "may meet to adjuſt our differences." The deputies repaired to London, and announcing the king's propoſal, it was received with unbounded joy. "Let the day," replied the barons, "be the fifteenth of June; and the place be "Runnemede[k]."—Runnemede, which has been interpreted the *mead of council*, was a meadow between Staines and Windſor, where, in ancient times, great aſſemblies had been often held[l]; but to which the approaching event would give a never-ending celebrity.

On the day, both parties appeared on Runnemede. With the king were the primate and the archbiſhop of Dublin, ſeven biſhops, Pandulphus the pontiff's friend, and Almeric the maſter of the Engliſh Templars: of the laity, the earl of Pembroke, and fourteen other earls and barons.—To enumerate the oppoſite party, obſerves the hiſtorian, would be needleſs, which comprehended the remaining nobility of England. They ſtood apart, waiting the important interview.—In what form the conference opened, is not ſaid; nor who were the mediators. We only know, that debates, as was natural, enſued; and that various propoſals were made. But the king was ſoon ſenſible, that he muſt comply. With a facility, therefore, which might juſtly have raiſed ſuſpicion, he acquieſced in their demand, and ſigned the charter of laws and liberties, which the barons preſented to him[m]. This was the GREAT CHARTER.

The

[k] Mat. Par. [l] Mat. Weſt. an. 1215. [m] Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

BOOK VI.

1215.

Magna Charta.

The *preamble* ſtates that, "for the ſalvation of his ſoul, "and the ſouls of his anceſtors and heirs, to the honour of "God, and the exaltation of the holy church, and amend-"ment of the kingdom, by the advice of his prelates and "nobles, (whoſe names are mentioned,) the king had "granted to God, and confirmed by the preſent charter, "for himſelf and heirs for ever," the following rights and liberties.

1. "That the church of England ſhall be free, and en-"joy her whole rights and liberties inviolable." — It then mentions a charter, which, ſome time before, he had granted, with a view to thoſe liberties, and which the pope had confirmed, eſtabliſhing the *freedom of elections* in all caſes of vacancy, whether in churches or monaſteries.

In ſuch general and unreſtricted terms is this article conveyed, which might well prove a ſource of endleſs altercation. The *Conſtitutions of Clarendon* ſeem to have been forgotten, while the church was thus *eſtabliſhed*, in the full poſſeſſion of whatever might be called her *rights* and *liberties*. Such had been the language, though not quite ſo general, of the preceding charters of Henry I. Stephen, Henry II.

2. "To all the *freemen* of the realm the underwritten "liberties are granted."

By *freemen* is meant every deſcription of ſubjects, from the higheſt to the loweſt order of vaſſals, who were not ſlaves or bondmen. This will appear.

3. "If any earl, or baron, or others, who hold of the "king in *chief*, by military ſervice, ſhall die, and at the "time of their death, the heir is of *full age*, and owes a "*relief*, he ſhall have his inheritance by the ancient relief;

"that

" that is, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's " barony, by a hundred pounds: the heir or heirs of a " baron, for a whole barony, by a hundred marks: the " heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by a " hundred ſhillings at moſt: and he who ſhall owe leſs ſhall " give leſs, according to the ancient cuſtom of fees."

When any of the king's tenants *in capite* died, the king ſeized the eſtate, and the heir, though of the age of twenty one, before he recovered his right, was obliged to ſue for his lands, the poſſeſſion of which he received on doing homage, and paying a certain compoſition called *relief*. Many abuſes, during the arbitrary reigns of the Norman kings, had rendered this cuſtom peculiarly grievous. The charter of Henry I. had ordained, that the *relief* ſhould be *meet* and *equitable*; but neither was that charter, though renewed by Henry II. ever executed, nor could a looſe expreſſion be any check, on the exorbitant demands of power.

4. " But if the heir of any ſuch be *under age*, and ſhall " be *in ward*; when he comes of age, he ſhall have his " inheritance *without relief*."

During the nonage of ſuch heirs, their perſons and eſtates were in the cuſtody of the crown, which received all the profits. *Wardſhips* and *reliefs*, as has been ſhewn, were branches of the royal revenue. The practice of *wards* was founded on the notion, that every *fief* was a benefice; and therefore that, while the heir, as a minor, could not perform his military ſervices, the iſſues thereof naturally reverted to the ſuperior, who could employ another in his ſtead. But in the charter of Henry I. this feudal right had been ſurrendered to the widow of the deceaſed, or to the neareſt relation of the

the heir. That here the crown ſhould have been permitted to reſume it, may ſeem extraordinary.

5. "The warden of the land of ſuch heir, ſhall take "therefrom only reaſonable profits, and that without "deſtruction and waſte of the men or things. And if the "guardianſhip of the lands be *committed* to the ſheriff, or "any other, and he make deſtruction and waſte, the king "ſhall compel him to give ſatisfaction, and the lands ſhall "be committed to two lawful and diſcreet men of that "fee, who ſhall be anſwerable for the iſſues. And if ſuch "wardſhip be *given* or *ſold* to any one, and he make de-"ſtruction or waſte upon the lands, he ſhall loſe the ward-"ſhip, which ſhall be committed to two men, as before."

Thus was the lord empowered to diſpoſe of his *wardſhip*, by appointing a warden, or by a deed of gift or ſale, for the term of nonage; in all which caſes, conſiderable ſums of money were generally raiſed.

6. "But the warden, ſo long as he hath the wardſhip of "the land, ſhall maintain the houſes, parks, warrens, "ponds, mills, and other things pertaining to that land, "out of the iſſues of the ſame land; and ſhall reſtore to "the heir, when he comes of full age, his whole land "ſtocked with ploughs and carriages, according as the "time of wainage ſhall require, and the iſſues of the land "can reaſonably bear."

Theſe regulations might prevent ſome abuſes; but the practice of *wardſhips* was in itſelf highly oppreſſive. Let it not be aſked, why the barons did not demand their ſuppreſſion; or rather, that the grant of Henry I. in this inſtance, ſhould be renewed? It is too obvious, that the feudal rights which the

the ſovereign was here permitted to retain, would, by the ſame act, be confirmed to themſelves, in regard to their own vaſſals.

7. " Heirs ſhall be married without *diſparagement*."

That is, agreeably to their rank. The king could diſpoſe of them at pleaſure, provided that, before the marriage was contracted, the neareſt relations were made acquainted with it[n]. The ſame was the power of all other lords. It was another ſource of abuſe and oppreſſion; but it was likewiſe a ſource of wealth.

8. " A widow, after the death of her huſband, ſhall " forthwith and without difficulty, have her marriage por- " tion *(maritagium)* and her inheritance; nor ſhall ſhe give " any thing for her dower, or her inheritance, which her " huſband and ſhe held at the day of his death: and ſhe " may remain in the manſion of her huſband, forty days " after his death."

9. " She ſhall not be diſtrained to marry, ſo long as ſhe " ſhall be willing to live without a huſband. But ſhe ſhall " give ſecurity, that ſhe will not marry, without the royal " aſſent, if ſhe holds of the king; or without the conſent " the lord, of whom ſhe holds."

Nearly the ſame clauſes are in the charter of Henry I. which contains regulations about female heirs, that are not repeated here.

10. " Neither the king nor his officers, ſhall ſeize any " land or rent for any debt, ſo long as the chattels of the " debtor are ſufficient to pay it."

[n] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1215.

11. "If the principal debtor fail in the payment of the "debt, then the ſureties ſhall anſwer for it."

Theſe are reſtraining ſtatutes, and ſhew what before had been the power of the monarch.

12, 13. "Money borrowed from a Jew ſhall pay no in- "tereſt, while the heir to the borrower continues under "age, of whomſoever he may hold.—And if any one die "indebted to the Jews, his wife ſhall have her dower, and "pay nothing of that debt; and his children ſhall be pro- "vided with neceſſaries, according to the eſtate of the "deceaſed; and out of the reſidue the debt ſhall be paid, "ſaving the ſervice of the lords. In like manner it ſhall "be with the debts, due to other perſons than Jews."

The laſt clauſe is only to be referred to the words, "ſav- "ing the ſervice of the lords."

14. "No *ſcutage* or *aid* ſhall be impoſed on the kingdom, "unleſs by the common council of the kingdom, except to "ranſom the king's perſon, and to make his eldeſt ſon a "knight, and to marry his eldeſt daughter once: and for "this ſhall only be paid a reaſonable aid."

By *ſcutage* (*ſervitium ſcuti*) was meant military ſervice, due to the king from the tenants in chief. It likewiſe ſignified the pecuniary aid, often paid to the king *in lieu* of that ſervice; and ſometimes the tax, which was impoſed on each vaſſal, for the ſervice of the public. *Scutages* and *aids* (which latter always mean a pecuniary ſubſidy) had often been arbitrarily impoſed. This clauſe, therefore, which forbids the levying ſuch ſubſidies, without the ſanction of the national council, becomes infinitely important. The three great feudal caſes were excepted, however, from the rule,

and

and that under a ſpecious ſtipulation, which ſtill left an exorbitant prerogative in the hands of the crown. But the barons, alſo, over their reſpective vaſſals, were to enjoy the ſame arbitrary privilege.

15, 16. "In like manner it ſhall be concerning the aids "of the city of London; and that city ſhall have all her "ancient liberties and free cuſtoms, as well by land as by "water.—Furthermore, all other cities, and burghs, and "towns, and ports, ſhall have all their liberties and free "cuſtoms; and ſhall have the common council of the "kingdom, concerning the aſſeſſment of their aids, except "in the three caſes aforeſaid."

Cities, therefore, and towns contributed to the national ſubſidy, as did the tenants of the crown; and they were a part of the royal demeſne, or inveſted by feoffment in the clergy or baronage. They held their liberties and cuſtoms under certain tenures, or the obligation of annual payments to their lords: but their privileges were now ſecured to them, and arbitrary aſſeſſments were removed.

17, 18, 19. "And for the aſſeſſing of *ſcutages* ſhall be "ſummoned the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, and "greater barons, *ſingly*, by writs from the king.—And "furthermore, ſhall be ſummoned, *in general*, by the "ſheriffs and bailiffs of the crown, *all others who hold of the "king in chief*, to a certain day, that is, at the end of forty "days at leaſt, and to a certain place: and in all writs of "ſuch ſummons, the cauſe of the ſummons ſhall be ex-"preſſed.—And ſummons being thus made, the buſineſs "ſhall proceed on the day appointed, according to the ad-"vice of ſuch as are preſent, although all that were ſum-"moned come not."

BOOK VI. 1215.

Thus was formed the *common council of the kingdom*, ſuch as, in the preceding hiſtory, we have ſeen often aſſembled. It conſiſted only of the king's *immediate* vaſſals, of ſuch as held of him in chief, with an excluſion of all other orders of citizens. The ſame term of *common council of the kingdom* occurs in the charter of the conqueror. It was no new eſtabliſhment: but ſtrange it is that, in this feudal congreſs, many writers ſhould have diſcovered *all* the organs of a *parliament*, ariſing from the equal repreſentation of the people! As the kings, in matters of great national concern, had often acted *without* the advice of this council, the preſent clauſes were introduced, to reſtore to it its conſtitutional vigour.

20. "The king ſhall not in future grant to any one, that "he take *aid* of his own free vaſſals, unleſs to ranſom his "body; and to make his eldeſt ſon a knight; and to "marry his eldeſt daughter once: and for this ſhall only be "paid a reaſonable aid."

The power of the barons had been hitherto as tyrannical, as that of the crown, only that the royal permiſſion ſeems to have been, ſometimes, neceſſary, to ſanction their oppreſſion. And the diſcretionary power, in certain caſes, of levying a *reaſonable aid*, thus ſtill entruſted to them, ſhews how little they had in view, the general intereſt of the people.

21. "No man ſhall be compelled to perform more ſervice "for a knight's fee, or other free tenure, than is due from "thence."

A *knight's fee* denoted the complete ſervice of one knight. Baronies conſiſted of theſe fees, in a greater or leſs number, according

according to the original charters of feoffment or inveſtiture. Each fee being charged with the ſervice of one knight, if a barony held two fees, it ſent two knights, at the call of the king, or ſubſidiſed for two, as the ſummons might direct, and ſo on, in proportion to the number of fees. But theſe fees were held by knigthood, as-well as by barony; and this conſtituted the two orders of knights and barons. The lands or honours, to which the fees were annexed, were very diſproportionate in extent and real value.

22, 23. "*Common pleas* ſhall not follow the court, but "be holden in ſome certain place.—And trials *de nova* "*diſſaiſina, de morte anteceſſoris, et de ultima præſentatione*, "ſhall be taken in their proper counties, by two juſticiaries, "ſent four times a year, for that pupoſe."

The *court of common pleas* was, at this time, erected, or received a legal confirmation; and by that eſtabliſhment, the *curia regis*, which generally attended the royal perſon, and was the great ſeat of judicature, became relieved from a variety of cauſes.—The appointment alſo of juſtices, at ſtated times, to hold aſſizes in the counties, tended much to the eaſe of the people, and the preſervation of order. We noticed, in the foregoing hiſtory, many tranſient attempts to eſtabliſh that wiſe regulation.

24, 25. "A *free man* ſhall not be amerced for a ſmall "fault, but according to the degree of the fault; and for "a great fault, in proportion to the heinouſneſs of it; "ſaving to him his *contenementum* (means of livelihood:) "and after the ſame manner, a merchant, ſaving to him "his *mercandiſa* (means of trading).—And a huſbandman "*(villanus)* ſhall be amerced after the ſame manner, ſaving "to

BOOK VI. 1215.

" to him his wainage (implements of huſbandry): and none " of the aforeſaid amerciaments ſhall be aſſeſſed, but by the " oath of honeſt men of the neighbourhood."

*Amerciament* was a pecuniary puniſhment for treſpaſſes of various kinds, and was diſtinguiſhed from *fine*. The offender was ſuppoſed to lie at the *mercy* of his lord, whence the word came.—The proviſions of theſe two articles are peculiarly intereſting, being calculated to relieve an order of citizens, who, till this time, had been much oppreſſed. I tranſlate the word *villanus* huſbandman, rather than *villain*; becauſe the latter ſometimes imported a *ſlave* or *bondman*, which, as is evident, was not here meant. The charter profeſſes to have in view the *freemen* of the kingdom only, (art. 2.) among whom were ſuch merchants and huſbandmen, as poſſeſſing certain fees, were denominated *libere tenentes*. The claſs of *free ſocmen*, or tenants in ſocage, is well known. Villains or ſlaves, properly ſo called, were either bound to the perſon of the lord and his heirs, or were annexed to the manor, as a part of the owner's ſubſtance. They were not deemed members of the commonwealth, or entitled to any rights of vaſſals. For ſuch no charter provided liberties, though that of the conqueror, in certain caſes, provided for their emancipation.

26, 27. " Earls and barons ſhall not be amerced, but by " their peers, and according to the quality of the offence. " —And no clerk ſhall be amerced for his lay-tenement, " but according to the proportion aforeſaid, and not ac- " cording to the value of his eccleſiaſtical benefice."

28, 29, 30. " Neither town, nor any perſon, ſhall be " diſtrained to make bridges over rivers, unleſs anciently

" and

" and of right they are bound to do it.—No ſheriff, con- " ſtable, coroners, or king's bailiffs, ſhall hold places of " the crown. — All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and " trethings (third part of a county, vulg. *riding*,) ſhall ſtand " at the old ferm, without any increaſe, except in the " demeſne lands of the crown."

31, 32. " If any one, holding a lay-fee of the crown, " dies, the debt he may owe to the king ſhall be firſt diſ- " charged, and the executors ſhall then fulfill the will of " the deceaſed. — And if any freeman dies inteſtate, his " chattels ſhall be diſtributed by his neareſt relations and " friends by view of the church, ſaving to every one his " debts, which the deceaſed owed."

33, 34, 35. " No conſtable or bailiff of the crown ſhall " take corn or other chattels of any man, unleſs he pre- " ſently gives him money for it, or hath reſpite of payment " from the feller. — No conſtable ſhall diſtrain any knight " to give money for caſtle-guard, if he himſelf will do it in " his own perſon, or by another able man, in caſe himſelf " is hindered by any reaſonable cauſe. — And if the king " leads him, or ſends him, into the army, he ſhall be free " from caſtle-guard, for the time he ſhall be in the army " by the king's command."

36, 37. " No ſheriff or bailiff of the crown, or any other, " ſhall take horſes or carts of any for carriage, without the " conſent of the freeman.—Nor ſhall the king, or his officers, " take any man's timber for his caſtles, or other uſes, unleſs " by conſent of the owner of the timber."

38. " The king ſhall retain the lands of thoſe, who are " convicted of felony, but one year and a day; and then " they ſhall be delivered to the lord of the fee."

39. " All

39. "All wears ſhall be deſtroyed in the rivers Thames "and Medway, and throughout all England, except on "the ſea-coaſt."

40. "The writ, which is called *præcipe*, ſhall not be "granted to any one of any tenement, whereby a freeman "may loſe his cauſe (or right of pleading.)

*Præcipe quod reddat* was a writ, or in general an order from the king, or ſome court of juſtice, to put in poſſeſſion one who complains of having been unjuſtly ouſted.

41. "There ſhall be one meaſure of wine and one of ale, "through the realm, and one meaſure of corn; that is, "the *London-quarter:* and one breadth of dyed cloth; and "the weights ſhall be as the meaſures."

42. "From henceforward nothing ſhall be given or taken "for a writ of *Inquiſition*, from him that deſires an inqui- "ſition of life or limbs, but it ſhall be granted *gratis*, and "not denied."

43, 44. "If any one holds of the crown by *fee farm*, or "*ſocage*, or *burgage*, and holds lands of another by *military* "*ſervice*, the king ſhall not have the wardſhip of the heir "and land, which belongs to another man's fee, by reaſon "of what he holds of the crown: nor ſhall he have the "wardſhip of the fee-farm, ſocage, or burgage, unleſs the "fee-farm is bound to perform military ſervice.—Neither "ſhall the king have the wardſhip of an heir, or of any "land, which he holds of another by military ſervice, by "reaſon of any *petit-ſerjeanty* he holds of him, as by the "ſervice of giving the king daggers, arrows, or the like."

To hold in *fee-farm* was, when ſome rent was reſerved by the king or lord on the creation of the tenancy: in

*ſocage*

*ſocage*, on condition of plowing the lord's land, or doing other offices of huſbandry: in *burgage*, when the inhabitants of a borough held their tenements at a certain rent. *Petit-ſerjeanty* is explained. There was alſo *grand-ſerjeanty* of a higher order. But the tenure of *military ſervice*, in an age of chivalry, was deemed the moſt honourable.

45. " No bailiff, in future, ſhall put any man to his law " (his oath,) on his ſingle accuſation, without credible " witneſſes produced to prove it."

46. " No freeman ſhall be taken, or impriſoned, or " diſſeiſed, (of his rights,) or outlawed, or baniſhed, or any " ways deſtroyed, unleſs by the legal judgment of his peers, " or by the law of the land."

47. " Right or juſtice ſhall be ſold to no man, denied to " no man, or deferred to no man."

48, 49. " All merchants ſhall have ſafe-conduct, to go " out of, and to come into, England, and to ſtay there, " and to paſs as well by land as by water, to buy and ſell, " without any evil tolls, by the ancient and allowed cuſtoms, " except in time of war, or when they are of any nation " in war with the king.—And if any ſuch be found in the " land, in the beginning of a war, they ſhall be attached " (apprehended,) without damage to their bodies or goods, " until it be known how our merchants be treated in the " nation at war with the king; and if ours be ſafe there, " they ſhall be ſafe here."

50. " It ſhall be lawful, in future, for any one to go out " of the realm, and to return ſafely and ſecurely, by land " and water, ſaving his fealty to the king; (unleſs in time " of war, for a ſhort ſpace, on account of the common

" benefit of the kingdom), except priſoners and outlaws, " according to the law of the land, and people in war with " the king, and merchants, as juſt ſaid."

51. " If any man holds of an *eſcheat*, which is a barony, " and in the king's hands, his heir ſhall be bound to no " other relief or ſervice, than if the barony had remained " in poſſeſſion of the baron."

*Eſcheats* were lands or honours, diſtinguiſhed from the ancient demeſnes of the crown, and which had devolved on it by default of heirs, or from crimes, or breach of duty. They were a great ſource of power and revenue; and the prince was at liberty to retain them in his hands, or to alienate them, by ſale or donation, to his friends and ſervants.

52. " Men who dwell without the foreſt, from hence- " forth ſhall not come before the juſticiaries of the foreſt " upon common ſummons, unleſs they be impleaded, or " be pledges for any who were attached for ſomething con- " cerning the foreſt."

53. " None ſhall be made juſticiaries, conſtables, ſheriffs, " or bailiffs, but who are knowing in the law of the realm, " and are diſpoſed duly to obſerve it."

54. " All barons, who are founders of abbies, and have " charters thereof from the kings of England, or an ancient " tenure, ſhall have the cuſtody of them, when void, as " they ought to have."

55, 56. " All woods that have been afforeſted, in the " time of the king, ſhall forthwith be diſforeſted, and the " like ſhall be done with the embankments of rivers, of the " ſame date.—All evil cuſtoms concerning foreſts, warrens,

" and

" and foreſters, warreners, ſheriffs, and their officers, rivers " and their keepers, ſhall forthwith be enquired into, and " be utterly aboliſhed."

57, 58, 59. " Hoſtages, which the king had taken from " his Engliſh ſubjects, ſhall be given up.—Certain families " of foreigners (whoſe names are mentioned) ſhall be re- " moved from their employments—And when peace ſhall " be reſtored, all foreign ſoldiers, croſs bow-men, and mer- " cenaries, ſhall be ſent away, who came with horſes and " arms to the injury of the kingdom."

60, 61, 62, regard the reſtitution of lands, caſtles, or rights, which the king had unjuſtly ſeized—alſo the reparation of injuries, which his father and brother had committed —and the diſforeſting of woods they had incloſed, with a general ſatisfaction for wardſhips and abbeys, which belonged to the fees of his ſubjects. A reſpite for theſe diſcharges is allowed, ſuch as was granted to cruſaders.

63. " No man ſhall be taken or impriſoned, upon the " appeal of a woman, for the death of any other man than " her huſband."

64. " All unjuſt and illegal fines, levied by the king, and " all amerciaments impoſed unjuſtly, ſhall be entirely " forgiven, or be left to the deciſion of the twenty-five " barons, hereafter to be appointed for the preſervation of " peace."

" 65, 66, 67, promiſe juſtice to the Welſh for any wrongs they had endured—even from his father or brother—and the releaſe of their hoſtages.

68, regards the hoſtages, and the right and liberties of the king of Scotland.

 69. " All

BOOK VI. 1215.

69. "All the aforeſaid cuſtoms and liberties, which the "king has granted to be holden in his kingdom, as much "as it belongs to him towards his people; all his ſubjects, "as well clergy as laity, ſhall obſerve, as far as they are "concerned, towards their dependents."

This clauſe is important: and the gradation of feudal dependences required it, whereby each lord ſtood in the ſame relation towards his vaſſals, as did the king towards his barons, or the immediate tenants of the crown. As the ſyſtem of oppreſſion had been regularly diffuſed, in the ſame order, was juſtice, in future, to be adminiſtered.

70. "And whereas, for the honour of God, and the "amendment of our kingdom, and for quieting the diſ-"cord that has ariſen between us and our barons, we have "granted all the things aforeſaid; willing to render them "firm and laſting, we do give and grant to them the fol-"lowing ſecurity:"—It then enacts, that the barons chuſe twenty-five of their order, who ſhall take care to obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, the peace and liberties thus granted, and by the preſent charter confirmed. If the king, his juſticiary, or officers ſhall not perform, or ſhall break through, any of theſe articles, and the offence be notified to four barons to be choſen out of the twenty-five, they ſhall repair to the king, or, in his abſence, to the juſticiary, and laying open the grievance, ſhall petition for redreſs without delay; and if it be not redreſſed, within forty days, from the notification, then ſhall they lay the cauſe before the reſt of the twenty-five barons; and theſe, together with the community of the whole kingdom, ſhall diſtrain and diſtreſs the king all the ways poſſible, namely, by

by ſeizing his caſtles, lands, poſſeſſions, and in any other manner they can, till the grievance be redreſſed according to their pleaſure, ſaving harmleſs the perſon of the king, of the queen, and his children; and when it is redreſſed, they ſhall become obedient as before.

71, 72. "Any perſon whatſoever in the kingdom may "ſwear, that he will obey the orders of the twenty-five "barons, in the execution of the premiſes. — And as for "thoſe who will not, on their own accord, ſwear to join "them, in diſtraining and diſtreſſing us, we will iſſue our "order to make them take the oath to that effect."

73, 74. "If any one of the twenty-five dies, or quits the "kingdom, or is hindered any other way from executing "theſe things; the reſt of the twenty-five ſhall chuſe ano-"ther, at their diſcretion, who ſhall be ſworn in like man-"ner. — And in all things that are committed to their "charge, if, when they aſſemble, they ſhall diſagree, or ſome "of them, when ſummoned, will not, or cannot, come; "whatever the major part of thoſe preſent ſhall agree on or "enjoin, ſhall be reputed as firm and valid, as if the "twenty-five had given their conſent."

75. "And we will not, by ourſelves, or others, procure "any thing, whereby any of theſe conceſſions and liberties "be revoked, or leſſened; and if any ſuch thing be ob-"tained, let it be null and void; neither ſhall we ever "make uſe of it, either by ourſelves, or any other."

76, 77. "And all the ill-will, anger, and malice, ariſen "between us and our ſubjects, of the clergy and laity, from "the beginning of the diſſention, we have fully remitted "and forgiven: moreover all treſpaſſes from the ſixteenth

"year

BOOK VI. 1215.

" year of our reign.—To this effect, we have given letters " patent."

78. " Wherefore, we will and firmly enjoin, that the church " of England be free, and that all men in our kingdom, " have and hold, all the foreſaid liberties, rights, and " conceſſions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully " and wholly, to themſelves and their heirs, of us and our " heirs, in all things and places for ever, as is aforeſaid."

79. " It is alſo ſworn, as well on our part, as on the part " of the barons, that all the things aforeſaid ſhall faithfully " and ſincerely be obſerved."

Given under our hand, &c. [o]

Such was *Magna Charta*, and ſuch the laws, we may infer, of the Confeſſor, the renovation of which had been ſo ardently deſired. The concluding articles, which inveſted the council of twenty-five with the real ſovereignty of the realm, may be viewed as an unwarrantable invaſion of the prerogative: but the tyrannical and faithleſs character of John was known, againſt which ſome barrier muſt be raiſed, or what availed it, to have drawn from his reluctant hand a written charter of liberties? — At the ſame time was granted a *Charter of Foreſts*, compriſed in eighteen articles, each of which tends to prove how great had been the oppreſſion, under pretence of ſupporting the prerogative of the crown [p].—The *Charter of liberties* being ſigned and ſworn to by the king and nobles, the council of twenty-five was choſen. Their names are recorded. Theſe ſwore, on their ſouls, to be faithful to the great commiſſion they received; and the aſſembly promiſed obedience to them. Writs, under the royal

[o] Mat. Par. et Mag. char. ex Autograph. Cot. ap. Rapin. [p] Mat Par.

royal ſignet, were then ſent to the ſheriffs of the counties, ordaining that all orders of men obſerve the laws of the charter; and the compulſory means to be uſed, ſhould the king recede from his engagements, were univerſally preſcribed. Thus cloſed the tranſactions of Runnemede; when the barons departed, ſome to London, which was ſtill to remain in their power, and the reſt to their caſtles, anxious for the general iſſue, notwithſtanding the precautions they had taken, and the exultation that weak minds felt [q].

John meditates vengeance, and retires.

John, with a few followers, ſpent the night of the conference at Windſor, in gloomy, repoſeleſs agitation; and hither came the men, foreigners moſtly without fame or fortune, who had gained his confidence, and whom the fifty-eighth article of the charter proſcribed. In taunting irritation they addreſſed their monarch; laid before him his fallen ſtate; and rouſed, with eaſe, the latent ſpirit of repentance and revenge. In deſcribing the ſeries of this growing paſſion, the hiſtorian portrays the wild deportment of a maniac. But with ſome compoſure, he diſpatched meſſengers to ſuch governors of his caſtles, as were foreigners, and devoted to his cauſe, commanding them to lay in proviſions, to ſtrengthen the walls, to prepare machines, and to hire what mercenary forces could be collected; but let it be done without noiſe, he added, and with caution, leſt the barons be alarmed. The alarm was unavoidable. Himſelf then, to prepare what ſchemes of vengeance might pleaſe him beſt, and to indulge, far from the prying eye of curioſity and the vigilance of his enemies, the wayward rancour of his heart, haſtily quitted Windſor, and retired, in diſguiſe,

[q] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1215.

diſguiſe, to the Iſle of Wight. And here he ſoon took the reſolution of applying to Rome for the aid of Innocent, and to the neighbouring countries for a ſupply of mercenary forces. The ſeventy-fifth article of the charter he as little heeded, as thoſe which gave relief to his vaſſals. Pandulphus, whom the proſpect of ſome promotion, which ſhould reward his labours, ſtill detained in England, was, with other meſſengers, ſent to Rome; and the biſhop of Worceſter, who was chancellor, and the courtly biſhop of Norwich, with ſome ſoldiers of fortune, undertook to raiſe the neceſſary ſupply of men. They ſailed to the continent.

The king, with a few companions, remained in the iſland, waiting, in dark impatience, for the iſſue of his plans; and ſometimes mixing with the fiſhermen and mariners of the neighbouring ports, he ſtrove by the bold manners of a pirate, to gain the friendſhip of that hardy race.—What, in the mean time, were the ſuſpectful thoughts of the nobles? The king had diſappeared, and fame had not yet diſcloſed his retreat. But they ſaw the hoſtile preparations in his caſtles, and ſoon they knew, where he was, and what were the meaſures he had taken. To relieve the toils of their late attention to buſineſs, a tournament had been appointed to be held at Stamford. They now put off its celebration to a more diſtant day, and named another place, leſs remote from London. In this city the great body continued: but, from the letters they addreſſed to the abſent barons, their thoughts, it appears, ran more on the approaching tournament, than to provide reſiſtance againſt the exertions of the enemy[r].

Pandulphus,

[r] Mat. Par.

Conduct of Innocent.

Pandulphus, with the ſpeed of a faithful miniſter, had haſtened to the feet of Innocent. There he expoſed the cauſe of his journey, and implored the pontiff's aid againſt the barons of England. "They have raiſed a rebellion in "the land," he ſaid, "and have demanded from their "prince laws and evil liberties, which to grant became "not the royal dignity. The king publicly proteſted, that "his realm was a fief of the Roman church, and therefore "that, without the knowledge of the pontiff, he was not "free to enact new ſtatutes, or to prejudice in any thing "the rights of his lord. He appealed then, thereby ſub-"jecting himſelf and realm to your protection. This the "barons heeded not: they marched to London, and hav-"ing ſeized that capital of the empire, hold it ſtill. Then, "in military array repeating their demands, the king ſub-"mitted, for he could no longer withſtand their violence." So ſaying, the meſſengers preſented certain heads of the charter, which ſeemed beſt to favour the royal cauſe. Innocent read, and frowning indignantly, exclaimed: "Do "theſe barons then aim to dethrone a prince, croſſed for "the holy land, and protected by the apoſtolic ſee? Or "would they transfer our ſovereignty to another? By St. "Peter, this outrage ſhall not go unpuniſhed." He convened the cardinals, and taking their advice, addreſſed a bull to all the faithful. It is dated from Anagni, Auguſt twenty-four[s].

It ſtates that John, though by his crimes he had drawn on himſelf and kingdom the ſentence of excommunication and interdict, had repented, and made ſatisfaction to the

[s] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1215. church; that he had ſubjected his realm to the holy ſee, under an annual tribute, and ſworn fealty to it; that he had taken the croſs, and was preparing to make war on the infidels; that, in this criſis, the barons of England, inſtigated by the devil, had rebelled againſt him; that himſelf (Innocent) had uſed every means to reſtore concord; that the king had been diſpoſed to liſten to moderate counſels, and to correct abuſes; that he had appealed to Rome; and that the barons, regardleſs of every duty, had perſiſted in their meaſures, and finally compelled their prince to grant them terms, derogatory from the rights and dignity of his crown. It concludes: "But ſince it was ſaid to us by the "lord, *I appointed thee over nations and kingdoms, to pluck "up and to deſtroy, to build and to plant*; not willing to diſ- "ſemble the audacious deed, which brings contempt on "the holy ſee, ruin on the rights of kings, ſhame on the "Engliſh nation, and threatens to annul the great con- "cerns of the croſs of Chriſt; we reprobate and condemn "the proceeding, forbidding the ſaid king to obſerve the "charter, and the barons to require its execution; and we "pronounce it, in all its clauſes, null and void, that, at "no time, it may have validity."—Another bull of the ſame date is addreſſed to the barons, wherein, having repeated the ſubſtance of the firſt, he commands them, as their ſpiritual father and ſuzerain lord, to renounce the charter, and to be reconciled to the king, who may then be diſpoſed to liſten to their juſt petitions, in which himſelf promiſes to be their mediator: "and what ſhall then be obtained," he ſays, "ſhall be firm and permanent for ever." He exhorts them to ſubmit, leſt ſomething worſe befall them; and

and to ſend their proctors to the general council, which was ſoon to be aſſembled, ſurrendering themſelves in confidence to his award. "With the bleſſing of heaven," he concludes, "we will then adopt meaſures, whereby, ever grievance and abuſe being utterly aboliſhed, your king ſhall be ſatisfied in his rights, and the clergy and all the people ſhall enjoy peace and liberty[t]."

Preparations for a civil war

The repreſentation of facts, which the bulls exhibited, was, in ſome inſtances, untrue; in others, overcharged. So it is, when party-views diſtort the eye of equitable judgment. They were ſent to England; on which the barons, regardleſs of their contents, and well-aware, that further dalliance might bring ruin on their meaſures, reſolved again to take up arms, and to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the capital. William de Albiney, a nobleman of great military fame, at the head of a choſen band, entered the caſtle of Rocheſter, having been ſolemnly aſſured by the confederated barons, before he left London, that, in caſe of an attack, they would fly to his reſcue. The caſtle, not long before, had been committed by the king to the cuſtody of the primate. It was ill-ſtored with proviſions, and worſe with engines of defence: but de Albiney entered, and with him a hundred and twenty knights, with their retainers.

John had paſſed nearly three months in the Iſle of Wight, and the time was come for the return of his agents. He ſailed to Dover, where he had the ſatisfaction to be informed, that a vaſt armament was approaching to his aſſiſtance. The proſpect of ſharing the ſpoils of England, and

[t] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1215.

the lands and honours of the opulent barons, which the king's emiſſaries had been empowered to offer, allured thouſands to his ſtandard. From Poitou and Gaſcogne, came Savaric de Mauleon, and Geoffry and Oliver de Buteville, brothers, with a formidable troop of knights and armed men: from the ſide of Brabant, came Walter Buck, Gerard Sottini, and Godeſchal, with three legions of heavy-armed ſoldiers and croſs-bowmen: and from Flanders, came a multitude, which is not numbered, men inured to rapine and blood-ſhed, the outcaſts and freebooters of ſociety. Theſe John received exultingly on the beach of Dover. They ſwore fealty to him, and with them he marched to Rocheſter. De Albiney had been three days in the caſtle. The engines of attack were ſoon brought up, and the ſavage army encompaſſed the walls. It was now the end of September.

But hardly had the ſiege opened, when a furious tempeſt began to howl, ſuch as, even in the equinoctial ſeaſon, no man had witneſſed; and in that tempeſt periſhed Hugh de Boves, with an army, or rather a colony, of forty thouſand ſouls, whom he had embarked in the port of Calais. He was a bold and experienced adventurer; but a man of the baſeſt principles, who had long ſerved the king, and on whom, it is ſaid, he had promiſed to ſettle the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. The hand of heaven ſeemed viſible in his overthrow; but the king wailed his loſs, with the frantic effuſions of a madman [u]. — The caſtle of Rocheſter bravely reſiſted, looking hourly for the promiſed ſuccours. The barons, indeed, once advanced to its relief; but with no views, it ſeemed, of manly reſolution; for, without having

[u] Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

having ſeen the enemy, they returned, to indulge, ſays the hiſtorian, in the exceſſes of play and prodigality, and the enervating pleaſures of the capital. De Albiney then, only reduced by famine, though ſcarcely a ſtone was ſtanding round him, with the concurrence of his brave companions, ſurrendered. The ſiege had laſted two months. With the ferocity of a monſter, John commanded the general and his whole garriſon to be hanged; but William de Mauleon ſuggeſting to him the danger of repriſals, he was contented to butcher the inferior priſoners, while the knights, with de Albiney, were ſent to the caſtles of Corf and Nottingham. The cauſe of the barons received a mortal wound[v].

The barons are excommunicated, and Langton goes to Rome.

While theſe things were doing, Innocent, in great irritation, that his advice and menaces were diſregarded, had excommunicated the barons, committing the execution of the ſentence to the biſhop of Wincheſter, the abbot of Reading, and the noted Pandulphus. In a brief written to them, he complains of the primate and his ſuffragans, who, for not having ſuccoured their king againſt the rebels, were, with reaſon, ſuſpected of being accomplices in their guilt. "Lo!" ſays he, "how they defend the patrimony of the "Roman church; how they protect the champions of "Chriſt. Aiming to dethrone him, from whoſe arms the "chriſtian cauſe looked for aid, they are become worſe than "Saracens. Wherefore, we excommunicate all diſturbers "of the public peace, with their accomplices and abettors, "and we lay their lands under an interdict; ſtrictly en-"joining the primate and his biſhops, ſolemnly to announce "this ſentence, through the realm of England, and to "command

[v] Mat. Par. Mat. Weſt.

BOOK VI. 1215.

" command all ſubjects to give aid to their ſovereign. " Should any biſhop not comply with this order, he is ſuſ- " pended from his functions, and obedience is no longer " due to him."

Armed with the powers of Rome, the commiſſioners waited on the cardinal, who had actually embarked for Italy, to which the meeting of the general council called him. They ſignified their commiſſion, and, in the pontiff's name, commanded him to execute the ſentence, in the manner ſpecified by the brief. He heſitated, and begged a reſpite, till he ſhould himſelf have ſeen his holineſs, urging, that the ſentence had been ſurreptitiouſly obtained. " Truth " has been with-held," he continued; " nor will I pub- " liſh the ſentence, unleſs I know more of the pontiff's " will." The commiſſioners then, without further ceremony, declared him ſuſpended from all the functions of his office; to which Langton tranquilly ſubmitted, and departed for Romē. Their next ſtep was, to pronounce excommunication againſt ſuch barons, as were in arms; but as the brief did not ſpecify their names, the caſuiſtry of the age taught them to regard the cenſure, as nugatory and null [w].

When the primate arrived in Italy, towards the end of October, he found the prelates of chriſtendom aſſembling from various nations, with numerous abbots and the heads of religious orders, and the embaſſadors of princes. Among the latter were three envoys from the king of England, the abbot of Beaulieu and two knights. Before the ſolemn opening of the council, many private cauſes were heared in the

[w] Mat. Par.

the preſence of the pontiff; and Langton was cited to appear. His accuſers were the agents of the king. They accuſed him of conſpiring with the barons, who, adviſed and favoured by him, were in arms to dethrone their prince; and they urged that, though commanded by his holineſs, as he had recently been, to check the rebellion by excommunicating its leaders, he had diſregarded the injunction, and had therefore been ſuſpended. "And in that "ſtate of ſuſpenſion, here he comes to the general council!" they ſaid, and they preſſed many other charges. Langton made no reply, and in much confuſion, obſerves the hiſtorian, only prayed to be abſolved from the cenſure. "Nor "ſhall that, by St. Peter, come ſo eaſily, brother," exclaimed the indignant pontiff, "after the manifold injuries which thou haſt thus done to thy king and to the "Roman church. The advice of my brethren ſhall be "taken." He conferred with the cardinals, and by their advice confirmed the ſentence of ſuſpenſion, which was immediately notified to the ſuffragans of his ſee.—On the ſame occaſion, the election of Simon de Langton, the primate's brother, to the ſee of York, was voided, a man obviouſly obnoxious to the king, but endowed with learning and many virtues. "We petition then for Walter de Gray, "biſhop of Worceſter," ſaid the canons of York, who were preſent, "renowned for his ſingular purity."—"By Saint "Peter," replied Innocent, "that is a great virtue; and "you ſhall have him." De Gray was attached to the royal party. But though his holineſs could admire his virtue, he did not eſcape from Rome, without having involved himſelf in the enormous charge of ten thouſand pounds ſterling, equal, at this time, to fifty thouſand pounds[x]. The

[x] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI.

1215.

Fourth council of Lateran.

The council opened on the eleventh of November. Innocent preſided, and addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly in a ſermon of taſteleſs allegory, profeſſed his willingneſs, ſhould the ſynod approve it, to go himſelf to the princes of Europe, and rouſe them, by his entreaties, again to take up arms, and avenge the injured honour of Chriſt. The land, he had purchaſed by his death, was poſſeſſed by unbelievers.—The decrees of this council are compriſed in ſeventy canons, of which the nine firſt are chiefly directed againſt the errors of the Albigenſes; and the ſeventh, teaching "that the body and blood of Chriſt are truly "preſent in the euchariſt, under the forms of bread and "wine," uſes the word *Tranſubſtantiation*, to expreſs the ſacramental change. The thing ſignified, but not the myſtic word, had been before adopted in the canonical language of the church. I find it in writers, who lived anterior to the time.—The ſynod then proceeds to cenſure a treatiſe of the abbot Joachim on the Trinity, the prophet with whom our Richard had been delighted in the iſland of Sicily; and the opinions of Amauri, a Paris profeſſor.—Then come the decrees againſt heretics, enacting that they, who are convicted of error, ſhall be delivered up to the ſecular power to be puniſhed; that even thoſe ſuſpected of hereſy, if they do not clear themſelves, ſhall be excommunicated; that ſtates ſhall be admoniſhed, and even compelled by cenſures, to expel all noted heretics from their juriſdiction; that princes or lords, not obeying this admonition, and report being made to the pope, he may declare their vaſſals abſolved from their allegiance, and give up their territories to be conquered and poſſeſſed by the orthodox,

orthodox, ſaving the rights of the ſuzerain lord, provided he oppoſe not the execution of the ſentence.—The embaſſadors of the ſovereign princes, let it be obſerved, who were preſent in the council, reclaimed not againſt theſe indecent and arbitrary ſtatutes.—After ſome regulations concerning the Greeks, who returned to the weſtern communion, and fixing the precedency of the four eaſtern patriarchs, who, at that time, acknowledged the juriſdiction of Rome, the council goes on to enact canons of general diſcipline. In them is much good ſenſe; but they ſhew how undefined were then the limits of the eccleſiaſtical and civil powers; and they became the baſis, on which was raiſed that general ſyſtem of church-legiſlation, which has prevailed to the preſent day.—After theſe canons follows a particular decree, which fixes the cruſade, and the day of general rendezvous, for the year 1217, and in the kingdom of Sicily. —The cauſe of the count of Toulouſe was then heared, petitioning againſt the earl of Montfort for the reſtitution of his territories; but the former was declared for ever excluded from his lands, and the poſſeſſion of them was confirmed to the conqueror. The ſentence of excommunication was then repeated againſt the Engliſh barons and their accomplices, and the council ended. It is deemed the twelfth ecumenical ſynod[y].

England deſolated by the king's forces.

John, on the return of his agents from Rome, which was ſoon after the taking of the caſtle of Rocheſter, heared with pleaſure the ſucceſs of their embaſſy. The barons were excommunicated, the primate ſuſpended, the election of his brother annulled, and Walter de Gray raiſed to the ſee of

[y] Auct. varii.

BOOK VI. 1215. York. He marched his army from Kent to the neighbourhood of St. Alban's. Here, in the convent of the monks, he commanded the letters of ſuſpenſion againſt Langton to be publicly read, enjoining them to ſignify the happy event to all the churches of his realm. Then retiring to the cloiſter, with his confidential adviſers, he arranged the double plan, of annoyance of the barons, and of providing money for the ſupport of his mercenaries. Could the firſt be well executed, it would itſelf, he knew, realiſe the ſecond. It was agreed, therefore, to divide the grand army; and that the king, at the head of one diviſion, ſhould advance into the northern provinces, while the other remained in the vicinity of the capital, to check any attempts of the barons. The nobles of the north had been particularly active in their claims for liberty.

To meaſure the baleful characters of theſe two armies, or to exhibit their views, is unneceſſary. They were both intent on rapine, both hardened to the cry of diſtreſs, both incited to the perpetration of exceſs, by a cruel and vengeful prince. The name of Saliſbury and of other Engliſh barons, it gives me pain to ſee regiſtered with thoſe of Falco without bowels, of Mauleon the bloody, of Walter Buck the murderer, of Sottini the mercileſs, and of the iron-hearted Godeſchal. It was the month of December. The king moved to Dunſtable, thence to Northampton, thence, through Leiceſter, towards Nottingham; and as he advanced, flames, and carnage, and devaſtation marked his progreſs. The counties were a ſcene of horror; and the inhabitants fled, or fell, or were captured, without reſiſtance.—Leaving a ſufficient force to awe the Londoners, and

the

the barons who were with them, Saliſbury entered Eſſex, ravaging the county, and that of Middleſex, and Hertford, and Cambridge, and Huntingdon; when returning with ſpoils and priſoners, he ſet fire to the ſuburbs of the capital, and permitted his men to divide their plunder, and to relate their feats of blood[z]. 1215.

The barons, in wild conſternation, did not move. But ſtrange it is, that, preadviſed as they were, and united with the nation in their general views, they had concerted no plan of reſiſtance, raiſed no armies, ſtrengthened no caſtles. The infatuation was incredible. Cooped up within the walls of London, or inſulted in their caſtles, or at the head of a few retainers in the remote provinces, they heared of the diſaſters which fell on their friends, and the ſetting ſun of each day announced the nearer approach of ruin on themſelves. In unmanly wailings or the compoſure of affected reſignation, they bore their fate, upbraiding their prince with perjury, and the pontiff with the baſeſt ſacrifice of character. "Such," they exclaimed, "are the "achievements of the beloved ſon of our holy father!"

Chriſtmas came, whilſt John was at Nottingham; nor could that awful ſolemnity, with its ceremonies and impreſſive leſſons, ſtill the raging tumult of his mind, or call back one generous or gentle feeling. As the piercing blaſt blew, the tempeſt of his ſoul could beſt ſympathiſe with it; and though the earth was deeply covered with ſnow, he departed, raging onward, through the northern counties. Every hamlet, which was not his immediate property, he viewed as hoſtile to his intereſt; and it felt his fury, as did 1216.

[z] Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

BOOK VI. 1216.

the caſtles, the houſes, the parks, of their more noble occupiers. The deſcription, which the hiſtorian gives, of villages, towns, and caſtles reduced to aſhes, of the conſternation of the inhabitants, of the bloody executions, and of the tortures exerciſed by the ſoldiery, to draw from the ſufferers the revealment of their ſuppoſed treaſures, far exceeds belief, and ſeems rather the laboured offspring of an irritated imagination. He paſſed the Scottiſh borders; and then returned more by the weſtern line, every where rewarding his ſoldiers with plunder, and preſenting his generals with the caſtles and domains of the vanquiſhed and flying nobles. — Where the king was not, the like ſcenes were perpetrated; and the conteſt ſeemed to be, who ſhould injure the wretched people moſt, and ſpread the flames of deſolation wideſt[a].

The barons excommunicated by name

Nor had the inflexible Innocent receded from his purpoſe. Hearing that the barons diſregarded his ſentence, though the ſame meſſenger, doubtleſs, carried the news of the ſavage vengeance of the king and the miſeries of the people, he directed another brief to the abbot of Abingdon and two other eccleſiaſtics, in which he repeats the former ſentence, and commands them again to announce it to the nation. He names the citizens of London, who had been principally active, and Robert Fitzwalter, the general of the confederacy, and twenty-five barons, with their aiders and accomplices. — The agents receiving the mandate did not delay its execution, and addreſſed letters to all the churches of the realm. They repeated the words of the brief, adding the names of thirty other noblemen, on whom

[a] Mat. Par. an. 1216. Chron. de Mailros.

whom ſhould fall the papal anathema, and on their lands an interdict. The ſentence, therefore, was ſoon promulgated, and there appeared a general diſpoſition to ſubmit. Only the Londoners had the good ſenſe to oppoſe the arbitrary meaſure; and they maintained that, neither ought the barons to obſerve, nor the prelates to publiſh, a cenſure ſo incongruous. "It was obtained," they inſiſted, "by falſe ſuggeſtions, and was conſequently null; from "this reaſon principally, that it belongs not to the pope to "interfere in ſtate concerns. God gave to Peter and his "ſucceſſors the adminiſtration only of the church. Why "then ſhall Roman ambition extend itſelf to us? Does the "war, in which we are engaged, challenge their concern? "Theſe pontiffs, truly, are the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine, "and not of Peter, to whom, nor in deſerts nor actions, "do they bear reſemblance. And the world then ſhall be "ruled by cenſures!" So, with a juſt diſcrimination, they murmured; and in deſpite of the interdict, the bells rang through the city, and the churches reſounded with ſongs of unuſual feſtivity [b].

Prince Louis is invited over

But the barons, whom a timely ſenſe of impending ruin had not rouſed from their ſupineneſs, now beheld the deſperate extremity, in which muſt ſoon be involved all their liberties, their properties, and perhaps their lives. The ſentence juſt pronounced muſt ſever from them, they ſaw, the few vaſſals, who could yet ſupport their expiring intereſt; while the royal party, it was evident, acquired, by their impetuous movements, an increaſing power to complete the deſolating plan they had projected. The king-

[b] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1216.

kingdom lay at their mercy. Anxious what meaſure to adopt, they propoſed many. They heſitated, debated, and finally reſolved to implore the aid of Louis, the eldeſt ſon of the French king. To him they would offer the crown of England: for he could beſt protect them againſt the fury of the tyrant John; and he was allied by his wife, the daughter of the queen of Caſtille, to the royal houſe of Plantagenet. Should he land amongſt them, it would be a means alſo, they doubted not, of drawing from the king's ſtandard many of the mercenary bands, who being levied in Flanders or the provinces of France, would refuſe to ſerve againſt the heir of their monarchy. Deprived of auxiliaries, whoſe arms they had ſo fatally experienced, their own prince, they flattered themſelves, would be induced to liſten to reaſon, ſhould it be deemed expedient by the nation not finally to confirm the ſceptre to Louis, which it was their preſent deſign to offer to him. In the main plan they all agreed: and Saher earl of Wincheſter, and Robert Fitzwater were appointed to the great embaſſy. They bore letters with them, ſigned with all the names of the confederated nobles[c].

With haſty diſpatch, the negotiators croſſed the ſea, and appearing in the French court, laid before Philip and the prince, the weighty object of their embaſſy. The monarch heared their propoſals; read the letters they preſented; and after mature reflection, replied with this cool reſerve: "I cannot permit my ſon to go, unleſs, for greater ſecu-" rity, at leaſt four and twenty hoſtages be ſent to me, " from the nobleſt families of your realm."—The embaſſadors

[c] Mat. Par. Annal. Waver. Chron. Walt. Heming.

dors did not oppoſe the cautious reſolution; and immediate notice being ſent to the barons, they conſented, and commanded their hoſtages to ſail. Their arrival in France gave confidence to the meaſure, and Compiegne being aſſigned for their place of reſidence, Louis, with an alacrity inſpired by the great occaſion, opened his preparations. He was in his nine and twentieth year, and had lately returned from an expedition of forty days, againſt the heretics of the ſouth. But as the preſent undertaking demanded many previous arrangements, which precipitancy might fruſtrate, he deemed it expedient to ſend before him a reinforcement of men, whoſe preſence might animate the confederates, and fix their reſolution. At their head were ten experienced chieftains. They embarked, and entering the Thames, were received into London by the barons, towards the cloſe of February.

The agents of Innocent were not inſenſible to the inſulting meaſure. Again they repeated their anathemas, and by name, involved in the cenſure the French troops, who, in contempt of the papal injunction, had dared to ſuccour the enemies of the king.—But ſoon alſo letters came from the prince, addreſſed to the barons and the citizens of London. In them he aſſures his friends, that, when eaſter comes, they ſhall hear of him from Calais, ready to ſail to their relief. He exhorts them to perſevere with the firmneſs, they had till now exhibited, and requeſts that they will liſten to what they may hear from him, and not to the repreſentations or vain rumours of deſigning men.

But though the weightieſt concerns, which could occupy man, now called for immediate attention, the barons would not

BOOK VI.

1216.

not forego the occaſion, of appearing before their new friends, with the gallant pageantry of the age. They appointed a tournament, without the walls of London. Here they met on horſeback, with the accuſtomed arms and armour, and having ſpent ſome hours in the martial exerciſe, Geoffry de Mandeville, earl of Eſſex, was mortally wounded by a French knight. His death, which ſoon followed, was much lamented; but it did not excite animoſity, and with his expiring breath he forgave his antagoniſt[d].

A Roman legate obſtructs his deſign.

The preparations of the French prince were in forwardneſs, when a legate from Rome arrived at Lions, in which city the court was. He preſented his letters, and in his maſter's name, entreated Philip not to permit his ſon to invade England, or in any thing to moleſt its ſovereign: "Protect him rather," he continued, "as the vaſſal of "the Roman church, defend him, and love him; for his "realm appertains to our ſovereign lord."—"That realm," replied the monarch indignantly, "was never the patri-"mony of Peter; nor ever ſhall be. The preſent occu-"pier of the throne, John, many years ago, plotting "againſt his brother's crown, was accuſed of treaſon, and "convicted: therefore, he had no right to reign. Had it "been otherwiſe; he afterwards forfeited his crown, by "the murder of Arthur, of which crime he was found "guilty in my court. Moreover, where is the prince that "can give away his realm, without the conſent of his "barons, whoſe duty it is to protect the ſtate? And if "the pontiff has reſolved to ſupport this error, he holds "out a pernicious example to all the nations of the earth."

—"We

[d] Mat. Par.

—"We will die in defence of that maxim," exclaimed with one voice the nobles of the court; "that no potentate, by his own act, can give away a kingdom, or make it tributary to another, and thus enslave its nobles[c]."

On the following day, was another meeting, to which the prince came; and with a lowering eye having viewed the legate, he took his seat near his father. Gallo (that was the legate's name) first addressed the prince, earnestly begging him not to attack the patrimony of the church; and then turning to Philip, he repeated the request of the preceding day. — "Hitherto," replied the king, "faithful as I have been to the pontiff and the Roman church, I have ever promoted his interest. Nor now, with my advice or aid, shall my son attempt any thing against either. But if he claims any right to the realm of England, let that claim be heared, and justice be awarded to him." On this a knight, whom Louis had charged with the commission, rose, and spoke.—He observed that John, for the assassination of his nephew, had been sentenced to death, by his peers in the French court; and that the barons of England, on account of his multiplied crimes, had deemed him unworthy of the throne; and had levied war against him: that having subjected his kingdom to Rome, under an annual tribute, without the consent of his nobles, he had deposed himself: he ceased, therefore, to be king, and the throne was vacant. Then did the barons, he continued, exercise their right. They elected the son of our king, in right of his wife, whose mother, the queen of Castille, alone survives of all the female issue of the late Henry Plantagenet.

[c] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1216.

Confounded by the bold misſtatement of facts and the hollow reaſoning, the legate urged; that John, at leaſt, had taken the holy croſs, and therefore, as the great council had lately decreed, he was not to be moleſted, during the ſpace of four years; and that all his poſſeſſions were within the protection of the apoſtolic ſee. — The knight anſwered: That, before that event, the Engliſh king had made war on the prince, and invaded and ſpoiled his domain in Flanders; and that even now he was in arms againſt him.—"Under pain of excommunication," exclaimed the legate, when he ſaw that argument would not ſilence the wordy orator, "I forbid the prince to enter England, and "his royal father to permit it."—The prince turned to his father: "For the poſſeſſions, Sir," ſaid he, "which I have "received from your hand, I acknowledge myſelf your "liege vaſſal: but the realm of England is not one of "them, and I challenge the judgment of my peers, whe-"ther it appertains to you to obſtruct the proſecution of "my right, when it is not within the competence of your "majeſty to do my juſtice. Oppoſe not my deſign; for, "ſhall it appear neceſſary, I will ſupport to death my "wife's claim to her inheritance." So ſaying, the prince, with his followers, withdrew; and Gallo, meaning to embark for England, requeſted a ſafe-conduct to the ſea's ſide. "Through my own territory," replied Philip, "you ſhall have it: but take care how you "ſet your foot on my ſon's lands." The legate retired in anger[f].

In

[f] Mat. Par.

1216.

In a few days, the prince again waited on his father: "I have ſolemnly promiſed the Engliſh barons," ſaid he to him, "to carry them aſſiſtance; and rather than forfeit my honour, I am diſpoſed to undergo the cenſures of the pontiff." Philip could no longer withſtand the juſt entreaty. He conſented; but in a manner that might ſeem reluctant; and bleſſed his ſon. The fear of the indignation of Rome had awed the high ſpirit of the monarch; and even Louis deemed it prudent, notwithſtanding the firm language he had held, to diſpatch meſſengers to Innocent, who ſhould lay before him the equity of his claim to the Engliſh throne. Then at the head of an army, numerous and well-appointed, he marched to Calais, and embarking on board ſix hundred ſhips and fourſcore other veſſels, which the monk Euſtach had prepared, he came to land in the iſle of Thanet, on the twenty-firſt of May.

The prince lands.

John, with all his forces, was at Dover. But he dared not meet the invader, conſcious of the uncertain attachment of his mercenary bands: he retired, therefore, by precipitate marches, firſt to Guildford, and then to Winchester. The prince proceeded to Sandwich, and the whole province, as he advanced towards London, with the caſtle of Rocheſter, ſubmitted to him. Only Dover, which he left behind him, remained in the hands of Hubert de Burgh. The acclamations, with which he entered the capital, were unbounded, the citizens and barons vieing in their expreſſions of joy. Here he received their homage, and the allegiance which they ſwore to him; while himſelf, with his hand on the goſpels, at the ſame time, alſo ſwore, to reſtore to all orders their good laws, and to each indivi-

BOOK VI. 1216.

dual the poſſeſſions he had loſt. —It is remarkable, that the barons ſhould have been ſatisfied with the vague expreſſion of *good laws*, and that their *Great Charter* was not mentioned. — Louis then publiſhed a manifeſto, addreſſed to the king of Scotland, and the abſent nobles, commanding them immediately to ſwear fealty to him, or to retire from the realm; and he marched his army into the neighbouring counties, which ſubmitted. The manifeſto had the wiſhed-for effect; for many (among whom was the earl of Saliſbury, who had joined the king in his late exceſſes,) now left him, under the immediate impreſſion, that fortune had choſen a new favourite, and that already he was in poſſeſſion of the throne[g].

His next ſtep was, to appoint Simon Langton his chancellor, whoſe influence became highly ſerviceable to his cauſe; for he confirmed the Londoners and the barons in their contemptuous neglect of the interdict, and perſuaded Louis himſelf, a prince of a religious character, that it merited no reſpect.—The opening of this great revolution was uncommonly auſpicious: but it muſt have ſeemed ſomewhat ſingular, conſidering the impoſing conſequence which has been aſcribed to the ceremony, that the prince was not crowned, while the tide of popular favour ran ſo high.—The primate, whilſt his brother thus came forward on the ſcene, continued at Rome, releaſed, indeed, from the ſentence of ſuſpenſion, on condition that he returned not to England, till its troubles ſhould be ended[h].

But the legate was not idle. He came to England ſoon after the prince, and immediately repairing to Glouceſter, whither

[g] Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

[h] Mat. Par.

whither John had now retired, he offered him his warmeſt ſupport, againſt the ſucceſsful progreſs of the enemy. The monarch was over-joyed, preſuming, from paſſed experience, that the arms of Rome could give vigour to his cauſe. Gallo ſummoned all the prelates and clergy, who would obey the mandate, to meet him; and having excommunicated, by name, with the uſual rites of terror, the French prince and all his adherents, at the head of whom he placed Simon de Langton, he commanded them, on every ſabbath and feſtival-day, publicly to repeat the ſentence. But when the menaces of power and its exertions, have once ceaſed to operate on the minds of the multitude, it is long before they again recover their wonted vigour. The anathemas of the pontiff, therefore, fell in vain; and de Langton publicly declared that, in the cauſe of the prince, an appeal had been made to Rome, and that the acts of her agents were an impotent abuſe. Even a more ominous circumſtance confounded the wavering counſels of John. The mercenaries, as had been hoped, inſenſibly quitted his ſtandard, the troops from Aquitaine alone remaining faithful, and of theſe even ſome joined the prince, and others returned home.—Nor was it long before all the ſouthern provinces ſubmitted to Louis. The caſtles only of Windſor and Dover, lowering defiance, ſhewed a diſpoſition to reſiſt; and the king gave orders to furniſh the eaſtern caſtles with men, arms, and proviſions[i].

His cauſe is agitated at Rome.

Meanwhile, the cauſe of Louis was agitated in the Roman court. His agents preſented themſelves before the pontiff, who eyed them with an auſtere look, and ſaluted him

[i] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1216.

him in their maſter's name. "Your maſter," he replied, "deſerves not my ſalutation."—"Your holineſs," anſwered one of the agents, "would think otherwiſe, were his "cauſe fully expounded." Here ended the firſt day's interview. But when, a ſecond time, they were ſent for, and had opened their commiſſion; Innocent, at large, entered on the queſtion, and with the acuteneſs of a profound civilian, the ſcience he eminently poſſeſſed, refuted their various arguments. Then ſtriking his breaſt, with much agitation, he proceeded: "But the church, alas! cannot "here eſcape confuſion. If the Engliſh king falls, who is "our vaſſal, and whom, as ſuch, it is our duty to defend, "ſhame muſt redound on us: and if the prince be con-"quered, which God forbid! the Roman church muſt "ſuffer in his ruin; for to him we have looked, as to a "certain refuge, whenever diſtreſs ſhall fall on our fee." —The conference here ended, and the agents waited the final deciſion of the controverſy.

It is not neceſſary to detail the arguments, which were urged on both ſides, and which the hiſtorian has minutely ſtated. They are compriſed in three leading propoſitions, the heads of which I have already mentioned. — The firſt charge is; That John had murdered his nephew Arthur, for which crime he had been condemned to death, the agents ſaid, by his peers in the French court.—It was replied, that John was a king, and, as ſuch, being ſuperior to the barons, he was not their peer; beſides, that it was contrary to the laws and the canons to condemn any perſon, unheared and unconvicted.—The agents obſerved that, though a king, John was an earl and duke, and therefore the

the liege vaſſal, under this denomination, of Philip, whoſe juriſdiction over him was complete. Even had he not been his vaſſal, and ſuch a crime had been committed in France, the laws of the realm ſubjected the offender to the judgment of his peers. — Many princes and even kings of France, it was ſaid in reply, had taken away the lives of innocent men, yet had they not been ſentenced to death. But Arthur was not innocent; he was taken in arms againſt his uncle and liege ſovereign, and could therefore lawfully, even without judgment, have been condemned to die.

Secondly: — To the argument in favour of the claim of Louis, as huſband to Blanche of Caſtille, it was ſaid, that, granting John, by the ſentence of the French nobles, had been legally diſinherited, that not ſhe, but the offſpring of the elder children of Henry, that is, the ſiſter of Arthur, or the emperor Otho, had a juſter claim to the Engliſh throne. Blanche even had a brother, the preſent king of Caſtille. — The agents anſwered, that as Geoffry, duke of Bretagne was dead, as alſo the ducheſs of Saxony, when the ſentence was pronounced on John, their iſſue could pretend no claim to a ſucceſſion, that otherwiſe might have devolved on them. This, they inſiſted, was a received maxim. But the queen of Caſtille was then living, to whom the legal ſucceſſion firſt belonged, and on her death, it deſcended to her daughter Blanche. It is true, they proceeded, that Blanche has a brother, and even an elder ſiſter; but where there are many heirs, any one of them may ſeize the inheritance, ſaving the rights of the other claimants. The prince has entered England; but if a nearer heir to the throne challenges his right, juſtice will be done to him.

Thirdly:

BOOK VI.

1216.

Thirdly:—It was objected to the prince, that England belonged to the holy ſee, by reaſon of the oath of fealty taken to the pontiff, and of the tribute annually paid; war therefore was not to be made on the ſovereign rights of him, who had been guilty of no crime, and particularly as John poſſeſſed other dominions, which Louis might have attacked; complaints rather ſhould have been preferred againſt the vaſſal, in the court of his ſovereign lord.—Hoſtilities, they replied, had been commenced, before that transfer of the kingdom; and it is a maxim, that the vaſſal, who provokes a quarrel, may be attacked in perſon, without the ceremony of a previous complaint. But if the lord will protect his vaſſal, he makes the war his own.—As to the decree of the council, ordaining a general truce for four years, and the circumſtance of John's having taken the croſs, it was likewiſe inſiſted, that hoſtilities had preceded thoſe events, to which the king had pertinaciouſly adhered.—But the barons, it was objected, and their abettors, had been excommunicated even by the advice of the council, and the prince, therefore, was involved in the ſentence.—"Our prince," replied the agents, "does not aid the barons, nor is he "their abettor: he proſecutes his right. He does not, nor "ought he to believe, that the pontiff, or ſo great a ſynod, "would pronounce an unjuſt ſentence. At that time, it "was not known, that he claimed, as his right, the Engliſh "throne. And had it been known, the prince preſumes, "that the council could not annul his right."

Thus was a queſtion debated, which throws ſome light on the manners and feudal laws of the age; when the pontiff, in the plenitude of his juriſdiction, pronounced, that

1216.

that the controverſy ſhould not be decided, before the return of his legate [k].

He purſues his conqueſts and lays ſiege to the caſtles of Dover and Windſor.

But Louis, (to whom the call of the barons, to reſcue their country from the oppreſſion of a tyrant, gave a better title, than what a pretended hereditary right, or the approbation of Rome could confer,) in the mean time, neglected not the obvious means of conqueſt. He ſpoiled the counties of Eſſex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and reduced them to his obedience; while that of Lincoln alſo ſubmitted; and in the north, his adherents ſubdued Yorkſhire, and the Scottiſh king, Northumberland. — The experienced Philip, notwithſtanding this ſucceſs which attended his ſon's arms, heared, with regret, that he had left behind him the caſtles of Dover and Windſor, on the reduction of which, he knew, more muſt depend, than on the eaſy ſubjugation of many provinces. He acquainted him, therefore, that the caſtles muſt be reduced, alledging, that the firſt rules of war required it. Louis, obedient to his inſtruction, having ſent to him for *malveiſine*, a huge engine to throw ſtones, at the head of a great army, ſurrounded the caſtle of Dover. This was in the month of Auguſt. Hubert de Burgh, it has been ſaid, commanded there, and he was well ſupported by a band of knights and their retainers. The utmoſt efforts of the enemy made no impreſſion: on the contrary, their tents, their machines, and their men were deſtroyed by furious and repeated ſallies. Hopeleſs of immediate ſucceſs, the prince withdrew his army to a greater diſtance; and continuing the blockade, he ſwore not to raiſe the ſiege, till famine had reduced the proud walls,

[k] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1216.

when the whole garriſon, he threatened, ſhould be hanged up in his preſence.—At the ſame time, the barons with an army marched into the eaſtern counties, which having deſolated, they returned to London, and collecting a great force, proceeded againſt the caſtle of Windſor. Ingelard de Achie, an approved ſoldier, was the governor. Alike to that of Dover, was the bold reſiſtance of this caſtle; nor were the beſiegers more ſucceſsful[1].

John takes the field.

John, who till now had not ventured to take the field, ſeeing that the enemy was engaged, iſſued, with reſiſtleſs rage, from the city of Wincheſter. Some troops, from other caſtles, had joined him; and many deſperate men ſtill adhered to his cauſe. What the utmoſt fury, with fire and ſword, could perpetrate, that was done. The houſes and lands of the neighbouring barons firſt ſuffered; and he proceeded, like a blaſting tempeſt, and entered the eaſtern counties.—With diſmay did the barons, round Windſor, hear the report of this exterminating havoc, and aſſembling, they reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, and to impede, if poſſible, the tyrant's return to the ſouth. The hiſtorian talks of treachery, inſpired by royal bribes, which prompted this deſign. The king was in Suffolk, waſting all its maritime diſtrict, and intent on ſpoil, when he heared that the Windſor army was in motion. They left their tents, and moved rapidly towards the ſide of Cambridge. But John by his ſpies, knew their line of march; and while they imagined, the game could not eſcape their toils, he had wheeled round, and gained the town of Stamford. He advanced ſtill northward; and forcing the enemy from Lincoln,

[1] Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

Lincoln, entered its caſtle, the confederates every where flying, with the timidity of hares, from his impetuous approach. The barons, thus illuded, wreaked their vengeance on the innocuous people, and returning with ſpoil, paſſed through the capital, and joined the prince's army near the walls of Dover. To this place alſo came Alexander, the Scottiſh king, and did homage in the hands of Louis, for the fiefs he held under the crown of England[m].

Perplexity of the barons.

Such was the poſition of things and their dubious aſpect, when an event happened, or was ſaid to happen, which caſt a gloom over the counſels of the allies, and generating mutual diſtruſt, ſerved to confirm the lighteſt ſuſpicions, which, till now, either ill-humour, or the neceſſary character of events, had formed. The viſcount de Melun, a nobleman who had come with the prince, being ſeized by a mortal diſtemper in London, requeſted, that ſuch of the Engliſh barons, as remained there for the defence of the city, might be ſent for. They came. With a dying voice he then addreſſed them. "The deſolation and ruin, which hang "over you, give me pain," he ſaid; "and you know not "what the danger is. The prince, and ſixteen nobles of "his army, have bound themſelves by oath, ſhall the realm "be conquered and he be crowned its king, to baniſh for "ever thoſe, who have joined his ſtandard, as traitors to "their ſovereign. Their whole offſpring ſhall be exter-"minated. Doubt not my words; for I, who here lie "gaſping before you, am one of the conſpirators. I intreat "you, therefore, to provide, in future, for your own "ſafety, and not to reveal what you have heared." So ſaying, he expired[n].

[m] Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

[n] Mat. Par. Chron. Wal. Heming.

BOOK VI.

1216.

That ſo foul a deſign ſhould have been formed, in this early ſtage of the revolution, and in the preſence of ſixteen witneſſes, exceeds all belief. But though the tale was obviouſly invented, it was not leſs ſucceſsful: the ſecret whiſper paſſed, and the minds of the barons received its baleful impreſſion. The prince already had beſtowed lands and caſtles on his foreigners; and themſelves had murmured at the partial diſtribution in vain. His views they could now ſee through; and the plot of deſtruction began to open. Even he had called them traitors, (ſo ſaid the dying viſcount,) when they were bleeding in his cauſe.—Thus they reaſoned, actuated by ſuſpicious and looſe ſurmiſes, while the moſt trivial events, on which jealouſy could faſten, did but confirm the evil, and ſpread it more, The deſtruction alſo of their lands and houſes; the diſperſion and miſery of their families; the further ruin, which might fall on them, from their enraged, and yet unconquered, ſovereign; the ſentence of excommunication which preſſed on their ſouls, and that of interdict on their vaſſals and poſſeſſions; all, at once, conſpired to thicken the gloom, and to perplex their wayward counſels. It was the wiſh of ſome, to return to their allegiance; others, in dubious anxiety, ſuſpended all reſolution; while many ſeemed diſpoſed, patiently to wait the uncertain iſſue of events. But all knew the cruel and revengeful temper of the king, whom none might venture to truſt, and whoſe indignation, now juſtly moved, could almoſt be vindicated in its worſt exceſſes.

The king falls ſick, and dies.

Agitated by paſſion, reſtleſs through fear, and ſuſpicious even of thoſe, whom he called his friends, John, meanwhile, had moved from place to place. He had been on the

the Welſh borders, waſting, as he went, the whole face of the land and the dwellings of the nobles; and now again he turned eaſtward, through the counties of Worceſter and Northampton. He was ſurrounded by his mercenaries and other troops, an army bent on blood and rapine, and he carried with him, in many carts and on horſes, his treaſures, all his valuable plate, and the regal ornaments, on which, with the propenſities of a little mind, his affections ſeemed to reſt. Whether it was his intention to lodge theſe in a place of ſafety, does not appear. Through Peterborough he entered the diſtrict of Croyland, famous for its monaſtery, which he plundered, and having burned the ſtacks of corn, and ravaged the lands of the abbey, he continued his courſe through Holland into Norfolk. The inhabitants of Lynn received him with much loyalty; and here he formed the deſign of croſſing the Waſh, which parts the two counties, and of penetrating more to the north of Lincolnſhire. When the water ebbs, this eſtuary is paſſable. With his army and rich baggage, John began his march over the ſands; and he had nearly reached the oppoſite point, when the returning tide began to roar, and its ſwelling waves to preſs forward on the land. It was a moment of extreme peril. The army, with great rapidity, advanced, and eſcaped on the ſide of Foſsdike; but turning, they beheld the carriages and ſumpter horſes overtaken by the waters. The ſurge daſhed furiouſly on them; and ſoon they diſappeared.—In ſilence, which oaths and execrations only interrupted, the troops, with their king, proceeded, and arrived, on the ſame night, at the Ciſtercian abbey of Swineſhead[o]. Vex-

[o] Mat. Par. Mat. Weſt.

BOOK VI.

1216.

Vexation at a loſs, which in the preſent circumſtances was irretrievable, and the boiſterous agitation of contending paſſions, which reaſon nor religion had ever checked, now produced in the king the alarming ſymptoms of diſorder; and a fever enſued. Yet prompted by hunger, or rather by a gluttonous habit, he ate voraciouſly of ſome peaches, which the hoſpitable monks ſerved up, and drank new cider as immoderately. The intemperate exceſs added to the growing evil. In repoſeleſs horror the night paſſed: but, early on the morrow, he roſe, and mounting his horſe, ſeemed willing to conceal from obſervation the pain he ſuffered, or by exerciſe to diſperſe it. Soon, however, he was compelled to diſmount; when entering a litter, he was carried to the caſtle of Sleaford: and though his diſorder, in the night he ſpent here, was much increaſed, he proceeded the next day, and with difficulty reached the town of Newark. Here was his life to cloſe.

To make ſome preparation, if it might be permitted, for eternity, and to ſettle the ſucceſſion of his crown, became his only care. The abbot of Croxton, a neighbouring convent, a man well ſkilled in medicine, and who attended the dying monarch, officiated alſo, as the miniſter of religion, in the laſt ſad ſcenes of remorſe and penitence. To his houſe he left ſome valuable eſtates, vainly confiding, that the opulent donation would ſerve to atone for a life of crimes. He then named his eldeſt ſon Henry, his ſucceſſor, and begged that homage might be done to him. Letters alſo, under his ſeal, were directed to all the ſheriffs of counties and the governors of caſtles, commanding them to bear in mind the duty, which they owed to the prince. Now he

was

was informed, that meſſengers were arrived from ſome of the barons, about forty in number, with propoſals of returning to their allegiance. The momentary gleem cheered his ſoul: but all his ſtrength was ſpent, and attention languiſhed. "Where" ſaid the abbot of Croxton, "does "your majeſty chuſe to be buried?"—"To God," replied the king, "and to St. Wulſtan, I commend my ſoul and "body."—Soon after this he expired[p].

On the eighteenth of October, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his reign, thus died John, the worſt of Engliſh kings. His body, agreeably to his laſt requeſt, was conveyed to Worceſter, and there interred. St. Wulſtan was the patron ſaint of the cathedral.—By Iſabella of Angouleme, his laſt queen, he left two ſons and three daughters. Of virtues John poſſeſſed not the weakeſt ſemblance; and all his vices were ſuch, as moſt vilify and degrade the nature of man, in their immediate effects ruinous to himſelf, and deſtructive to his people. A tranſient review of the events, I have deſcribed, will ſufficiently juſtify the general aſſertion, and prove the judgment of the old hiſtorian[q] to have been led by no undue bias, when he heaped infamy on his name. I ſhall dwell no longer on it.

General view.

At the time this inglorious monarch died, ſome changes, which I have not noticed, had taken place on the continent. Rome had a new ſovereign. Engaged as he had ever been in politics, Innocent purſued unremittingly his favourite ſcheme, of carrying aid to the eaſtern chriſtians. The unſettled ſtate of Germany impeded his deſign, and the ambitious views of Philip. He laboured to eſtabliſh a general

[p] Mat. Par. Mat. Weſt. [q] Mat. Par.

BOOK VI. 1216.

general peace. But when he heared, notwithſtanding his remonſtrances, that the French prince did not deſiſt from his undertaking, his zeal kindled, and preaching before the people at Perugia, from the text of Ezekiel, *Let the ſword, the ſword, be unſheathed,* he fulminated anathemas againſt Louis and his abettors. Nor did his indignation reſt here. He prepared to purſue the ſevereſt meaſures, againſt Philip and his realm. But a fever ſurpriſed him in his career of vengeance. His conſtitution, which inceſſant labour and the agitation of great paſſions had undermined, ſank before it, and he died on the ſixteenth of July[r].

Innocent had virtues. He was learned, magnificent, perſeverant, wiſe. In the knowledge of laws and politics he had no equal: he poſſeſſed the art of government; and he was obeyed, more from fear than love. Ambition was his ruling paſſion, to gratify which, he overſtepped the bounds of decency and juſtice, playing as wantonly with the ſolemn cenſures of the church, as if they had been inſtituted, for the common purpoſes of wayward caprice or reſentful vengeance. To look into him for the amiable virtues of life, or for thoſe, which ſhould form the paſtoral character, would be loſs of time. The prerogative of the holy ſee, built up by adulation and misjudging zeal, filled his mind: its aggrandiſement he ſought, ſometimes, perhaps, from motives which the cool reaſoner may excuſe: and the meteor of univerſal empire gleaming on his ſenſes, did not permit the operations of a diſpaſſionate and unbiaſſed judgment. No tears were ſhed when Innocent fell, but thoſe which religion wept, too juſtly pained by the inordinate

[r] Rigord. Murat. an. 1216.

nate exertions and worldly views of her firſt miniſter. The maxims of the age, however, muſt not be forgotten. They will throw ſome veil over the failings of Innocent; will extenuate the intemperance of his meaſures; and blunt the edge of cenſure. He was ſucceeded by Honorius III.

In Germany, the fortune of young Frederic kept the aſcendancy it had acquired, advancing by ſure ſteps to the meridian of greatneſs. As he owed much to the foſtering care and ſuperior influence of his guardian, the Roman biſhop, it might be expected, that a grateful return would be demanded from him. It was demanded; and promiſes and engagements were liberally made. But Innocent ſtill held back the imperial crown. His fear was, as I have obſerved, that Sicily and the empire ſhould be held by the ſame perſon. To lull theſe ſuſpectful apprehenſions, Frederic now took the croſs; and proclaiming his ſon Henry king of Sicily, he aſſured the pontiff, that its government, with the ancient dependences of feudal vaſſalage on the Roman ſee, ſhould be conferred on him, the moment himſelf obtained the imperial diadem. Otho was ſtill living in the retirement of Brunſwick; and it was well known, that the arm, which had caſt him from his throne, could, with eaſe, again call round him all the dangerous powers of a rival. This Frederic knew, and it diſpoſed him to manage, by conceſſions and an apparent ſubſerviency, the irritable and vindictive temper of Innocent. His timely removal made way for other politics and other plans. Rome, in the perſon of Frederic, had nurtured a prince, who, when time ſhould develope his character, would exhibit, in her regard,

BOOK VI. 1216.

thoſe ſtern features of independent ſufficiency, which his grandfather Barbaroſſa bore[s].

The Italian ſtates maintained their liberty: but the diſſentions, which jealouſy created and kept alive, had a permanent tendency to weaken the confederacy, and to make them a prey to internal ſtrife, provoking foreign invaſion. The Milaneſe had not yet forſaken the fallen cauſe of Otho. But it was the faction of the Guelfs and Ghibellins, daily gaining ſtrength from freſh irritation, that prepared the way for dreadful evils[t].

The ſtate of France it is unneceſſary to exhibit. Having annexed to his crown the noble provinces, which once were England's, and Artois on the ſide of Flanders, Philip Auguſtus, in the plenitude of years and power, looked eagerly to the conqueſt of another empire. But they were the menaces of Rome, it appears, which checked even the ambition of Philip; otherwiſe his reluctant compliance with the wiſhes of the Engliſh barons, and the feeble ſupport he gave to his ſon, will not be reconciled with his character and the general policy of his government. Had he exerted the reſources of his nation, to which, from foreign enemies or internal commotions, there was no impediment, it cannot be doubted, but complete ſucceſs would have crowned his arms, and England, for a time at leaſt, had been a province of France. The power of the pontiff averted the blow; while the chains of vaſſalage, in which he held us, were but a nominal evil we could caſt off at pleaſure. That Philip ſhould have left unconquered the extenſive province of Aquitaine, may to ſome appear

[s] Murat. Peeffel. Chron. Urſperg. [t] Murat.

appear extraordinary. It was owing, I think, to the diſpoſitions of the nobles of the country, who then were, and continued long to be, averſe from the government of the French crown. But it is wonderful with what alacrity, Normandy, in particular, embraced the ſovereignty of the victor[u].

Ireland, at this time, though John, as has been noticed, had, in his laſt expedition, eſtabliſhed a form of legal government, was returned to anarchy and diſorders, the obvious conſequences of the temper of the natives, and the oppreſſive views of the new ſettlers. When the Great Charter was obtained from the king, no requiſitions were made in behalf of Ireland: yet the archbiſhop of Dublin was preſent, and his name is recorded in the preamble to the deed. As yet no advantage had been derived to that nation, to counterbalance the loſs of independence, from the ſuperior character and conſtitution, as even then they were eſteemed, of their ambitious and haughty conquerors.

In Scotland, Alexander II. a youth of ſixteen years, but bleſſed with great abilities and uncommon prudence, had ſucceeded to his father, William the Lion, whoſe name has been ſo often mentioned. He ſided with the Engliſh nobles, and did homage to the French prince, not for the kingdom of Scotland, which, by the wanton conceſſions of Richard, had recovered its independence, but for Northumberland, which he held under the Engliſh crown.

On Wales our hiſtorians are ſilent. Its princes had long enjoyed an honourable dependence; and as peace dwelt on her borders, while England felt the horrors of inteſtine

[u] Hiſt. var.

BOOK VI. 1216.

war, the hardy race lay ſecure on their mountains, and liſtened to the ſongs of their bards.

England, of all the ſtates I have enumerated, ſaw before her the moſt uncertain and gloomy proſpect. The Charter of Liberties, to obtain which ſhe had nobly ſtruggled, as yet was without effect; and did ſhe know, what ſcheme of councils or ſeries of events, would beſt ſecure its execution? Perhaps the ſame ſteps, which, with irkſome toil, ſhe had trodden, muſt again be meaſured. A foreign prince, with a powerful army, ſhe had called into her bowels; while that prince's father, the greateſt monarch of the age, was at hand with all the reſources of his realm. Should the nation, which, in the obvious courſe of things, muſt be, ſubmit to their controul; where then would be her rights and liberties, under the reſiſtleſs claim of conqueſt? Her late king had left an infant ſon. If ſhe carried her allegiance to him; could he protect her? Or would it be politic to acknowledge him for her ſovereign, in whoſe veins was the blood of a tyrant; and who, when years ſhould give him ſtrength, would be moſt inclined to retaliate on her, the uſage his parent had experienced? So lowered the ſcene before the barons and the Engliſh people.

Concluſion.

I have finiſhed the period of ſixty-two years, which meaſured the reigns of Henry II. and of Richard and John, his ſons, a term, in the retroſpective view, of ſhort duration, but filled with events, and marked by characters.—In Henry we beheld a prince of great and ſplendid talents, early tutored in the ſchool of adverſe fortune, and raiſed, by his own proweſs, to a mighty empire. The outſetting of his reign was proſperous; but an unfortunate conteſt with the

the church enſued, in which no glory could be gained, and which brought to nearer view a degrading ſeries of affections and conduct, which, in other circumſtances, might never have been exhibited. The cloſe of it, we ſaw, was moſt unhappy; and it raiſed the indignation of chriſtendom. But the ſubmiſſion of Ireland relieved the gloomy aſpect, which the rebellion of his ſons again obſcured; and in various occurrences, which too often tended to diminiſh the luſtre of his early days, the eventful period of Henry's reign haſtened to its melancholy iſſue. Within himſelf, it ſeemed, lay the ſource of every evil. For a more guarded temper would have reconciled him to the church, at that time, too dangerous a power to contend with; and more attention to Eleanor, his queen, would have chained her ardent ſpirit, and have ſecured the obedience, at leaſt, of his children.— The men, who ſerved near his perſon, or whom he employed in the concerns of ſtate, were eminent, and well choſen. I brought them into view. Becket, of all others, from a certain ſimilarity of character, was beſt qualified to have poſſeſſed his confidence; and together they had been an overmatch for ſecret machinations, or the bold deſigns of public enemies. But the very circumſtance of ſimilarity of diſpoſitions was the cauſe of their diſunion, and led to conteſts. The poſſeſſion of a friend has ſeldom fallen to the lot of princes. — The concomitant characters of Henry's reign were, in France, Louis, weak, honeſt, and brave; in Germany, Frederic, bold, imperious, and enterpriſing; in Italy, Alexander, whoſe virtues and unambitious views, in a better age, had dignified the tiara. And round theſe princes we ſaw collected many diſtinguiſhed perſonages; and the

BOOK VI. 1216.

the events of their days were ſtriking, in the exile of the Roman pontiff, in the ſucceſsful ſtruggles of the Lombards, and in the preparations for the third cruſade.

The reign of Richard, opening with improvident and arbitrary meaſures, and throughout disfigured by diſcontents at home, and abroad by a laviſh waſte of men and treaſure in the wild wars of Paleſtine, had nothing to engage the attention of the philoſophic hiſtorian. Only that the errors of the human mind, if duly contemplated, may become a ſource of as much inſtruction, as its moſt ſteady adheſions to truth and equity. We pitied him in his captivity; but the heavy charge, which fell on an exhauſted people, to ranſom the worthleſs priſoner, ſoon ſtifled that pleaſing emotion; and no event ſucceeded to prepare the mind for compaſſion, when his untimely death came on.—His miniſters and the great perſonages of the realm deſerved little praiſe. The truth, however, is, that the writers of the times were ſo engaged in relating the feats of their king, and the achievements of a ruinous expedition, that domeſtic characters and the events of peace were loſt in the turbid ſtream, and died away unrecorded.—But, in France, for ſome years, we had beheld the growing greatneſs of Philip Auguſtus; while, by the ſide of Richard, whether in his own territories, or at Meſſina, or in Paleſtine, his temperate, but manly character, commanded our admiration, and defied competition. — Frederic had periſhed in the Salef: the Norman line of kings was at an end on the throne of Sicily: and at Rome, after a ſucceſſion of five leſs illuſtrious biſhops, from the death of Alexander, was ſeated Innocent III.

The

The conduct and character of John, and the events of his reign, are recent on the memory. We ſaw its inauſpicious opening, his weak treaty with France, his ungenerous marriage of Iſabella, and his vain and oppreſſive progreſs through the provinces of England. The barons ſhewed their diſcontent, when he paſſed into Poitou, took Arthur priſoner; and we heared the rumours which followed his death, and which was ſucceeded by the loſs of Normandy and other poſſeſſions. Stephen Langton came forward on the ſcene, which gave riſe to altercations between John and the pontiff. The kingdom fell under an interdict, and the rage of the king broke looſe. Then opened the important conteſt, which, after various occurrences, led to the ſubmiſſion of John to the mandates of Rome, and which produced the meeting of the barons, and their confederacy. We beheld them at St. Edmundſbury, after the taking off of the interdict, and their ſucceſſive proceedings, till they met on Runnemede. MAGNA CHARTA. The dark vengeance of John followed, and the preparations for war. The barons were excommunicated, the country laid waſte, prince Louis invited over, landed in ſpite of the pontiff's injunctions, and while he beſieged the caſtles of Windſor and Dover, John took the field, and as a gloom ſpread round the general aſpect of things, he died. — The under-actors, who chiefly claimed attention, were Stephen Langton, and the Roman Pandulphus, and the barons preſſing forward, with a reſtleſs ardour, to the new dawn of liberty. In France, Philip had ſtill kept the aſcendant, rather he had riſen higher, in competition with our inglorious monarch,

BOOK VI. 1216. monarch, and had added territories to his crown. — The brave Otho had fallen from the German throne; while from Sicily came another Frederic, who would eclipſe the fame of his grandfather Barbaroſſa.—In the chair of the humble fiſherman, was ſeen Innocent!

THE END OF THE LAST BOOK.

APPEN-

# APPENDIX I.

## On the MANNERS, ARTS, and LEARNING of the PERIOD.

*Manners of the Engliſh and Normans at the conqueſt.—Progreſſive change.—Chivalry.—Amuſements.—Dreſs.—Agriculture.—Architecture.—Arms and armour.—Arts of cloathing.—Sculpture.—Painting.—Poetry.—Muſic.—Trade.—Value of money.—Intercourſe with France.—General influence of Rome.—Monaſtic inſtitutions.—Francis of Aſſiſium.—Dominic.—Cruſades.—Learning.—Grammar.—Rhetoric.—Logic, metaphyſics, phyſics, ethics.—Scholaſtic divinity.—Canon and civil law.—Oxford.—Cambridge.—Cathedral and other ſchools.—Paris and Bologna.—General view of learned men.—The Polycraticon.—Concluſion.*

Manners of the Engliſh and Normans at the conqueſt.

THE monk of Malmſbury has told us, what were the characters of the Engliſh and Norman people, when the iſland, in 1066, ſubmitted to the conqueror.—But a few years, he obſerves, before that event, the ſtudy of literature and of religion had decayed. The clergy could hardly ſtammer through the neceſſary ſervice of the church; and he who knew the rules of grammar, was viewed as a

prodigy.—The monks, elegantly habited, and regardleſs of forbidden meats, ridiculed their holy inſtitutes.—The nobility, gluttonous and ſunk in licentious pleaſures, neglected the common practices of religion.—And the people were a prey to the rapacious violence of their lords.—But to drink was the common occupation of all orders: in this they ſpent their nights and days; and in low and mean houſes they conſumed their ſubſtance. The vices which attend on ebriety, and which enervate man, came along with it. Hence, by a mad and headſtrong raſhneſs, which no military ſcience governed, in a ſingle battle, and that eaſily gained, they gave themſelves and country to ſlavery.—Their garments were ſhort, reaching to the knee: their hair ſhorn, and their beards ſhaven, excepting on the upper lip: and, with painted figures marked on the ſkin, they wore on their arms heavy bracelets of gold.—But their intemperance only they communicated, themſelves, in other regards, acquiring the manners of the victors.

The Normans, on the other hand, were then, and continued to be, oſtentatiouſly fond of dreſs; and the delicacy they affected in their food, was vitiated by no exceſs.—Their hair was long and curled; their chins entirely ſhaven.—Inured to arms, and only pleaſed with the occupations of war or the field, they excelled in the arts of attack; and what ſtrength could not effect, they attempted by bribes and ſtratagem.—In their buildings they were magnificent; in their expences temperate.—Jealous of their equals, they ſought to emulate their ſuperiors, and though they treated their inferiors with harſhneſs, they would protect them from injury. Their allegiance was ſincere, but

which

which the ſlighteſt offence could break aſunder. — Of all men they were the moſt kind to ſtrangers; they intermarried with thoſe they had conquered; and reviving amongſt them the ſpirit of religion, which was extinct, they erected churches, and, in a new ſtyle of architecture, decorated with convents the hamlets, the towns, the cities. The country, in its novel garb, again flouriſhed; while he, whoſe means were ample, deemed the day loſt, which ſome beneficent deed had not illuſtrated[a].

Thus wrote William of Malmſbury, nearly a hundred years after the conqueſt, and as in blood he was allied to both people, we may conclude, that no undue partiality had biaſſed his judgment.—In the ſcale of excellence much did the Norman character preponderate, meliorated as itſelf had been, from the days of Rollo, through the lapſe of almoſt two centuries, by the genial climate and fertile ſoil of Normandy, by their intercourſe with the French provinces, and by the happy influence of chriſtian morality. But though nothing, in the ordinary courſe of things, be ſo difficult to eradicate as national characters, manners, and cuſtoms, which, in the northern and weſtern diſtricts of this iſland, have reſiſted the impreſſion of ages, and are yet unchanged; yet, at that time, fortunately, there was a circumſtance in the Engliſh character, which had prepared the way for ſuch improvement, as the Norman manners ſeemed beſt calculated to induce. No uniform ſeries of impreſſions had given ſtability to any ſyſtem of effects. Britain had been expoſed to the influence of Roman manners; the Saxons had exterminated in part, and in part new modelled,

[a] Wil. Malm. l. iii. p. 57.

the Britiſh conſtitution; the Daniſh ſettlement had effected another change; and now came the Norman conquerors. In a people, ſo heterogeneouſly conſtituted, in blood, in manners, and in language, there muſt have been an aptitude to take new forms; and our hiſtorian has ſaid, that the effect correſponded, that they gave to the victors their gluttony and love of liquor, and in return put on the noble endowments of generoſity and public munificence.

Progreſſive change.

It is curious to trace this progreſs of national improvement, the more prominent lines of which, in the arts of peace and war, our hiſtorians have been careful to mark; whilſt every change in the manners of the multitude, agreeably to the common phenomena of human nature, advances in a more ſlow and ſilent proceſs. Here ages muſt elapſe, before a new trace, perhaps, will be uniformly produced; for even at this day, I doubt not, the common people of England retain much of the character, of the manners, and of the cuſtoms of their Saxon anceſtors. They would be Britons even, as the Welſh are, had not that race been driven to the weſtern mountains of the iſland. — In the higher ranks of life, with which the kings, the nobles, the clergy, mixed, who were Normans, or of Norman origin, the manners of the ruling party would ſoon preponderate. Indeed, the name of Engliſhman, by a well-concerted policy, became a term of reproach, and the natives, for a time, ſank in contempt and wretchedneſs. By degrees, the odious ſtigma wore away; the victors, as I have remarked, could even admire the ſyſtem of Saxon legiſlation, which had before prevailed in the iſland; and animoſities and mutual jealouſies ceaſing, the diſcordant factions coaleſced into

into a mighty people. Towards the cloſe of the period I have deſcribed, this had viſibly happened. But then alſo the Norman manners very generally prevailed.

The ſyſtem of education eſtabliſhed in the grammar ſchools, with a view to extirpate the Engliſh language, ſpread widely the knowledge of the French tongue; and as this continued to be alone ſpoken at court, and the laws and law-proceedings were adminiſtered in it, he who looked for favour or preferment, would be compelled to learn it. But the vulgar tongue of the great body of the people reſiſted every effort, unleſs in ſuch ſlight and gradual changes, as time would naturally introduce. They frequented not the ſchools of grammar, and other motives, in their regard, had no effect. However, the language of the ruling party, in the higher orders of ſociety, did prevail; and in its extent, it became the vehicle of ideas, and with ideas the vehicle of new taſtes and manners.

Such were the ſpirit of chivalry and the love of martial ſports, little known in the iſland before the coming of the Normans. But now the genius of the great was wholly modified by them, and they drew into energy the nobler paſſions of the heart. The ſchool of chivalry, indeed, was the ſchool of public virtue; but many authors have viewed it with an eye too partial. It only qualified for the profeſſion of arms, which ſoon became ſo impoſing, from the luſtre of knighthood and its manifold honours, that, in the falſe blaze, the worth of domeſtic virtues was loſt, and to be martial and magnanimous alone excited ambition, and called for praiſe. We have ſeen how the general propenſities of the age ſubmitted to the impulſe, and were led by it. The Chivalry.

leſſons

leſſons of education had that tendency; and the caſtle of every baron was a ſchool of arms, in which the rudiments of chivalry, under the laws of courteſy and politeneſs, were inſtilled, and the noble youths, in the exerciſes of dancing, riding, hawking, hunting, tilting, prepared for the higher offices, to which they aſpired. Theſe exerciſes, called the preludes of war, have been often deſcribed.

In the court of the ſovereign, or in the caſtles of the barons, the ladies, alſo, under ſimilar impreſſions, received their education. They were often the wards of their lord, and were bred up under his eye, or that of his lady. But as courteſy, valour, and gallantry were the qualities, which one ſex would be taught moſt to cultivate, ſo would gentleneſs, a modeſt reſerve, and chaſtity be the peculiar endowments of the other. Theſe virtues, by a charming contraſt, would mutually blend, and give to their reſpective votaries the powers of mutually pleaſing. But though ſuch was the tendency of chivalry, and its leſſons, the reader will have ſeen that the effects did not correſpond with the romantic ſyſtem. Ignorance of the rights of men and of the pure maxims of morality, and the reaction of headſtrong paſſions, which rapacity and the licence of arms fomented, ſtood in the way, marring its happieſt influence. Theoretic ſchemes of virtue, at beſt the playful offspring of ingenuity, can then do little, when the elements, which conſtitute probity and juſtneſs of character, have not been implanted. But I meant only to inſtance, and not to appreciate the merits of, a cauſe, from which, with the reſt of Europe, the manners of Engliſhmen received a peculiar tincture.

Tourna-

Amuſements.

Tournaments were the great ſport which chivalry introduced. But till the reign of Richard, they appear not to have been held in this country with any marked feſtivity; a circumſtance which proves, with what reluctance, the genius of the nation adopted novelty even in its amuſements. Yet tournaments, from their pomp and princely ſplendour, could intereſt the proudeſt paſſions of the heart, and become the theatre of glory. Our princes and nobles, as I related, debarred from the amuſement at home, eagerly ſought it on the continent; but when Richard had given vogue to the martial ſport, the phlegmatic iſlanders adopted it with ardour, and we ſaw the barons ſacrificing to it their own and their country's moſt important intereſts.

Hunting and hawking were the other principal diverſions, which the Normans introduced, if that may be called a diverſion, which tended to oppreſs the weak, to diſpeople the country, and to give energy to the brutal and ſelfiſh affections. "At this time," ſays John of Saliſbury, "hunting and hawking are deemed the moſt honourable employments; and in them to ſpend their whole time, the nobility think the ſupreme felicity of life. — For theſe ſports they prepare with more anxiety and expence, than they do for war; and they purſue wild beaſts with greater fury, than the enemies of their country. Thus they loſe the beſt part of their humanity, and become almoſt as ſavage as the animals they purſue. — The huſbandman with his herds and flocks, is driven from his fields, his meadows, and his paſtures, that room may be made for the beaſts of the foreſt[b]." — We know, how the country was

[b] De nugis curial. l. i. c. 4.

was covered with royal foreſts, and the inhuman laws which were made to protect the game; while round the caſtle of every baron the beſt lands were emparked, or wooded, and the little ſovereign in ſelfiſh tyranny, indulged the ſavage ſport of the field. But ſo faſcinating are thoſe diverſions, which, by the combined action of novelty, variety, and exerciſe, can intereſt the feelings, and rouſe them into tumult, that men of all deſcriptions, when no contrary views or propenſities were thwarted, became enamoured of the ſport, and followed it with ardour. Even the clergy and the ladies were ſo far ſeized with the general rage, that, to check the unſeemly paſſion, in the former, the church enacted many canons, and the writer, I have quoted, remarks, that the ladies ſo much excelled in hawking, as to ſurpaſs the gentlemen in the frivolous amuſement. So he rudely termed it.

Dreſs. The Engliſh alſo ſoon imitated their gay maſters in the elegance and richneſs of their dreſs, and in the faſhion of the hair. But it was not, without much reluctance, that they reſigned their whiſkers, ſome of them, as our hiſtorians have related, rather preferring to abandon their country; and they repreſent the ordinance of the conqueror, which compelled them to ſhave the whole beard, as a wanton act of tyranny. The flowing ringlets of the Normans, in return, were perſecuted with a no leſs relentleſs zeal by the clergy, who, themſelves deprived of the becoming ornament, treated it with every indignity, and as the mark of certain reprobation.

But England was indebted to her conquerors for better improvements, than their chivalry, their ſports, or the faſhion

faſhion of their beards, could induce. I mean the *neceſſary* and the *pleaſing* arts. Of the firſt kind, were agriculture, architecture, clothing, and the arts of defenſive and offenſive war; and by the latter may be underſtood ſculpture, painting, and whatever tended to the comforts or embelliſhments of life.

Agriculture.

*Agriculture*, in its various branches, was much improved. From the fertile and cultivated plains of Flanders, France, and Normandy, had come over with the conqueror many thouſand hands, who ſettled in the iſland, practiſing the methods of culture, they had been uſed to at home, and importing their implements. Alſo, in the ſucceeding reigns, many Flemings continued to come amongſt us. We read of Norman barons, whoſe attention to agriculture was great, who planted orchards, cultivated waſtes, and incloſed and drained extenſive lakes and fens. But to the monks the greateſt obligations were due. Five hundred and fifty-ſeven religious houſes are ſaid to have been founded, between the conqueſt and the death of John. Their ſite was, generally, on ſome barren ſpot, and the lands, which the pious donors ſettled on them, covered with brakes or immerged in water, had never felt the ſcythe or ſickle. Theſe were cleared, and drained, and tilled, often by the hands of the monks themſelves; and rich fields, meadows, and paſtures were ſoon ſeen to ſmile, where the bramble before had crawled, and the bulruſh only had nodded. — William of Malmſbury celebrates the vale of Glouceſter, famous, he ſays, for its fertility in corn and fruit-trees, ſome of which the ſoil ſpontaneouſly produced, and the ſides of the public roads were decorated with their richneſs.

"This vale," he adds, "is more thickly planted with "*vines*, than any other part of England, and here they are "more productive, and their flavour is more grateful. The "wines made from them have no harſhneſs in the mouth, "and are little inferior to thoſe of France[c]." We have other proofs of the exiſtence of vineyards, which the monks and clergy, for their own benefit, principally cultivated.

Architecture. *Architecture*, perhaps, ſtill flouriſhed more, ſacred, civil, and military.—The churches of the Saxons were low, unornamented, and dark. But now a better taſte began to prevail, which led ſoon to the accompliſhment of thoſe noble ſtructures, which, at this day, we view with pleaſure and admiration. In the reign of Henry II. appeared the *modern Gothic*. Cathedral and other churches were every where erected, often on the ruins of the ancient edifices; and convents and cloiſters roſe, at once the monuments of the piety, the magnificence, and the taſte of the age. But the materials, the ſtone and marble, were often both brought from foreign quarries, and the principal artificers were foreigners. We have accurate accounts left us of the manner of raiſing theſe edifices, and of the means, not unfrequently, employed to procure ſupplies. When the energies of religious zeal have been duly excited, no obſtacles will impede the execution of its bold deſigns.

Gervaſe, the monk of Canterbury, who was an eye-witneſs, has related the burning of the choir of the cathedral of Chriſtchurch, in that city, in 1174, which Lanfranc had erected, and its immediate reparation, in leſs than ten years. He details, through each year, the general progreſs of

[c] Pont. Angl. p. 161.

of the work, in the preparation of the materials, the erection of the walls and columns, in ſtone and marble, the turning of the arches, the placing of the windows, and the labours of the ſculptors and carvers in completing the admirable plan. The architect was a Frenchman from Sens, who gave and executed the deſign; but he being hurt by a fall, in the beginning of the fifth year, an Engliſh artiſt was employed to finiſh the work[d]. — Earlier than this, and in the ſame century, were rebuilt the abbey and church of Croyland, which a fire alſo had deſtroyed. The abbot had obtained from the archbiſhops of England and their ſuffragans, an *indulgence*, which diſpenſed with the third part of all penances for ſin to thoſe, who ſhould contribute any thing towards the pious work; and it was directed to the king and his people, and to the kings of France and Scotland, and to all other kings and their vaſſals, rich and poor, in all parts of the chriſtian world. Two monks carried the animating inſtrument into France and Flanders, two others into Scotland, two into Denmark and Norway, two into Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland, and others into the counties of England. Four years were ſpent, when mountains of marble, ſays the hiſtorian, were collected round the ſpot, with immenſe heaps of gold and ſilver, of iron, braſs, cement, and every neceſſary material. The day was fixed for laying the foundation.

On the day, a great multitude, from the neighbouring diſtricts, met at Croyland, earls, barons, and knights, with their ladies and families, abbots, priors, monks, nuns, clerks, and perſons of all ranks.—The abbot Joffred

[d] De combuſt. et repar. Dorob. eccles. p. 1290.

prayed, and ſhedding tears of joy, laid the corner-ſtone of the eaſtern front to the north. The next was laid by Richard de Rulos, a knight much attached to the abbey, and on it twenty pounds. Then came Geoffry Ridel, a knight, and his wife Geva, and his ſiſter Avicia, the firſt laying on his ſtone ten marks; and the ladies having placed their ſtones, preſented each a ſtone-cutter to ſerve, at their expence, for two years.—The next corner ſtone, to the ſouth of the ſame front, was laid by the abbot of Thorney, Joffred's brother, and on it ten pounds. Alan de Croun a baron, with his lady, and their eldeſt ſon and daughter, placed the next four ſtones, offering on them the title-deeds of the advowſons of four neighbouring churches.—The earl of Leiceſter, and the baron de Cantelupe, with his lady, and Alan de Fulbek, and Theoderic de Botheby, with his lady, and Turbrand de Spalding, knights; and then the earl of Northampton, followed by four knights, and three ladies, placed their reſpective ſtones, in the circle of the ſame front, each, in order, offering on them, forty marks, twenty marks, a hundred ſhillings, the gift of a meſſuage and two acres of land, the tithes of ſheep, a hundred marks, the ſervice of two ſtone-cutters for four years, and the tithes of Kirkby and of four other livings.—The foundation ſtones of the north and ſouth walls were then laid by the ſame two abbots and the monks of the convent; when the prieſts of three neighbouring pariſhes advanced, and laid the baſes of the three columns of the north wall, the firſt attended by a hundred and four men of his pariſh, offering their labour for one day in every month; the ſecond with ſixty, and the third with forty-two men, making the

ſame

ſame offering, till the work ſhould be completed. The three columns of the ſouth wall were then laid by the prieſt of Grantham, with two hundred and twenty men, offering ten marks; and by the prieſt of Hockam, with his men, preſenting twenty quarters of wheat and as many of malt; and by a third prieſt, with eighty-four men, offering ſix marks, two ſtone-cutters in their own quarry, and the carriage of the ſtone to Croyland.

Joffred, who had addreſſed each one as he laid his ſtone, now having admitted them to the fraternity of the abbey, and, with the benefits of the indulgence, to the participation alſo of their joint prayers and good works, invited the vaſt concourſe, more than five thouſand perſons, to dinner. The day paſſed in hilarity, when the ſtrangers retired, and the great work began. And ſoon, concludes the hiſtorian, the public apartments of the monks were completed, while the church, riſing to the clouds, looked down on the neighbouring foreſt, inviting the traveller to approach[e].

By means like theſe were thoſe noble ſtructures raiſed, which, at this time, wealthy, and munificent, and ſkilful as we are, nations hardly dare attempt. That ſuperſtition, as we conceive it, was the animating principle, which planned and accompliſhed the deſigns, I am ready to allow; but, by what name ſhall that reforming zeal be called, which, ſome hundred years afterwards, could raiſe the maſſive hammer, and crumble in the duſt the proud materials?

The improvements in *civil* architecture, as the author I firſt quoted, has remarked, were not leſs progreſſive. But we

[e] Continuat. hiſt. Ingulph. p. 118.

we muſt confine them to the palaces, or rather caſtles, of the nobility; for the buildings of the common people in the towns and country, made of wood and covered with ſtraw or reeds, continued to be mean and comfortleſs. Everywhere caſtles were raiſed by the kings and barons, for their defence, as well as reſidence, particularly under the firſt kings; and in the reign alone of Stephen, no leſs than eleven hundred and fifteen. They encumbered the land, lowering oppreſſion and defiance, and were often the ſeats of rapacity and plunder. In their conſtruction we muſt not look for elegance, or the diſplay of the finer arts, which decorated the monaſteries and churches. Properly, therefore, they come under the deſcription of *military* architecture, and from the few which as yet ſtand, we may form a juſt idea of their former ſtrength and ſtructure. They were generally covered with lead, as were the churches, and the narrow windows were glazed, admitting a ſcanty and enfeebled light. The great hall alone could cheer the welcome ſtranger, in which the noble landlord ſat, encompaſſed by his friends and retainers, whilſt the full bowl went round, and the jocund minſtrels ſwelled the dank air with their ſongs.

Arms and armour.

The arts of offenſive and defenſive war, in the raiſing and marſhalling of armies, in their armour and arms, their ſhields, ſpears, ſwords, lances, darts, bows, arrows, ſlings, with the various machines for throwing darts, and ſtones, and battering walls, in the attack and defence of places, it is unneceſſary to exhibit. The foregoing hiſtory has ſufficiently detailed their uſe, and marked their rapid progreſs to great perfection. But the battle of Haſtings had clearly evinced

evinced the ſuperior ſkill of the Normans. And here I wiſh to notice the admirable conſtruction of the armour uſed in battle, and the ingenuity of the artiſts, which ſeems to have riſen to uncommon excellence. A ſuit of armour was made of ſteel, and conſiſted of many different pieces, for the ſeveral parts of the body, ſo nicely joined, that the action of the limbs remained free, and their whole ſtrength could be exerted. A knight caſed in armour was almoſt invulnerable; but we may, with reaſon, be ſurpriſed that he did not ſink under the weight, or that his arm, through a ſummer's day, could wield a heavy ſword or battle-axe. The armour, particularly the helmet, was well tempered, and poliſhed, and ſometime gilt. We read alſo of horſes who were fitted with armour.

But the art of working in gold and ſilver, in the plate and ornaments of churches, ſeems, from ſome accounts, to have been carried to greater perfection. Here the pride and piety of many prelates and abbots urged the work; and zeal even could transfuſe its animating glow into the hand of the artiſt, while it faſhioned the ſacred implement, or decorated the ſhrine of ſome favourite ſaint. An obſervation, however, ſhould not be omitted, that the perfection of arts is relative, and that what, at that time, was viewed with wonder, we ſhould caſt away with diſdain.

Arts of clothing.

I mentioned the arts of *clothing*, which conſiſt in dreſſing and ſpinning wool and flax, and weaving them into linen and woollen cloth, which now alſo were much improved, owing principally to the many manufacturers, who came over from Flanders. "Leaving their looms," ſays an ancient writer, "a buſineſs familiar and almoſt peculiar to

"that

" that people, they landed in ſhoals amongſt us[f]." This was in the reign of Stephen; and before that time, and ſoon after it, colonies of them were ſettled in South Wales, purſuing their favourite occupation, where their children, at this day, are. — The weavers in the great towns of England were now formed into guilds; and there is a law of 1197, which regulates the fabrication and ſale of broad cloth, in which many abuſes had been committed: but, in the following reign, a ſuſpenſion of the ordinance was obtained.—In a letter of John of Saliſbury, I find mention made of three hundred ells of Rhemiſh linen, preſented by a lady to Henry II. *to make him ſhirts*; which proves that, though linen was then generally worn, the finer articles were held in great eſtimation: for ſuch, we may preſume, was that which was offered to a king.

*Silks*, though worn by perſons of high rank, particularly on ſolemn occaſions, and in general uſe in the churches, ſeem not, at this time, to have been manufactured in England. But the art of *embroidery* was much practiſed by the ladies, eſpecially by the nuns in their convents, in ornamenting the veſtments of the prieſts, and other garments for the ſervice of the altar. The reader will alſo recollect the ſplendid mantle of Richard, when he appeared in the plain of Limiſſo, though that, probably, had been made in Sicily, then famed for its ſilken manufactures.

Sculpture. As for the *pleaſing arts* of ſculpture, painting, poetry, and muſic, though the writers of the age be loud in their praiſe, and they were purſued with eagerneſs, yet little excellence had been acquired in them. — The churches, indeed,

[f] Gerv. an. 1139.

indeed, were crouded with the ſtatues of ſaints, and the motives of veneration which, in other days, are ſuppoſed to have given a peculiar energy to the Grecian artiſts, when they faſhioned the ſtatues of their gods, would now alſo, by a ſimilar impulſe, animate the glowing chiſel; but the concurrence of many circumſtances, few of which times ſuch as theſe could poſſeſs, is beſides neceſſary to lead the arts to perfection. It muſt, however, be owned, that their revival, and the degree of excellence to which they roſe, after the barbarians of the north had deſolated the Roman provinces, were ſolely aſcribable to the ſuperſtition, in the dark ages, of the chriſtian converts. A nation of philoſophers, or men of cool religion, would erect no magnificent churches, labour no breathing ſtatues; in a word, would not purſue the arts, which, giving a luſtre to external piety, tend alſo to improve and to embelliſh life.

*Painting* likewiſe was much practiſed, not only on the ceilings of churches, which was common; but in ornamenting the apartments, furniture, and eſpecially the ſhields, of perſons of rank. The ſubjects, we may preſume, were hiſtorical. Portrait painting alſo was followed. — With what taſte ſuch works were executed, can only be eſtimated from the general ſtandard of the age. The rapturous ſtrains of the monkiſh writers muſt paſs unheeded. —But it is evident, that they well underſtood how to prepare and combine their colours, as the beautiful *illuminations* of books, which ſtill exiſt, ſufficiently prove.—The art of painting or ſtaining glaſs, which had been long known on the continent, is thought to have been brought into England in the reign of John.

The *poetry* of the age was written in Engliſh, then a harſh and uncultivated tongue, or in Latin, or in *lingua Romana*, the Romance language, at that time, ſpoken in all the provinces of France. This was uſed by the Normans, and differed little from the Provençal, which has been termed the daughter of the Latin, and mother of the French. I am diſpenſed from entering on the ſubject; ſo admirably has it been treated by the *Hiſtorian of our poetry*. But his eye, penetrating the covering which an uncouth language ſpread, ſeems ſometimes to have diſcovered beauties, which are loſt to others. All the productions of the age, as far as I have ſeen, ſome Latin poems only excepted, are to my apprehenſion moſt contemptible. Yet when we reflect, with what ardour the pleaſing art was cultivated, how eſteemed were its profeſſors, how honoured, and how rewarded, the problem will not be eaſily ſolved. To ſay that their language would not bend to ſublime or melodious ſtrains, is to know nothing of the powers of genius, which, at will, can create language, and embody thought. How rude was the Galic tongue, when Oſſian ſang, or that of Iceland, when its Rhythmic odes were written! Yet in them are the genuine ſeeds of poetry. But Engliſh had been long ſpoken, and the Romance language, as articulated in Provence, was full and harmonious: ſtill, in the compoſitions of both countries there was no ſimplicity, no grandeur of imagery, no boldneſs of thought, no energy of expreſſion. All is weak, affected, low, laboured, puerile. The character of mind, therefore, was defective, and not the language in which they wrote. Their religion did not elevate: they viewed battles with a cold indifference: and

in

in deſcribing beauty or the concerns of love, they looked to forced conceits only and affected metaphors. What can be ſo pitiful as the ſonnet aſcribed to Richard, the royal troubadour, written, it is ſaid, in his captivity? And his companion and hiſtorian, Vinſauf, who even wrote in Latin, was as bad a poet as he. I have not ſolved the problem; but I muſt proceed.

The *muſic* of the age, we need not doubt, kept pace with its poetry. Both arts, indeed, were generally in the ſame hands; for the poets were minſtrels, and ſang their verſes to the muſic of their harps. They lived in the courts of princes, and in the caſtles of the barons, miniſtering to their vanity, and receiving wealth and honour in return for their ſongs. The flattering circumſtance proves the faſhion of the age, and not, as ſome have fancied, that the minſtrels had any claim to real excellence. But in muſic, as in the other arts, all excellence is relative.—It was of three kinds, ſacred, civil, and martial.

The harp, except in the churches, where the organ was uſed, and in the armies, where they uſed horns, drums, and trumpets, was the moſt favourite and admired inſtrument. Giraldus, the Welſh hiſtorian, in deſcribing the muſic of the times, gives the preference to that of the Iriſh, the movement of which, he ſays, was quick and rapid, but ſoothing and ſweet, while the modulation of the Engliſh was ſlow and languid. But it was in muſic only, he obſerves malevolently, that the Iriſh nation had any claim to excellence; and he goes on to deſcribe, with much ſurprife, their maſterly execution on the harp. Scotland then, he ſays, and Wales, emulous of their ſiſter's glory, ſtrove to purſue

her ſteps. — The Iriſh had two inſtruments, the harp and the timbrel: the Scots three, the harp, the timbrel, and the bag-pipe; and the Welſh three, the harp, the pib-corn, and the bag-pipe. The Iriſh harps had generally braſs ſtrings. "But at this time," he concludes, "Scotland, "in the opinion of many, has left her miſtreſs far behind; "and to her they have recourſe, as to the ſource of melo-"dy[g]." — The ſame author commends highly the Welſh manner of ſinging, which appears from its various tones and modulations, to have been very harmonious. The Engliſh alſo, beyond the Humber, and in the neighbourhood of York, he ſays, excelled in ſinging, though their ſongs conſiſted only of two parts, the deep murmuring baſs, and the high and ſweet ſounding treble[h]. But the dialect of this ſame people, obſerves the monk of Malmſbury, was ſo harſh and ſtridulous, as not to be underſtood by the ſouthern Engliſh.

Trade. I would willingly ſay ſomething on the *trade* of England, which, though it received a check at the conqueſt by the prevalence of feudal maxims, ſoon recovered additional vigour from our French and Flemiſh connections, would my limits allow it.—The chief ſeats of trade, as they long had been, were London, Briſtol, Exeter, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, York, Dunwich, and the Cinque-ports; and the principal exports were wool and woollen cloths, corn, metals, *ſlaves;* and the imports were wines, ſpiceries, ſilks, metals, furs. The internal trade was in the hands of the natives, and the foreign moſtly in the hands of foreigners. The Jews were numerous, as traders and as money-lenders. But

[g] Topograph. Hibern. l. iii. c. 11. [h] Camb. deſcrip. c. 13.

But on the ſubject of commerce, however important we may deem it, little is to be collected from the monkiſh writers.

Value of money.

The ſame nominal ſum of money, a *pound*, a *mark*, a *ſhilling*, contained nearly *thrice* as much ſilver, (for gold was not in uſe,) as the ſame nominal ſum contains at preſent. To know, therefore, how many of our pounds, marks, or ſhillings were contained in any ſum then mentioned, we muſt multiply it by three. In a year of plenty, Matthew of Paris obſerves, a quarter of wheat was ſold for two ſhillings, that is, ſix ſhillings of our money.

But the *ſame quantity* of ſilver was much more valuable than it is now; and that *value* ſeems moſt properly eſtimated in the proportion of five to one: that is, the ſame quantity of ſilver, at that time, purchaſed five times as much of labour, meat or drink, as it would at preſent. In a great dearth, ſays Henry of Huntington, a quarter of wheat ſold for ſix ſhillings, that is, for four pounds ten ſhillings.

Intercourſe with France.

Hitherto I have conſidered the manners and the general ſtate of the iſland, as improved and modified by the Norman ſettlers: but to the operation of this cauſe the whole effect muſt not be confined. At the ſame time, our intercourſe with France, from all its provinces, operated; for we travelled into all, and were connected with all, (various as their manners and taſtes were,) in ſovereignty, or in trade, or in learning, or in chivalry. But with the whole weſtern coaſt, a vaſt diſtrict reaching from the Britiſh channel to the Pyrenean mountains, our union was moſt intimate, forming one people by the common ties of intereſt and dominion. And the French language, with which our ears were familiariſed, and which was generally underſtood,

ſerved

ſerved as a vehicle, whereby the manners and taſtes even of the diſtant provinces were communicated to the iſland. Our princes, as we obſerved in duke Richard and others, with their courts and retainers lived on the continent, maintaining an interchange of ideas and maxims, the effects of which would be obvious. Thence men were called into England to occupy important offices in church and ſtate; for many of our biſhops, particularly, were foreigners; and the circumſtance would greatly contribute to diffuſe their manners.

General influence of Rome.

But the reader has witneſſed the wonderful influence of a diſtant court, which reached to this country, and to all the countries of Europe, modifying, in ſome degree, their manners, and controuling their opinions, in religion, in morals, and in politics. I ſpeak of the Roman court. However, as England was not more expoſed to the impreſſion than other nations, its general effect ſhould be viewed; and this leads me to obſerve, that, at no time, perhaps, in the hiſtory of mankind, were the manners, the ideas, and the character of Europe ſo ſimilar as at this. I mean, in regard to thoſe people, whoſe politics I have mentioned.—In Germany, France, Sicily, and England, the governments were feudal: but where this happens, the concomitant ſimiliarity of effects needs not be detailed. On the throne of Sicily even were Norman princes.—The religion alſo of theſe kingdoms, and of Europe, was the ſame; and to all extended the controuling power of Rome.

Rome then, by her agents, and more by the opinion ſhe had been able to impreſs, of her univerſal juriſdiction and infallible deciſions, could ſway, often irreſiſtibly, as we have

have ſeen, the whole ſyſtem of politics and religion. She ſtood as a centre of union, conveying her energy through a thouſand channels, while her emiſſaries, at a diſtance, maintained the illuſion, and crowds of appellants and candidates flocked to her court, pleading for redreſs, or imploring patronage. With what readineſs and alacrity theſe journeys were performed, the reader has often witneſſed, though the roads were bad, and no conveniences of travelling could be found. But as the Romans were a poliſhed people, and the arts and ſciences were much cultivated among them, and in the ſtates of Italy, many advantages aroſe from the intercourſe, to balance the abuſes of an undue power; and the improvements of Europe and of this country were, in many inſtances, aſcribable to it.

It has been ſometimes ſaid that, with the Normans came into this country a ſyſtem of religious belief, different from what the Saxons had profeſſed, particularly in regard to the prerogative of the Roman biſhop. The queſtion is not fairly ſtated. Our Saxon kings with their biſhops were far more bigoted, and more ſubſervient to the will of Rome, than were the princes and clergy of the Norman line; but, at that time, the monſtrous theory of papal domination had not been univerſally diſſeminated, and chriſtian Europe was more independent and free. It was a few years after the conqueſt that Gregory VII. the father of eccleſiaſtical deſpotiſm, ſat in the chair of St. Peter[i]. To this circumſtance of the general prevalence of the doctrine, and not to any peculiar attachment of the Normans to the ſee of Rome, muſt be aſcribed that ſubmiſſion to its mandates, which we often

[i] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 23.

often witneſſed. We alſo witneſſed their bold reſiſtance, when to obey did not comport with their intereſt or their humour.

Monaſtic inſtitutions.

In ſpeaking of the religious notions of the period, a curious ſubject preſents itſelf, with which they immediately connect, and on which, would my limits permit the diſcuſſion, I could enlarge with pleaſure. I mean the new monaſtic inſtitutes. In another work[k], I related the riſe and progreſs of the orders of Cluni and Citeaux, with ſome others, the latter of which, owing to the great fame of Bernard, rapidly ſpread through Europe, eclipſing by its auſtere and holy manners the hard-earned praiſe of other monks. Into England the Ciſtercian order was fondly received, and eſtabliſhed in many houſes, with a princely munificence, during the reign of Henry I. and his immediate ſucceſſors. But in all things there is faſhion. The minds of the founders of orders had, for centuries, been employed in deviſing new inſtitutes, new dreſſes, new modes of life; and their contempories, as the holy fancy led, warmly eſpouſed the novel form, and gave their perſons and their purſes to ſupport it. At no time was this propenſity more buſily at work than in the dark ages; though the council of Lateran had recently prohibited the invention of new orders. But as one order ſprang up, another fell. Wealth, gradually accumulating, deſtroyed the fervent ſpirit, which once commanded admiration; men tired of an inſtitute, to which they and their fathers had been long habituated; and when a new order roſe, with it crouded on the ſight whatever fervorous zeal and unſullied purity

[k] Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 105, 179.

purity could preſent moſt affecting and awful. Even miracles were thought to ſpeak in its favour. — But in the great variety of orders, which now exiſted, it might have been imagined, that human invention was exhauſted, or that enough, at leaſt, had been done to ſatisfy the moſt unbounded curioſity. It was not ſo; and the reader ſhall juſt be permitted to ſee, how wide a ſphere had been left unoccupied.

Francis of Aſſiſium.

Francis named of Aſſiſium, from the place of his birth, a town in the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, about the year 1206 founded an order, the character and leading maxims of which, even in an age of prodigies, could excite amazement. He was the ſon of a merchant, and bred to his father's trade. But particularly conſtituted, and liſtening to dreams and viſions, his mind opened to other impreſſions: he deſpiſed the money-getting life, ſolaced the indigent by his charities, made himſelf a butt of ridicule to his fellow-citizens, and finally ſurrendered into his father's hands every proſpect of future ſupport, ſtripping off his garments before him, that he might be the better able to repeat, he ſaid, *Our father who art in heaven!* He retired, indulging the warm ſuggeſtions of his mind, by the practices of ſelf-abaſement, in aiding the ſick, begging alms for their relief, and carrying ſtones on his back for the repair of ſome fallen churches. As one day he liſtened to the goſpels, he heared the words read: "Provide neither gold, nor ſilver, nor braſs in your purſes; "nor ſcrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither "ſhoes, nor yet ſtaves, for the workman is worthy of his "meat."—"That," he exclaimed, "is the life I wiſh for;" and he threw aſide his ſhoes, his wallet, his ſtaff, and the

little money he had, keeping only one poor coat, with a capuce, ſuch as the ſhepherds in Italy then wore, girded round with a knotted cord. This became the dreſs of his followers.

That he ſhould find followers, may appear extraordinary. He had no learning: but in his words there was a great ſimplicity; a gentleneſs in his manners which attracted; in his conduct a forgiveneſs of injuries, a patience of inſults, a contempt of riches, and a purity which raiſed admiration, and drew attention round him. He preached, and ſoon had diſciples. With theſe, who were eleven in number, having firſt drawn up a rule founded on the letter of the goſpel maxims, he went to Rome, and preſented himſelf before the pontiff. It was the high-minded Innocent. He heared the lowly Francis enounce the nature of his inſtitute, which a zeal for the reformation of a vicious age principally animated, and, after ſome objections made to the practicability of the ſcheme, approved it.

The rule in its firſt form, and as afterwards more detailed, beſides the three uſual vows of *obedience*, *chaſtity*, and *poverty*, contained injunctions which were peculiar to it. The brothers ſhall conſider themſelves as pilgrims and ſtrangers in the world; ſhall poſſeſs no property in lands or any endowments of their houſes; ſhall ſupport themſelves by the free contributions of the faithful; but, on no occaſion, ſhall receive money. There is a wonderful ſpirit of humility, of ſubmiſſion to a ruling providence, of good will to mankind, which pervades this extraordinary code of laws, tinctured by no views of party, no ſelf-intereſt, no human policy. A ſociety of chriſtian philoſophers was ſeen to riſe, who

who by an eaſy effort, it ſeemed, could practiſe the ſublime leſſons, which the ſages of Greece had boaſtingly delivered to their followers. What an ancient poet ſaid of Zeno, the father of the Stoic ſchool, *eſurire docet, et invenit diſcipulos*, with more propriety might be applied to the holy citizen of Aſſiſium.

Soon he began to found convents, as the fame of his ſanctity grew; and as his diſciples multiplied, he ſent them, with excellent admonitions, into the provinces of Italy, and to diſtant nations, to preach, to inſtruct, and to edify. —In 1219 was held a general chapter of the order near Aſſiſium, when more than five thouſand brothers appeared in the field. For ſeveral days there they remained, ſitting and ſleeping on the bare earth, while proviſions flowed in from the neighbouring towns, and the nobles of the land, and the clergy, with their own hands adminiſtered to them. —In this year a colony of them came into England, where being kindly received, they eſtabliſhed themſelves firſt in Canterbury, and then in London, under the name of *Grey Friars*. Francis died ſeven years after this, having witneſſed the wonderful ſpread of his inſtitute, and gained the reputation of a ſaint by the diſplay of extraordinary virtues[1]. In an age of leſs intemperance in religion, miracles and the fancied intervention of peculiar favours from heaven would not have been deemed neceſſary, to ſtamp worth and admiration on a character, which, in itſelf, poſſeſſed the pureſt excellences that fall to the lot of man. But this circumſtance, and more than this, the reception which an inſtitute ſo peculiarly framed met with, ſerve to manifeſt the ſingular taſte of the age.

[1] Auctores varii.

Dominic. At the ſame time roſe the order of Dominic, a Spaniard of the Guſman family, born in the dioceſe of Oſma. We firſt read of him with his biſhop, in the miſſions of Languedoc, againſt the Albigenſes. He had ſtudied in the new ſchools of Palencia, and was well ſkilled in the controverſies of the times. His zeal for the orthodox belief was conſpicuous; but it ſeemed, that his gentle manners and a great benevolence of character would check its too ardent propenſities. Dominic alſo would be the founder of an order; and under him ſprang up that of the Dominicans, leſs auſtere in its practices than that we have ſeen, and which ſoon alſo multiplied into all the kingdoms of Europe. They came to England with the Franciſcans, and were called the *Black Friars*. Under the auſpices of Dominic the court of Inquiſition took a more regular form, which had before been eſtabliſhed in Languedoc. He died five years before St. Francis.—Other orders, during this period, were founded; but theſe were the moſt conſpicuous, and their deſcendants ſtill ſubſiſt.

Cruſades. The cruſades muſt not be forgotten; for they alſo, in return for the treaſure and the lives which they conſumed, contributed ſomething to the general ſtock of improvement. But this has been over-rated. From the intercourſe of ſo many nations, which the common cauſe united, and from their mutual colliſion, advantages, I know, would be derived; and to theſe, in the laſt expedition, might be added ſome acquirements in the art of navigation, and the leſſons which the improved ſtate of Sicily would preſent to the inquiſitive and the curious. That there were ſuch men in the holy armies, it is natural to conclude; yet to judge from

from the beſt documents, it ſeems, that they brought little back with them, but the bodies of ſaints, and tales of ſtrange adventures; and that a vain ſuperſtition joined to a horror of thoſe, whom they deemed the enemies of Chriſt, had ſo abſorbed the common powers of obſervation and diſcernment, that they could neither ſee, nor collect from, the various ſtores of information, which lay open before them. No benefits at leaſt were ſo prominent, as to have produced any ſenſible change in the arts of agriculture, trade, or manufactures. I mentioned, in its place, ſome of the advantages which weſtern Europe derived from the taking of Conſtantinople.

I am come to the *learning* of the period.—It will be recollected from William of Malmſbury, how low was the ſtate of literature at the Norman acceſſion. We muſt therefore now look for the dawn of ſcience, however languid and uncertain its firſt rays may ſeem. Such is the relation in the general order of things, and ſuch the mental progreſs, that the whole ſyſtem together moves, riſes, declines, and falls. We have ſeen what, in various lines, the improvements were. Learning would keep pace with them; for there were ſimilar cauſes to urge on its progreſs. Learning.

As glory can be obtained from letters, and therefore by encouraging the profeſſors of them, it was natural that our Norman kings, when their eſtabliſhment was ſecured, and the ambition of conqueſt was allayed, ſhould direct their attention to leſs tumultuary purſuits. The conqueror had been well educated, and he ſoon became the munificent patron of learned men. They crouded to his court, and diffuſed around it a ſpirit of literary improvement, which would

would ſpread, in undulating circles, to the nearer and more diſtant caſtles of the barons. His ſon Henry, ſurnamed *Beauclerk*, was himſelf a ſcholar. And Henry Plantagenet, as we have ſeen, ſpent his leiſure hours in reading, or in diſcuſſing literary queſtions in a circle of learned men. The example of kings is a powerful incentive; it rouſes emulation, and opens the eye to favour and preferment: and where they can reward, intereſt will give a ſpur to purſuits.

The intercourſe alſo which England maintained with the continent, opened a channel through which the learning of diſtant provinces, and of remote kingdoms, but eſpecially of Rome flowed in. We frequented the ſchools of other kingdoms, particularly thoſe of Bologna and Paris; and we numbered among our biſhops and leading clergy, ſuch as Robert de Melun, Stephen Langton, and many others, men who had been eminent profeſſors there.—But the increaſe of monaſteries, in this period, was the principal cauſe of the increaſe of knowledge. They added to the number of teachers and ſtudents; and multiplied the inducements to purſue, and the opportunities to acquire knowledge, by making books more common and more attainable than they had been. Every convent was a ſchool, wherein the ſeveral parts of ſcience were taught: every convent had a library, and its monks were employed in tranſcribing books: and the government of every convent, to which a conſiderable degree of power and dignity was annexed, was often beſtowed on men, whom peculiar endowments recommended to the office. But there is an obligation due to them, which no time can cancel. They preſerved the valuable

valuable remains of Grecian and Roman literature, without which, who can ſay, that Europe, at this day, would not have been involved in the ſhades of barbariſm?

Notwithſtanding theſe inducements, the progreſs in ſcience was ſlow; it was confined, in a great meaſure, to the monks and clergy, while the barons and the laity, engaged in other purſuits, left the path of literature almoſt excluſively open to them; the ſubjects of enquiry were ill-ſelected; the modes of education were not calculated to diffuſe improvement; and the general taſte was bad. It is leſs difficult to implant on a new people the ſeeds of genuine ſcience which ſhall fructify, than to reform what has been vitiated.

What was the ſtate of learning in this country, may be applied, with little variation, to others. For now, by the intercourſe, I have mentioned, which exchanged and communicated what before might be deemed peculiar to each, in the arts or ſciences, an uniformity prevailed, and almoſt a common meaſure of improvement. So, to judge from the literary productions of the period, we muſt pronounce, wherein can be diſcovered no ſuperior excellence of nation over nation, than what occurs in comparing the ſeveral compoſitions of the ſame people. They all wrote in the ſame language, which was Latin; and all drew from the ſame ſources, from the ancients ſervilely imitated, from the ſuggeſtions of a weak ſuperſtition, from received opinions which no criticiſm had diſcuſſed, and from nature neither ſtudied nor underſtood.

The parts of learning which England, and other countries, cultivated, were grammar, rhetoric, logic, metaphyſics,

ſics, phyſics, ethics, ſcholaſtic divinity, the canon law, the civil law, the common law, arithmetic, geometry, aſtronomy, aſtrology, and medicine.

As already, in another work,[m] I have treated this ſubject, and ſome of the branches were ſo imperfectly underſtood as to merit no attention, I ſhall conceive myſelf diſpenſed from the diſcuſſion of each ſeparate article.

Grammar. The ſtudy of *grammar* ſeems to have been almoſt excluſively confined to the Latin tongue, which was the language of the learned in their writings and even in their converſation, of men of buſineſs in their correſpondence, of the church in her ſervice, and of the church's paſtors in their ſynods, and ſometimes, it ſeems, even in their inſtructions to the people. Many of our biſhops and clergy, natives of France and Italy, knew nothing of the vulgar tongue of the realm. The colloquial Latin of the period was in many, we may preſume, neither impure nor inelegant, to judge from the ſpecimens, which our hiſtorians have recorded, but more from their familiar correſpondence. Herein are frequent quotations from the beſt claſſical writers, and their ſtyle and manner are ſometimes imitated with ſucceſs. But, on the whole, their language is unclaſſical, written with little eaſe, and with evident marks of a bad education and a vicious taſte. Yet how beautiful is this opening of a letter from John of Saliſbury to his primate: "Ex quo partes at-
"tigi Ciſmarinas, viſus ſum mihi ſenſiſſe lenioris auræ
"temperiem, et detumeſcentibus procellis tempeſtatum,
"cum gaudio miratus ſum rerum ubique copiam, quietem-
"que et lætitiam populorum." John was the moſt elegant writer

[m] Hiſt. of Abeil. paſſim.

writer of the age. But in the primate's letters all is harſh, technical, and diſguſting from the unceaſing uſe of ſcriptural phraſeology. And this phraſeology even their hiſtorians often copied. Latin therefore may be conſidered as, at that time, almoſt a living language; whence we are authoriſed to pronounce, from the character it bore, what were the *grammatical* purity and the claſſical taſte of the age.

Rhetoric.

*Rhetoric*, or the art of ſpeaking eloquently, kept pace with their grammar. Indeed, there muſt ever be in both the ſame proportion of excellence. I have met with ſome examples of their eloquence, that would do honour to any age; but with more that would diſgrace the ruſtic orators of a mob. The reader will recollect the addreſs of the earl of Arundel, ſpoken in Engliſh or in the French tongue, before the pontiff and the Roman cardinals at Sens; alſo that of Becket, on the ſame occaſion; and ſeveral other ſpeeches, in which were the elements of genuine oratory. In all of them I ſtrove to retain the real character of the originals. But this, I apprehend, is not the point in queſtion; for the tongue of the unlettered ſavage becomes eloquent, when the heart dictates to its utterance. Here is properly meant that factitious elocution, which the ſchools taught agreeably to the definitions and rules of rhetoric. I have ſaid what its character was.

Logic, metaphyſics, phyſics, ethics.

Of *logic*, *metaphyſics*, *phyſics*, and *ethics*, I ſhall only repeat that the *firſt*, pretending to follow the rules of Ariſtotle, who now came into general vogue, degenerated into a wretched ſophiſtry, replete with quibbles and trifling ſubtilties, yet that it engroſſed the attention of the ſtudious and inquiſitive, as was ſeen in Abeilard and the ſophiſts of

the age: that the *ſecond*, conſiſting of ſimilar ſpeculations on entity, ſpirit, matter, ſubſtance, accidents, occult qualities, and ſubſtantial forms, had no pretenſions to the notice of men, whoſe minds could have appreciated what is really valuable in human purſuits: that the *third*, (as we may collect from Giraldus Cambrenſis, who was ſent by his ſovereign to ſurvey, as a philoſopher, the productions and face of Ireland, and from innumerable other inſtances,) however much ſtudied, contributed nothing to the real knowledge of nature, or benefit of human life: and that the *fourth*, amuſed with the theory of ideal duties, tended not to enlighten the mind, to amend the heart, or to regulate the morals, by ſhewing the foundation of their obligations, or by illuſtrating the nature, limits, and motives, of the various duties of men and citizens.

Scholaſtic divinity.

But *ſcholaſtic divinity* now aſſumed a more regular form; and as this form was immediately adopted into the ſchools of England and of Europe, and ſtill continues to prevail in many foreign ſeminaries, it becomes proper to obſerve that Peter, called Lombardus from the country of his birth, archbiſhop of Paris, and who died about the year 1160, was its father. His moſt honourable appellation is that of the *maſter of ſentences*, the title of the work he publiſhed, exhibiting paſſages from the ancient fathers, the apparent contradictions of which he ſtrives to conciliate. It contains an entire body of theology, in four books, and each book is divided into many *diſtinctions*. The firſt treats of the Trinity, and its attributes: the ſecond of the creation, firſt of angels, then of the work of the ſix days, of man and his fall, of grace and free will, of original and actual ſin: the

the third of the incarnation, of faith, hope, and charity, of the gifts of the holy ſpirit, and of the commandments: and the fourth of the ſacraments in general and particular, of purgatory, the reſurrection, the laſt judgment, and the ſtate of the bleſſed.—The author, as I obſerved, does little elſe than ſtring together quotations from the fathers, interſperſing a thouſand ridiculous and unimportant queſtions, as to us they ſeem, ſupported by weak opinions and paſſages from the ſcriptures figuratively interpreted. He diſapproved much, it is ſaid, of the application which Peter Abeilard and other maſters had made of the rules of Ariſtotle to the doctrines of revelation, and therefore brought forward the authorities rather of the fathers, on which to build the ſyſtem of chriſtian belief.—His work was received with great applauſe; and for ages, in the ſchools of theology, the book of *ſentences* became the only text which was read and explained to ſcholars. Two hundred and forty-four authors, many of them the ableſt divines of their reſpective periods, wrote commentaries on the *ſentences*. Even I find one hundred and ſixty in the ſingle liſt of Engliſh commentators. But *the maſter* was not deemed infallible, not being followed in twenty-ſix articles; and one propoſition which he taught, that *Chriſt, as man, is not ſomething (non eſt aliquid,)* was cenſured by Alexander III. Even Walter of St. Victor dared, ſoon after his death, to rank him with the four ſophiſts, whom he ſtyles the *labyrinths* of France[n].

Canon and civil law.

The *canon law*, likewiſe, a few years before this, had been much extended in its general application, and ſoon engaged the attention of churchmen. In 1151, Gratian a monk of

[n] Fleury t. xv. p. 65, 475.

Bologna, publiſhed his *Decretum*, a collection of the opinions, decrees, and canons, of fathers, doctors, popes, and councils. There was no accuracy uſed in the ſelection of theſe documents, and modern criticiſm has demonſtrated their multifarious errors. Compilations of the ſame nature had before been made, particularly by Iſidore in the eighth century, who pretended to have diſcovered the decrees of ſixty early popes, and the canons of ancient councils, nearly all of which are now known to have been forgeries. Theſe Gratian inſerted in his *Decretum*. The monſtrous compilation, from the approbation it received at Rome, ſoon obtained an unbounded authority; it was read in all the ſchools, and became the law of the church. It was on the ſpurious authority of this work, and of thoſe which had preceded it, that were founded the pretenſions of the Roman biſhops to univerſal monarchy, the riſe and extenſion of which I carefully noticed [o].

About the ſame time, the ſtudy of the Roman or *civil law* was revived on the continent, and ſoon introduced into England. Bologna was the great ſeminary; and it was the diſcovery of a copy of the Pandects of Juſtinian, whoſe Code, Novellæ, and Inſtitutes had been long read and explained, that is ſuppoſed to have given a new ardour to the purſuit. But unfortunately the canon and civil laws were permitted to coaleſce into one ſyſtem. They ſeemed to afford a mutual ſupport to each other; the profeſſors of both were the ſame; and he who would riſe in the church became a civilian and canoniſt. Had they been kept ſeparate, the weak pretenſions of churchmen to the partial coun-

[o] Idem paſſim et alii.

countenance of the ſtate would not have been encouraged; their own laws when found incompatible, as many of them were, with the good of the community, would have ſunk; and we ſhould not have beheld ſtate religions ſtill ſtanding on their ſandy baſis.

Ranulph de Glanville, a name often mentioned, chief juſticiary under Henry II. publiſhed in his reign, or cauſed to be publiſhed, a collection of the *laws and cuſtoms* of England. This is the moſt ancient of our law books extant.—But a circumſtance is recorded by Peter of Blois, ſpeaking of archbiſhop Theobald, which ſhews the attention which was given to the ſtudy of the laws. "In the houſe of my "maſter," he ſays, "are ſeveral learned men, famous for "their knowledge of law and politics, who ſpend the hours "between prayers and dinner, in lecturing, diſputing, and "debating cauſes. To us all the knotty queſtions of the "kingdom are referred, which are produced in the com-"mon hall, and each one in his order, having firſt pre-"pared himſelf, declares, with all the eloquence and "acuteneſs in his power, but without wrangling, what is "wiſeſt and ſafeſt to be done. And if God ſuggeſts the beſt "opinion to the youngeſt amongſt us, we agree to it with-"out envy or detraction [P]."

On arithmetic, geometry, aſtronomy, aſtrology, and medicine, the ſtate of which was very imperfect, little can be ſaid, if we except aſtrology, of all the moſt idle and fallacious, but which by an ignorant and ſuperſtitious people would be ardently purſued. Many predictions, from the face of the heavens, are recorded in the hiſtorians; and the

[P] Pet. Bles. ep. 6.

the ſcience, though vain in itſelf, might help to diffuſe ſome knowledge of the ſolar ſyſtem, of the ſituation of the planets, and their revolutions.

Oxford. The principal ſeats of learning in England were Oxford and Cambridge, not yet ſtyled *Univerſities*.—Oxford, which our old writers call Oxenford, whatever may have been its higher antiquity, had Alfred for its regular founder. But from the Danes it ſuffered much, and from the Normans; nor till the reign of Henry I. who built a palace there in which he ſometimes reſided, had it riſen to any eminence. By Stephen again it was deſtroyed, and its teachers and ſcholars diſperſed; when the ſon of Matilda, as the phenix roſe from her aſhes, gave his patronage and ſupport; and under Richard, whoſe birth-place it was, the ſplendour of Oxford, in its buildings and learned teachers, grew, and it could rival the proud ſeminaries of Paris and Bologna. Again, in the reign of John, from an accidental tumult a diſaſter happened, which occaſioned another diſperſion of the profeſſors and ſcholars. To the number of three thouſand they abandoned the place, and retired to Reading and other towns. Soon however, through the powerful mediation of a Roman legate, they returned in greater numbers, and from this time Oxford flouriſhed with increaſing glory [q].

Cambridge. *Cambridge* ſeems ſtill to have ſuffered more from the ravages of the Danes, and the inſults of the Normans, and to have lain longer in neglect and obſcurity. In 1109, when Henry I. was on the throne, it revived, and the circumſtances of the event are diſtinctly marked by Peter of Blois, a name I have often mentioned. Joffred, abbot of Croyland,

[q] Auctores varii paſſim.

land, intending to rebuild his monaſtery, as I related, ſent maſter Giſlebert with three other monks to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge. They were able ſcholars, ſkilled in philoſophical theorems and other primitive ſciences. Every day they went to Cambridge, and having hired a barn gave public lectures. Soon the barn could not contain the great concourſe of ſcholars, when they ſeparated into different parts of the town; and brother Odo, an excellent grammarian and ſatiriſt, read grammar, early in the morning, to the boys and younger ſtudents, according to Priſcian and Remigius his commentator. At one o'clock, brother Terricus, an acute ſophiſt, read Ariſtotle's Logics to the elder ſort, according to the commentaries of Porphyry and Averroes. At three, brother William gave lectures on Tully's rhetoric and Quintilian's inſtitutions. While maſter Giſlebert, who, I ſhould have ſaid, was profeſſor of theology, not underſtanding Engliſh, but very expert in the Latin and French languages, preached to the people on Sundays and holidays. Why the circumſtance of maſter Giſlebert's not being underſtood by the people, qualified him for a preacher, is not explained. "Thus," concludes the hiſtorian, "from this ſmall ſource, which has ſwelled "into a great river, we now behold the city of God made "glad, and all England rendered fruitful, by many teach-"ers and doctors iſſuing from Cambridge, as from a moſt "holy paradiſe[r]." This was written before the end of the ſame century; but during the war between John and his barons, a few years afterwards, Cambridge was taken and plundered by both parties. It ſoon recovered.

There

[r] Continuat. Hiſt. Ingulph. an. 1109.

Cathedral and other ſchools.

There were alſo ſchools annexed to the *cathedrals*, under the immediate inſpection of the biſhops, in their inſtructions principally calculated for thoſe who were deſigned for the church.—We read of eminent teachers in theſe ſchools, who were called the *ſcholaſtics of the dioceſe*.—I have mentioned the *conventual* ſchools, which were numerous, and which widely ſpread the love of ſcience. Thus does Alexander Necham, in the twelfth century, in lines not inelegant addreſſed to the abbot of Glouceſter, ſpeak of the abbey-ſchool of St. Alban's, where he had been educated, and of its ſtudies.

Quod ſi forte fores claudat tibi Clauſtria, clauſtrum
Martyris Albani ſit tibi tuta quies.
Hic locus ætatis noſtræ primordia novit,
Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.
Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
Artibus, et noſtræ laudis origo fuit.
Hic artes didici, docuique fideliter; inde
Acceſſit ſtudio lectio ſacra meo.
Audivi canones, Hipocratem cum Galieno,
Jus civile mihi diſplicuiſſe neges.

That in the chief cities and towns were other ſchools inſtituted, can be collected from our hiſtorians, particularly in London.

Paris and Bologna.

But Paris, unqueſtionably, was the moſt celebrated ſeat of learning, to which all reſorted, at leaſt to complete their ſtudies, whom great talents rendered conſpicuous or the love of literary fame inſpired. John of Saliſbury flying from his country, in the following words deſcribes the majeſty of Paris: "Ubi cum viderem victualium copiam, "lætitiam

" lætitiam populi, reverentiam cleri, et totius eccleſiæ " majeſtatem et gloriam, et varias occupationes philoſo- " phantium admiratus ..... coactus ſum profiteri; *felix* " *exilium, cui locus iſte datur!*" [s]

Bologna was little leſs illuſtrious, where the ſtudy of the Roman law had been revived; but which, after the publication of the *Decretum*, was ſtill more frequented. Arnulph of Liſieux was there; and from that ſource, I obſerved, Becket drew thoſe maxims, which other churchmen univerſally adopted, and in the defence of which he died.

So numerous, as I have deſcribed them, in this and other countries, were the ſchools and ſeminaries of learning. To what cauſe then was the ignorance of the age owing? Not to any want of opportunities in ſchools or maſters, as is obvious. But in the laity of the higher orders, extreme diſſipation in war, in rural diverſions, and domeſtic riots, averted the mind from every ſerious purſuit; and in the lower ranks, habits of idleneſs, or the depreſſion of ſervitude, perpetuated the evil. The clergy only and the monks were not inattentive to improvement: even they purſued ſcience, in all its branches, with an ardour unknown to other times. But I have ſaid what that ſcience was, how imperfect were the views they entertained of it, and how rude the taſte which directed every meaſure of attainment. With half their toil, how vaſt comparatively are the heights we aſcend! But the time will be, when poſterity ſhall look back on our proud achievements, and ſmiling at our inſufficiency ſhall pity us.

[s] Ep. 24.

General view of learned men.

Here would be the place for an account of thoſe eminent men, whoſe labours ſerved, at leaſt, to keep alive the expiring lamp of ſcience, and for the analyſis of their works. But to the biographer does the firſt rather belong; and the review of works, which have little in them to amuſe, would by many be deemed nugatory. —From the conqueſt to the end of the period I have deſcribed, I find a liſt of about a hundred and forty writers on various ſubjects, moſt of whom were monks, and none of whom were laymen.—France, at the ſame time, and other countries, were equally prolific. —They wrote commentaries on the ſcriptures, full of allegories and whimſical alluſions; tracts on religion and the moral duties, which had little tendency to develope or to enforce the obligations of either; and hiſtories of the lives of ſaints and of their miracles, which to us only prove that they knew little of the mechanical powers of nature, and that their credulity was unbounded. I ſhall elſewhere enumerate our principal hiſtorians, and ſtate their reſpective merits. *

The Polycraticon.

The moſt curious work of the age is the *Polycraticon* of John of Saliſbury, (or *de nugis curialium et veſtigiis philoſophorum,)* dedicated to Thomas a Becket, while chancellor of England. Herein, with much accuracy, he deſcribes the manners of the great, and with freedom cenſures their amuſements, their want of ſcience, and their unprofitable waſte of time. With equal boldneſs he ſpeaks of churchmen and of the monks, blaming their ambition and their departure from primitive diſcipline. When, ſome years back, I read the *Poly-*

* See the preface.

*Polycraticon*, it ſeemed, I thought, to mark great erudition, being replete with citations from the beſt claſſical writers; but it was an erudition not well digeſted, which a ſound judgment did not always guide, and the expreſſion of which was often looſe and affected. It has alſo been obſerved, that the author not unfrequently loſes ſight of his own times, deſcribing manners and cuſtoms which belonged to the Romans, and not to the inhabitants of Britain in the twelfth century. Notwithſtanding theſe imperfections, the *Polycraticon* is a valuable monument of the literature of the age in which it was written, and of the virtue, the good ſenſe, and the learning of its author.—To the ſame munificent patron he addreſſed another work, entitled *Metalogicon*, which is a defence of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, as then taught by the ableſt maſters, whom he enumerates, and which may be conſidered as containing the beſt account of the ſtate of thoſe ſciences.

Concluſion.

It is time to cloſe this *view*, which might yet be widely extended, would my limits permit it. But enough, I hope, has been ſaid, to fix the general outline, and to throw light, where it was neceſſary, on the preceding hiſtory. The age, I own, was dark; but it was a darkneſs ariſing from the obvious ſtate of things. More light would have led into more error. As it was, the great ſyſtem became gradually unfolded; effect aroſe from cauſe, uniformly and progreſſively operating; and ſucceſs and ſtability were enſured. Beſides, the mind that diveſts itſelf of modern habits and modern prejudices, and goes back with ſome good temper into the times, I have deſcribed, will diſcover virtue that it may

imitate, learning that it may admire, maxims that it may copy. The man is unequitable, who, poſſeſſing but one ſtandard, meaſures by it all the characters and events of other days, and on their correſpondence with it pronounces. It was my wiſh to be more juſt.

APPEN-

# APPENDIX II.

## On LORD LYTTELTON's CHARGES againſt BECKET and ALEXANDER III. drawn from the Cottonian MS.

*His lordſhip's firſt charges.—The queſtion ſtated.—A remarkable circumſtance.—Baronius vindicated.—Alſo Chriſtianus Lupus.—The caſe of the Cottonian MS.—Foliot's letter examined — And rejected as ſpurious.—It's further contents.—His lordſhip's charge againſt Alexander* III. — *The fact ſtated.* — *And the charge proved to be groundleſs.—Concluſion.*

THEY who have read the elaborate *Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry* II. by George Lord Lyttelton, will have obſerved, perhaps, with ſome ſurpriſe, how much, on many occaſions, our views have varied. And this, I believe, may be accounted for. But it is in delineating the character of Becket, archbiſhop of Canterbury, that we have been moſt diſcordant, and in ſtating certain parts of his conduct. Here we drew from different ſources: the noble lord, from a letter of Foliot, biſhop of London, extant in the Cottonian collection of MSS; and I, from the writers of the primate's life,

life, and the hiſtorians of the age. The authority of theſe he diſregarded; and I, with as little ceremony, diſregarded the letter of Gilbert Foliot. It becomes me now to ſay, why I did ſo; as alſo to ſtate other matters, which are immediately connected with it. An extract from his lordſhip's hiſtory will fully enounce the ſubject. Having ſtated the behaviour of the primate at Clarendon, which he repreſents as highly cenſurable, and even as impious, the noble hiſtorian obſerves: [a]

His lordſhip's firſt charges.

"In my relation of this tranſaction there are ſome particulars of great importance, which differ from *all the accounts* "that have been hitherto given by other writers: but they "are founded upon the moſt *unqueſtionable authority*, upon "a letter written by Gilbert Foliot, then biſhop of London, to Becket himſelf, during his exile, concerning this "matter. I have before made ſome uſe of other paſſages "in this letter, which, among many other epiſtles to and "from the archbiſhop, has been preſerved in a manuſcript, "which appears to be of that age, in the moſt valuable "collection of our Engliſh antiquities, the Cotton library. "A very ſtrong preſumptive proof of the truth of the facts "atteſted there, relating to Becket's behaviour, and that "of the other biſhops in the council of Clarendon, is their "remaining uncontradicted by the primate himſelf, who, "if he had not been ſilenced by the teſtimony of his own "conſcience, muſt have loudly complained of ſuch a miſ-"repreſentation, capable of being diſproved by all his bre-"thren then preſent, to whom he might have appealed "againſt the calumny invented by Foliot. But he never "anſwered

[a] Vol. ii. p. 357.

" anſwered this letter. — It muſt alſo be obſerved, that " Baronius, who, in writing of theſe times, has tranſcribed " ſeveral letters out of the Vatican manuſcript of the ſame " collection, and particularly that to which this appears to " be an anſwer, has *omitted* to tranſcribe or mention this: " and (what is no leſs remarkable) in the printed edition " made at Bruſſels, from the Vatican manuſcript, this is " alſo *left out*. By which *ſuppreſſion of evidence*, upon a " point ſo important to the character of one of their great- " eſt ſaints, we may judge of the *credit due to the clergy of* " *that church in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory*."

To repel theſe three charges, which no laudable ſpirit dictated, ſhall be my firſt care. I will then ſhew, that the boaſted epiſtle of Foliot is not entitled to the ſmalleſt credit, which ſhould weigh on the mind of the impartial and temperate hiſtorian.—Could I call the noble writer from his tomb, over which ſcience and the muſes have not yet ceaſed to weep, I would do it moſt willingly, and with him freely enter on a diſcuſſion, to which his name alone has given importance. I ſhould convince him, I think, that he erred. And may not the voice of truth even pierce beyond the grave, and cheer the departed ſpirits of the wiſe and good!

The queſtion ſtated.

While the primate was at Pontigny, in 1166, meditating cenſures againſt the king and the ſuffragan biſhops of his dioceſe, he received a letter from them[b]; to which he replied[c]. But ſuſpecting from the ſtile and character of the addreſs, that it was written by Foliot, (which he more than inſinuates in this reply,) he alſo wrote, in great warmth and irritation,

[b] P. 168. [c] P. 170.

irritation, another letter to the biſhop himſelf[d], juſtifying his own conduct, and replying more amply to the charges, which the letter of the ſuffragans had urged. Foliot anſwered; and this anſwer is the important document, which his lordſhip has brought to light, which he ſtiles a *moſt unqueſtionable authority*, building on it the unfavourable repreſentation he has drawn of the primate's character, though ſome particulars, he owns, differ from *all the accounts* that other writers had given. Nor is he ſatisfied himſelf to poſſeſs the treaſure, he had found. He brings a weighty charge againſt all the hiſtorians of a church, hitherto peculiarly noted as eccleſiaſtical writers, ſingling out two in particular, and imputing to them (what, if true, would blaſt the faireſt fame,) a wilful *ſuppreſſion of evidence*.

There are extant in many libraries, in this country and abroad, various manuſcript collections of the letters which were written, during the controverſy between Henry II. and Becket. So much had it intereſted the general attention of Europe. But fortunately my enquiries, by the circumſtances of the preſent queſtion, have been confined to the Vatican library in Rome, and to that of Sir Robert Cotton, preſerved in the Britiſh muſeum. The kind labour of two gentlemen, to whom I feel myſelf much indebted, has, from both thoſe quarters, ſupplied me with every neceſſary information.

The library of the Vatican palace poſſeſſes, beſides ſix volumes in MS of inferior note which have reference to the ſubject, three of diſtinguiſhed eminence, to which modern writers, on the eccleſiaſtical events of the twelfth century,

[d] P. 175.

century, have ſometimes had recourſe. The numbers are 1220, 6024, 6027. But the laſt is an exact copy, with a few amendations, of 1220, taken in the fifteenth century. The dates of the other two which are originals, but which vary much in the matter they contain, and in their general arrangement, are not clearly aſcertained, though they ſeem coeval with, or not very diſtant from, the events therein related, and the noble perſonages, whoſe correſpondence they record. They bear thoſe characters, which the antiquary underſtands. But as No. 6024 contains much extraneous matter, ſuch as the letters of popes who preceded the controverſy, I ſhall confine myſelf to No. 1220, and this from another motive, which will ſoon appear.

This MS (after recording the life of Becket, which has been denominated the *Hiſtoria Quadripartita*, from its having been compiled by four different contemporary writers) opens with the various correſpondence of thoſe, who were concerned in the controverſy. The letters are drawn from five diſtinct periods which divide the time of the diſpute, forming five books, and are in number 529. In the firſt book, the 126th letter, *Quæ veſtro, Pater, in longinqua diſceſſu*, is from the ſuffragan biſhops to the primate: to which, his anſwer, *Fraternitatis veſtræ ſcriptum*, the 127th letter, immediately ſucceeds. This ſhould be followed by the other letter, on the ſame ſubject, which the primate then addreſſed to Gilbert Foliot, *Mirandum et vehementer ſtupendum;* but, by a preposterous arrangement, it is miſplaced, being the 108th letter of the ſame book.—The order of time, in regard to other parts of the correſpondence alſo, has been little attended to: but when letters are without dates, as are moſt

in this collection, it demands great attention to give to each its proper place. — We muſt now look for Foliot's reply, *multiplicem & diffuſam late materiam*, to the laſt letter of the primate, and which the noble lord has extracted from the Cottonian MS.

In no part of the whole Vatican collection of MSS does it exiſt.

A remarkable circumſtance.

But there is a circumſtance regarding it, which muſt not be ſuppreſſed. — To the manuſcript is prefixed a double *Index*, the firſt of which contains the titles of the letters of the firſt and ſecond books: and the ſecond is the *Index* to the firſt book only. In this ſecond *Index*, the letter of Foliot, *multiplicem & diffuſam late materiam*, is twice ſet down, once after the primate's addreſs to him, *mirandum & vehementer ſtupendum*, which is its proper place, and a ſecond time, after the letter of Becket to the ſuffragans of Canterbury, *fraternitatis veſtræ ſcriptum*. Notwithſtanding this cautious reference, it is not to be found in the body of the collection, in either of the pages to which it is referred, or in any other part of the work. Nor yet has the omiſſion cauſed any chaſm or defect in the pages, which proceed in a regular and uniform order. — The collector, therefore, of the letters, knew of the epiſtle of Foliot; or he had before him, at leaſt, an *Index* which he copied, and which exhibited its title, *multiplicem & diffuſam late materiam*. They are the firſt words of the letter. Why then did he not tranſcribe it into the body of his work?—Undoubtedly, he had it not. And this will be more eaſily admitted, when it is known, that the ſame *Index* contains the titles of other letters, for the omiſſion of which there could be no motive,

which

which are not to be found in the body of the collection. Only in the fifth part, do the table of contents and the ſubſequent book exactly tally. Sometimes the *Index* exceeds, and ſometimes the body of the work. And this, I believe, is often the caſe in many manuſcript collections. I wiſh alſo to obſerve, that in No. 6024 are many letters, which the MS I have juſt examined, does not contain, and *vice verſa*. Who the collector of either was, does not appear, though ſome writers have aſcribed No. 1220 to the care of the honeſt and learned John of Saliſbury. For this opinion there is no authority.—In a letter to cardinal Gratian, after the reconciliation with his maſter, Becket writes thus: "I "ſend you the letters regarding our diſputes, which have "come to my hands, that if any copies ſhould be wanting, "they may be ſupplied from them." It appears, therefore, that the collection was made very early.

The Vatican library then gives us nothing, but the mere *title* of Gilbert Foliot's letter twice repeated. — And ſhall Baronius be charged with the *ſuppreſſion of evidence*, as the noble lord aſſerted, becauſe in writing of thoſe times, and tranſcribing letters from the Vatican, he omitted to mention that of Foliot? Or ſhall the ſame crime be imputed to the Bruſſels editor of the letters, who was admitted to the MSS of the Vatican? Or through them, ſhall the whole clergy of the Catholic church, as eccleſiaſtical writers, be wantonly traduced?

Baronius vindicated.

Baronius uſed No. 1220, as a note affixed to the general catalogue of the library declares. But could he thence tranſcribe a letter, which the manuſcript itſelf did not contain? Or was the circumſtance of the *Index*, which poſſibly he never ſaw, of

ſufficient authority to induce him to make further reſearches into the libraries of Europe? Baronius was a writer of hiſtory, and not a compiler of MSS. Beſides, in no part of the voluminous collection, he had before him, is it even hinted that ſuch a letter had been written by Foliot, I mean, in the whole body of the five books. How unjuſtly has the venerable cardinal been accuſed!

Alſo Chriſtianus Lupus.

Chriſtianus Lupus (Wolf,) the editor of the printed collection of letters, publiſhed at Bruſſels, in 1682, copied No. 6027 of the Vatican, which itſelf, as before obſerved, is a tranſcript of No. 1220. But No. 6027 does not even contain the double *Index* of 1220, and conſequently not the ſmalleſt reference to Foliot's letter. The tranſcriber of the MS diſcovered the error of the *Index;* and Lupus copied him. Can this be termed a culpable *omiſſion?*

The reflection on our eccleſiaſtical writers I diſmiſs, as too narrow and malevolent, to merit a moment's thought.

In the library of the Lambeth palace, is likewiſe a manuſcript collection of the ſame letters, in number 360, which I had the liberty to examine, and which bears all the marks of antiquity. But the letter of Foliot is not there, though it contains that of the ſuffragans, and the two replies of the primate.

The caſe of the Cottonian MS.

We muſt then recur to the Cottonian collection. Here, I acknowledge, the letter is, and it ſeems to be authentic. It is equally ſo with the MS itſelf, which contains 562 letters, and though without date, appears to be ancient. The diviſion of the books, and the arrangement of materials, correſpond, with very little variation, with No. 1220 of the Vatican. How far the contents themſelves correſpond, I cannot

cannot ſay; but as there are 33 more letters in this MS, than in that of Rome, ſome difference there muſt be, and the circumſtance proves that they are not copies from one another. Why a particular letter ſhould be here, that is not in other collections, might be made a queſtion, if all the MSS were not known to vary. But beſides the letter of Foliot, the omiſſion of 32 other letters is to be accounted for, which are not in the Vatican collection.

I dare aſſert, from the ſilence of Becket, and of John of Saliſbury, and of others, who would not have ſhrunk from the diſcuſſion, that the letter of Foliot never came to the primate's hands. It contains nothing, but what, with eaſe, they could have refuted, as they did the ſimilar charges in the addreſs of the ſuffragans. But if the letter (from what motives I pretend not to fathom, unleſs from a conſciouſneſs in the writer, that it was palpably libellous) was never ſent to Becket, its not having found its way into the Vatican collection, muſt ceaſe to raiſe ſurpriſe. Still it was written; might be preſerved by the author; or be circulated amongſt his friends, and ſurviving him and them, would be admitted into future collections, particularly into ſuch as ſhould be made at home. But whether it exiſts in any other, than the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, I know not; though from the ſilence of the noble hiſtorian, who made the enquiry, the negative may be fairly preſumed.

Foliot's letter examined.

Being thus in poſſeſſion of the letter, its *authority*, which his lordſhip terms *unqueſtionable*, remains to be examined. Yet it differs, he owns, *in ſome particulars of great importance*, from *all accounts* before given by other writers; but even

even then, he elſewhere contends,[g] its authority is paramount; and "therefore that, whatever is ſaid by any of "thoſe writers, inconſiſtent therewith, deſerves no credit." Yet Foliot, after all, was a fallible man; Foliot had no ſenſes whereby to judge, than what others poſſeſſed; and Foliot was the primate's enemy.

The reader will obligingly revert to the letter of the ſuffragans and its charges,[h] and to Becket's double reply[i]. Thereby he will be competent to form a better judgment of Foliot's letter, of which the noble lord has given us a corrected copy; and my correſpondent has ſupplied me with another. The whole is far too voluminous to be inſerted; nor would it, perhaps, be read.

1. After having complained, that the primate had ſingled him out, on whom to vent his paſſion, Foliot proceeds to exculpate himſelf from the charge of having ambitioned the ſee of Canterbury. This he does in a ſolemn manner. He then details the circumſtances of Becket's own promotion, which he repreſents as moſt uncanonical, having been effected, contrary to the wiſhes of all good men, by the menaces and peremptory mandate of the king. He retorts on him the charge of ambition. "Who does not know," he ſays, "that you obtained the poſt of chancellor by the "means of many thouſand marks, and advancing, with "that gale, into the port of Canterbury, you finally reached "to its ſee:" on which, he afterwards obſerves, all the eyes of his heart had been caſt, and to occupy which, when Theobald expired, he had hurried from the Norman coaſt into England. Yet what deſerts, or merit of character, he ſays,

[g] Vol. iv. p. 145. [h] P. 168. [i] P. 170, 175.

ſays, had he to plead? He then laments the church's liberty, which, by the violence of his election, had received a mortal ſtab; ſpeaks of his own and his brethren's weakneſs, who had given way to the commands of the king; and confeſſes, that what the church and they had ſince ſuffered, was a juſt judgment, which he and others, by a ſecret impulſe of the holy ſpirit, had, at that time, preſaged.

This charge, which Foliot dilates, had been brought by the ſuffragans, and to it the primate had given two explicit replies, referring the biſhops to their own conſciences, and to the facts which attended his election, known to the court of the young king, and to all who were preſent. On the faith of many contemporary hiſtorians, I ſtated the other leading circumſtances. But John of Saliſbury, a name which, at any time, muſt carry as great weight as that of Foliot, has himſelf, in examining the letter of the ſuffragans, refuted this very charge. He writes to Becket. "The "biſhop of London," he obſerves, "as is known to all "men, was the firſt author of the ſchiſm, and prompted "by the ambition of *archepiſcopiſing*, as many ſuſpected, "he moved and fomented the diſcord." "Nor do I heed "the lies," he goes on, "which he dared to advance con-"cerning your election, for I was myſelf preſent, and "heared, and ſaw. *He alone* was not pleaſed with your "promotion, having himſelf, as it then evidently appear-"ed, and does appear, aſpired to the dignity of your ſee. "But his oppoſition ſoon ceaſed, while many arraigned his "ambition and his inſolence. Whatever, therefore, might "be the thoughts of his mind, of which God is the judge, "he was amongſt the firſt who voted for you, and his

"applauſe,

" applauſe, when, it was ended, was almoſt the moſt " ſtrongly marked[k]."—Whether Becket paid many thouſand marks to be made chancellor, I know not. But it ſeems not probable; and the fact, if true, reflects diſgrace on the king.

2. Foliot portrays, in charming colours, the proſperous condition of the church and ſtate, from the time of the king's acceſſion, when, on the promotion of Becket, a ſad reverſe enſued. Strife roſe on ſtrife, he ſays, which a prudent conduct might have checked, and that led the way to the meaſure, which the king adopted, of collecting and enforcing the royal cuſtoms. " The obſervance of which," he proceeds, " when required from me and the ſuffragan " biſhops of your ſee, becauſe in ſome of them the liberty " of the church of God ſeemed to be oppreſſed, we refuſed " our aſſent, unleſs to thoſe things, which, ſaving the ho- " nour of God and our own order, could be complied " with. The king demanded our abſolute ſubmiſſion. " But, by no means, could that be obtained from us, which " was adverſe to the liberty of the church and the fealty " due to our lord the pope. On this account, aſſemblies " were ſummoned, councils were convoked. What was " done at London, and again at Oxford, it is needleſs to " repeat. But the tranſactions of *Clarendon* I will bring to " your recollection, where, *for three ſucceſſive days*, the " whole buſineſs was, to draw from us an abſolute promiſe " of ſubmitting to the cuſtoms and dignities of the realm. " For there we ſtood with you, whom we deemed to ſtand " firm in the ſpirit of God. We ſtood immoveable, we " ſtood

[k] Ed. Bruxel. l. i. ep. 161.

" ſtood unabaſhed, we ſtood to the ruin of our fortunes,
" to the torture of our bodies, to ſubmit to exile, even to
" meet the ſword, ſhould the Lord ſo permit. What father
" had ever children more concordant with his wiſhes?
" More unanimous? *We were all ſhut up in one room.* But
" on the *third day*, when the great men and the nobles of
" the land were enraged to madneſs, ſuddenly we heared
" an alarm; and entering *our chamber*, without their
" cloaks, and with threatening arms, they thus addreſſed
" us; " Hear, you who deſpiſe the ſtatutes of the realm,
" who refuſe the orders of your ſovereign. Theſe hands,
" theſe arms, theſe bodies which you behold, are not ours:
" they are the king's, at this inſtant, ready to be employed
" to avenge his injuries, as his will, or even his nod, ſhall
" direct. Whatever his command may be, we ſhall deem
" it moſt juſt. Be again adviſed; comply, while you may,
" that you may eſcape a danger, which ſoon will be ine-
" vitable." — " What now was done? Who fled? Who
" turned his back? Whoſe courage ſank? Your letter re-
" proaches, that, in the day of battle, we retreated; that
" we did not advance againſt the enemy; that we did not
" oppoſe ourſelves, as a rampart, before the houſe of God.
" Let him judge between us: let him judge, for whoſe
" ſake we ſtood; for whoſe ſake, we were not bent by the
" menaces of the great: let him judge, who fled, who was
" the deſerter. Surely, that noble and reſolute man,
" Henry of Wincheſter, ſtood firm, and Nigel of Ely, and
" Robert of Lincoln, and Hilary of Chicheſter, and Jocelin
" of Saliſbury, and Bartholomew of Exeter, and Richard
" of Cheſter, and Roger of Worceſter, and Robert of

" Hereford, and Gilbert of London. But a precurſor ſtill " was wanting. They therefore, eſteeming worldly things " as filth for Chriſt and the church, expoſed themſelves " and what was theirs. Let truth be ſpoken: let that be " preſented before the ſun, which was done in our pre- " ſence, and under our eyes. The general of the army " turned his back; the leader of the field fled. My lord " of Canterbury, *withdrawing from the ſociety and the delibe-* " *ration of his brethren*, and conferring ſome time *apart*, " returned ſoon to us, and abruptly ſpoke thus: —*It is my* " *maſter's will that I forſwear myſelf; and I now ſubmit to it,* " *and incur perjury, afterwards to do penance, as I ſhall be* " *able.*—At the words we ſtood amazed, and with eyes fixed " on one another, ſighing we lamented the fall of a man, " whoſe virtue and firmneſs we had been taught to admire. " With the Lord there is no yea and no; and we had " hoped that his diſciple could not have been thus ſhaken. " When the head languiſhes, ſoon does the evil reach the " other members. He complying with the demand, and " on the word of truth promiſing, without reſerve, faith- " fully to obey in future the royal dignities and the ancient " cuſtoms of the realm, by the recollection of the oldeſt " men publicly brought forward and committed to writing, " then, in virtue of obedience, commanded us to bind " ourſelves by a ſimilar obligation. Thus did ſtrife ceaſe, " and concord was reſtored to the prieſthood and the ſtate."

Such is the account of this extraordinary tranſaction, delivered in a pomp of words, to which the candour of honeſt truth is little uſed. But the hiſtorians of the age, ſome of whom, Roger Hoveden and Radulphus de Diceto, were, probably,

probably, from their ſituation, preſent on the occaſion, have told another ſtory, which, hardly in a ſingle inſtance, accords with this. I refer the reader to my own ſtatement of the event[1]. — Nor is it even alluded to in the whole collection of letters, many of which bear reference to the tranſactions of Clarendon, written ſome of them by men who condemned the general conduct of the primate. All hiſtorians, all writers who recorded the events of the day, and what incidents had preceded it, uniformly ſpeak of the *defection* of the biſhops, and of the *firmneſs* of Becket. The inſtance in the council of his complying with the king's demands, I related; but that was not the profane weakneſs, which Foliot has brought to light. Yet it happened, as he ſtates it, in a public aſſembly, or at leaſt, before the eyes and in the hearing of all the biſhops, who attended. And Foliot alone ſhall retain it on his memory?—And the biſhops ſhall never attempt to charge the primate with it, when, in irritation of mind, they blamed his conduct, and their own, in the eyes of Europe, demanded an apology? —And the contemporary writers, and their immediate followers, in collecting events and in recording them, ſhall not have heared of ſo glaring an occurrence, as the fall of Becket in a public meeting?—They all relate a leſs ſtriking weakneſs.—And John of Oxford, the preſident of the council, Henry's chaplain, and other friends to the king, and the king himſelf, in their various correſpondence and public conferences, ſhall never diſcloſe the notorious circumſtance?— In the breaſt of Foliot it remained locked up, effaced from all other recollection, till, two years afterwards, on a particular

[1] P. 76.

occaſion, he ſhall deem it expedient to reveal it! The meeting of Clarendon was in 1164, and in 1166 Gilbert wrote his letter.—But the noble lord has allowed the general ſilence and the contrary aſſertions, in competition with which, he maintains, that the *ſingle authority* of Foliot is *moſt unqueſtionable*, and that their narrations, when inconſiſtent with it, deſerve no credit. In what circumſtances then, does the teſtimony of one man weigh thus heavy?

According to the rules of the ſoundeſt criticiſm, whereby the authority of writers is aſcertained, then only does the voice of *one* preponderate, when his competitors were not coeval with the events they relate, or were diſtant from the ſcene, or their credulity, or notorious inattention, often led them into errors, or they wrote under an influence, which might cloud the underſtanding, and pervert the judgment. But this will not apply to the men, whoſe honeſt page ſtands in direct oppoſition to the frothy tale of Foliot. Rather himſelf becomes ſuſpicious, for he was Becket's enemy, and he wrote under the additional influence of a provoked and reſentful mind.

But how happened it; if Foliot was in poſſeſſion of a fact, which could have for ever ſunk the character of the primate, that he ſtill ſuppreſſed it at Northampton, when he ſpoke, and vigorouſly arraigned his conduct; and at Sens before the pontiff; and in the various letters that he wrote, and particularly in that of the ſuffragans, penned by himſelf, with a direct view to carry every charge of weight home to the primate's breaſt? This addreſs was written but a ſhort time, we know, before the letter in queſtion. Or could it be, that the ſuffragans themſelves ſhould not have inſiſted

on

on its inſertion, had Foliot, from an unaccountable delicacy, ſeemed diſpoſed to with-hold it? Nor did they mention it in a letter they wrote to the pope, which I quoted[m].—To reconcile ſuch difficulties is impoſſible. I would rather ſay, that Gilbert invented the ſhameleſs ſtory; but that, in the conſciouſneſs of it, he never ſent the letter, and therefore that it never reached the primate's hands. That he could depart from truth, John of Saliſbury, as we have ſeen, did not heſitate to declare in regard to another charge, he had produced in the letter of the ſuffragans.

And rejected as ſpurious,

But Foliot's own ſtatement, I now diſcover, on the very face of it, deſtroys its own credibility, and compels me to believe, that he was not the author of the letter. His name ſhall thus be reſcued from the infamy, to which, I thought, it lay expoſed. In the extract I have given, he ſpeaks of the biſhops being *ſhut up in one room* at Clarendon, and of *a third day* of the meeting, and of the nobles violently *entering their chamber*, and of the primate's *withdrawing*.—But none of theſe things happened at Clarendon. The biſhops were not ſhut up; the meeting laſted but two days; the nobles did not enter their chamber; and the primate did not withdraw. To the ſubſequent meeting at Northampton every circumſtance minutely applies. The reader will recur to it[n].—What then ſhall be ſaid? Still ſhall it be maintained, that the *authority* of Foliot can even invert theſe facts, which hiſtorical evidence has ſtated? Or ſhall it be admitted, that, in the ſpace of two years, his recollection had confounded the diſtinct events of the two meetings, which, at once muſt undo the whole credit of the man? Or rather, ſhall

[m] P. 165. [n] P. 89.

ſhall it not be admitted as moſt probable, that Foliot *did not write* the letter; but that it was compoſed by ſome enemy of Becket, probably after the events had ceaſed to be recent, who confounded the tranſactions of Clarendon and Northampton, two meetings a few months diſtant, and who, on the circumſtance, in which all agreed, of the primate's weak promiſe once made to obſerve the cuſtoms, from ignorance or malevolence built up the varniſhed tale of premeditated perjury, with which he dared to load the memory of Becket? This concluſion, I maintain, is better founded than any other. It overthrows, indeed, the *authority* of the letter: but it ſaves from the charge of a direct falſhood, the fame of Foliot, and, on the minds of the diſpaſſionate, it leaves unimpeached the virtuous, but miſtaken, conduct of the Engliſh primate.

The circumſtance of its being admitted on the *Index* of the Vatican MS, from ſome other copy, and into the Cottonian collection, without affecting the real authenticity of the latter, remains eaſily accounted for. Alſo, on this ſuppoſition, it becomes obvious, why the collectors of the Vatican MS, in particular, did not inſert a letter, which the primate and John of Saliſbury had never ſeen, and which they could not leave to the care of thoſe, whom the general correſpondence might thereafter intereſt. The letter, then, *multiplicem & diffuſam late materiam*, which the noble writer of *Henry the Second's Life*, has drawn from the Cotton library, I pronounce, never to have been written by Gilbert Foliot, biſhop of London.

r The evidence before me is ſuch, as to command my conviction. To me, therefore, the *authority* of the letter is

at

at an end, and its contents merit not another thought: but others may wiſh to know what they are. — The writer proceeds to cenſure Becket's attempt to leave the kingdom; and he ſpeaks of the king's aſtoniſhment, and of the gentleneſs of his behaviour, when the winds compelled him to return. He then enters on the tranſactions of Northampton, relating the complaint preferred by the mareſchal, which was the occaſion of the ſummons, and of the conſequent charges.—But here again he departs from the ſtatement given by other hiſtorians; and having mentioned the primate's ready acquieſcence in the firſt ſentence pronounced on him, he enters into a laboured diſcuſſion to prove, from the canons of the church, that he ought *not* to have ſubmitted to the verdict of a lay tribunal, though he knew what the ſtatutes of Clarendon had ordained; and ſome lines after he contradicts his firſt aſſertion, and eſtabliſhes the power of the crown to decide in all feudal caſes. We have language here, on the privileges of the church, as high as Becket ever uttered: but I think, I diſcover paſſages which Foliot could not have written. — He then reprehends his inconſiſtency in refuſing to plead to the laſt charge, when by it he could have incurred no danger; and he dares to extol the king's *gentle comportment*, when, on the laſt day of the meeting, the primate entered the caſtle, bearing his croſs. Nor could Foliot, I think, have ſaid this. He cloſes this account, by relating the general circumſtances of Becket's eſcape into Flanders.

The writer next animadverts on that part of the primate's addreſs, which exhorts the biſhops even to expoſe their lives, if neceſſary, in the church's cauſe, and he ſarcaſtically

cally dwells on his own flight, as the laudable example which himſelf had ſet them! — But he ſhews, that there is even no cauſe for contention, ſince religion, and morality, and the faith of the church are not concerned. The diſpute was with the king, regarding certain cuſtoms, which, in the time of his predeceſſors, he aſſerts, were obſerved, and on the preſent obſervance of which he inſiſts. "Theſe "cuſtoms," the writer ſays, "the king did not ordain; "but, as the whole antiquity of the realm atteſts, he found "them eſtabliſhed." — With what face could Foliot have written this, after the praiſe he had juſt given to the firmneſs of the biſhops in oppoſing thoſe cuſtoms, and the heavy cenſure paſſed on the ſuppoſed compliance of the primate? — He goes on to inſtance certain examples of epiſcopal moderation, the imitation of which he recommends to Becket, if he hoped to ſurmount the king's reſolution, rather than the uſe of cenſures, which the moſt prudent meaſures ſhould direct. He deſcribes the extenſive power of the king, and, at the ſame time, his lowly and chriſtian humility; and he diſſuades ſtrongly from every violent meaſure, which would be attended with real danger to the church. The king, he ſays, if gently dealt with, was himſelf diſpoſed to revoke the royal cuſtoms, when it could be done with ſecurity and his own honour. The intemperate zeal of Becket obſtructed every deſign.

He concludes with repeating the ſuffragans appeal to Rome, and with advice, which may moderate the primate's zeal, and prepare the way for the return of peace and concord.

The

The further view of this letter has confirmed my opinion, that it was not written by Foliot. Even the ſtile ſeems to differ from any thing he has left behind him; and I can almoſt pronounce, from my familiarty with the language of the age, that it is not the production of the twelfth century. It rather ſeems the laboured effuſion of ſome frothy rhetorician. The date of the Cottonian MS is not decided. I ſhall not, however, inſiſt on ſurmiſes, which have often led to error.

His lordſhip's charge againſt Alexander III

The noble hiſtorian has yet another charge, which it is my duty to examine. — In the ſame Cottonian collection of letters, he found one from Alexander, the Roman biſhop, to Roger archbiſhop of York, wherein he tells him that, in compliance with the king's petition, he *permits* prince Henry to be crowned in England, and commands that prelate, when called on by the king, to perform the ceremony. —From this circumſtance, the noble lord draws a heavy accuſation againſt the pontiff: "A more ſcandalous "inſtance of double dealing can no where be found," he ſays: "And it will be ſeen that his holineſs, in the pro- "greſs and conſequences of this buſineſs, went ſtill greater "lengths, with the moſt *aſtoniſhing impudence of diſſimula-* "*tion*[o]." — Obſerving, likewiſe, that *this* letter was not in the Bruſſels edition, he again cenſures Chriſtianus Lupus, and through him the Vatican collector, for a ſecond *ſuppreſſion of evidence*.

But the letter is *nowhere* extant in any manuſcript of the Vatican; conſequently, Chriſtianus Lupus, as I before remarked, is free from blame. He could not copy what

[o] Vol. ii. p. 541.

to him did not exiſt. — His lordſhip mentions, that the Bodleian library contains this letter. I, therefore, infer, that the boaſted epiſtle of Foliot is not there; or the information would not have been with-held: another circumſtance tending to deſtroy its authenticity. — We will now ſee, whether the letter of Alexander, *Quanto per chariſſimum filium*, can eſtabliſh a better claim than that of Gilbert Foliot.

The fact ſtated.

After the death of Theobald, but before the appointment of Becket to the ſee of Canterbury, Henry firſt conceived the deſign of crowning the young prince, and left Roger, archbiſhop of York, whom he then hated, ſhould contend for the honour, he obtained a bull from Rome, which empowered him to appoint any prelate of the realm to perform the ceremony[p].—Yet of the year 1165, the Vatican MS has a letter, dated from Montpellier,[q] as Alexander was returning to Rome, which, at the requeſt of that ſame Roger, grants him permiſſion *to crown the king*, as his predeceſſors, it ſays, had anciently done. This is not true; but the meaſure, it ſeems, had no reference to prince Henry.—In 1170, the king reſumed his former deſign, and as Becket was abſent, to whoſe ſee the privilege appertained, he applied again to Rome, ſending an embaſſy, at the head of which was John of Oxford[r]. By his means, it is pretended, the letter or bull was obtained, which the Cottonian MS has preſerved. On the return of the miniſters, indeed, it was publicly rumoured, that the pontiff had conſented, and that a bull was given[s]. This ſecond application to Rome evinces, that Henry did not value any prior grant.

Rouſed

[p] l. v. ep. 45. [q] l. i. ep. 10. [r] P. 217. [s] l. iv. ep. 44. l. v. ep. 24. 25.

Rouſed by the news, which tended to affect the honour of his ſee, the primate wrote to Alexander, mentioning the report, and urging him to do juſtice[t]. And then it was, that letters came from Rome, addreſſed to Roger of York and to all the biſhops of the realm, forbidding them, under pain of cenſures, to do any act againſt the dignity of the church of Canterbury, or to preſume to crown the young king[u]. The letters, with an inhibition from himſelf to the ſame effect, were ſent by Becket into England[v]. But the ceremony of the coronation, notwithſtanding, was performed by Roger, and he and others were, afterwards, excommunicated for the fact, and for their diſobedience to the mandates of his holineſs.—Theſe deeds are all extant in the Vatican and Cottonian collections.

Could it now be proved, that Alexander, at the requeſt of the king, empowered the archbiſhop of York to crown prince Henry, and in the ſame month, as the dates bear teſtimony, forbad the ſame, in compliance with the urgent prayer of Becket, the charge of *duplicity*, with which the noble lord has loaded his memory, he will have juſtly incurred. But the letter or bull to the archbiſhop, in the Cottonian MS, was not written by the Roman pontiff.

And the charge proved to be groundleſs.

1. No one, at the time, pretended to have ſeen it. It was *rumoured* only, that the pontiff had conſented to the meaſure. "But what wiſe man," obſerves John of Saliſbury, "will give credit to their aſſertions, unleſs they pro-"duce the *authentic* and *original writings*[w]." They did not produce them.

2. Alexander, whoſe character I deſcribed as firm and upright, was incapable of ſuch bare-faced duplicity, which

[t] Ep. 24. [u] l. iv. ep. 41, 42. [v] Ep. 44. [w] l. v. ep. 18.

the moſt common obſervation would have detected, and have cenſured.

3. When Roger and the other biſhops, after the coronation, were publicly charged with diſobedience to the papal mandates, which forbad the meaſure, and were afterwards ſuſpended, they produced no bull in their juſtification, nor pretended that it had been granted.

4. Alexander himſelf addreſſed three different letters to them[x], in one of which he ſays: "But you, without the "primate's conſent, preſumed to give your miniſtry or "your approbation to the coronation of the prince, *while* "*you were prohibited by the authority of the holy ſee and by my* "*letters*:" and he denounces his cenſures on them. The biſhops, one of whom was Roger, made no reply. They ſubmitted to the ſentence. *Aſtoniſhing*, truly, muſt have been Alexander's *impudence of diſſimulation*, if, in the conſciouſneſs of his own duplicity, he could thus have provoked reſentment and the reproach of baſe prevarication. Nor, on this ſuppoſition, was the forbearance of the biſhops leſs wonderful.

5. When, ſoon afterwards, Becket iſſued the cenſures of Rome againſt Roger and the biſhops of London and Saliſbury; for having crowned the prince; though they were loud againſt the intemperate meaſure, as were their friends, ſtill not a word was ſaid concerning the boaſted grant from Alexander.

6. At Fretval, where the king and Becket were reconciled, while they were engaged in converſation, the primate entered on the ſubject of the late coronation, "which," he

[x] Ep 66, 67, 68.

he ſaid, " had been done in violation of the rights of Can-
" terbury, and by the uſurpation of the archbiſhop of
" York, who, with a blind and raſh ambition, had per-
" formed the ceremony, contrary to ancient uſage, and
" contrary to the *prohibition of Rome*[y]."—If ever, now will the Cottonian bull be produced. But Henry produced it not, though he was willing to juſtify his conduct. He produced *another bull*, that which, I ſaid, he had obtained, after the death of Theobald, in order to check the interference even of the archbiſhop of York, and which empowered him to uſe the miniſtry of any prelate of his realm[z]. Need I proceed?

7. But the noble lord maintains, " that Henry was re-
" ſtrained from ſpeaking of it to Becket, by the *particular*
" *deſire and injunction of the pope*[a]." —Had the Cottonian MS contained any document, which could eſtabliſh this *deſire* or *injunction*, ſome weight might be allowed to it: but, extraordinary as it may ſeem, no veſtige of it is there, or *in any work that was ever written*. I except the noble author's own *hiſtory*.—I will alſo obſerve that, in ſtating his account of the conference between Henry and the primate, his lordſhip has ſuppreſſed a fact, which had a tendency to weaken his favourite theory. Alſo, in the copy he has given of the bull from the Cotton MS, he makes Alexander ſay to the archbiſhop of York, " *becauſe, quoniam*, it
" (the right of coronation) belongs to your office:" whereas in the original the word is *quantum*, that is, " as far as
" it belongs." Obviouſly, a different ſenſe. That the alteration was made, with any ſiniſter view, I pretend not to ſuggeſt.

[y] Ep. 45. [z] Ibid. [a] Vol. ii. p. 566.

ſuggeſt. But I could adduce, if urged to it, other inſtances of uncandid repreſentation, to which his lordſhip has deſcended, in deſcribing the controverſy between Henry and the primate, and in treating eccleſiaſtical concerns.

But, if I reject the bull as *ſpurious;* it will be aſked, by whom it was written; or by what means it found its way into the Cottonian collection?

It was written by John of Oxford, or by thoſe ſent on the embaſſy, who were, at the ſame time, the authors of the rumour, which I mentioned. But I am inclined to think that it was never delivered to the biſhops or to the king, at leaſt, in ſuch a manner, as to make them believe it was authentic. On more occaſions than one, it is inſinuated in the general collection of letters, that Henry's deſign was to mortify the primate, and that he pleaded no authority. That the bull did not come from Rome, I think, I have ſhewn.—How it found its way into the Cottonian MS, is not my concern to inveſtigate. But allow it only to have been written, and its inſertion into the MSS, which were collected in this country, will cauſe little difficulty. It is not, however, I think, in that of Lambeth. And why the Roman collections ſhould not have it, may be eaſily underſtood.

Concluſion. Thus, I truſt, I have proved, to the conviction of every candid man, that the *letter* of Foliot, and the *bull* of Alexander, are not ſuch documents, as the critical and prudent hiſtorian ſhould have relied on. I have proved more than that. The character of Becket is then relieved from the foul aſperſion of *wilful perjury*, and that of Alexander from the charge of *duplicity* and *impudent diſſimulation*. With what

what incaution were the accuſations made! The eaſy labour of a few reſearches, and ſome reflection on common characters and obvious facts, would have led to ſufficient detection, and have ſaved the mind from error. I have thrown down the baſis, on which the noble lord had raiſed one part of his ſpecious ſtructure. This muſt fall. And who ſhall regret, that the temple of Truth be embelliſhed and enlarged, while the materials of error be every where overthrown? They will mix with the mouldering battlements of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, and ſerve to enrich the ſoil, which they had ſo long encumbered and diſgraced.

THE END.

# INDEX.


*ADELAIS*, the daughter of Louis, affianced to duke Richard, is loved by Henry, 293. Is the occaſion of hoſtilities, 334. Goes with Eleanor into Normandy, 365. Had a child by Henry, 379. Is married to the count of Ponthieu, 413.

*Agriculture*, its improvements after the conqueſt, 611, 12.

*Alexander* III. Orlando of Sienna, choſen pope, 26. His character, 27. Circumſtances of his election, and conſequent tranſactions, 28—35. Is acknowledged by France and England, 41, 2. Goes into France, 52, 3. Fixes at Sens, 65. Receives Henry's embaſſadors, 131. Condemns the cuſtoms of Clarendon, 136. Returns to Rome, 143. Writes to Foliot about the king, 145, 7. Is deceived by John of Oxford, 179. Defends Rome, but is compelled to withdraw to Beneventum, 183, 4. Sends legates into France, 186. Enters into the league of Lombardy, 200. Nobly rejects the propoſal of the eaſtern emperor, 201. Sends nuncios to France, 211, and commiſſioners to effect a reconciliation between Henry and Becket, 217. Receives the Engliſh commiſſioners at Fraſceti, 243. Sends legates into Normandy, who abſolve Henry, 257. Canonizes Becket, 273. Proceeds to Venice, 297; where the ſchiſm is cloſed, 299, 300. Returns to Rome, and is reconciled to Calixtus, 305. Dies, 317.

*Alexander* II. king of Scotland, does homage to the French prince for his Engliſh fiefs, 589, 597.

*Alban's* St. meeting there, 507.

*Albigenſes*, their errors, conduct, and treatment, 301—5. Cruſade againſt them, 515, 527.

*Amuſements*, after the conqueſt, 609, 10.

*Argentan*, conference there, 191.

*Architecture*, its improvements, 612.

*Arms*, ſtatute concerning them in France and England, 316; and *Armour* briefly deſcribed, 616, 17.

*Army*, feudal, 114.

*Arnulph* of Liſieux, preaches in the council of Tours, 65. His politic advice to Henry, 73. Writes a curious letter to Becket, 151—4.

*Arthur*, duke of Bretagne, born, 336. The idol of the Bretons, 414. The barons of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou ſwear fealty to him, 432. Is protected by Philip, 438. Is knighted by him, taken priſoner by John, and murdered, 457—9.

B

*Baldwin*, tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury, 325. Dies at the ſiege of Ptolemais, 383.

*Barons* Engliſh, ſhew diſcontent, 433. Meet at Leiceſter, 454. Send an inſtrument, ſigned with their names, to Philip, 491. Sixteen of them ſwear that John ſhall obey the ſentence of Pandulphus, 496. Co-operate with him, 497—502. Refuſe to accompany the king to the continent, 504. Permit him to depart alone, 507. Are confederated by Langton, 510. Meet at St. Edmundſbury, 538. Their further proceedings, when they take up arms, 539—542. Obtain the Great Charter, 543. Remain in London, 562. Receive a bull from Innocent, 564. Take poſſeſſion of Rocheſter caſtle, 565. But neglect to ſuccour it, 567. View the deſolation of the country, 573. Are excommunicated by name, 574. They implore the aid of the French prince, 576. Beſiege the caſtle of Windſor, 588. March againſt John, ib. and are thrown into great perplexities, 589—90.

*Beauvais* biſhop of, is taken priſoner, 414—16. Fights with a club at Bouvines, 536.

*Becket* Thomas a, made chancellor, 5. Attends the king into Normandy, 6. Negociates a treaty of marriage between prince Henry and Margaret of France, 9. His conduct in the expedition againſt Toulouſe, 11, 12. Is raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, 56—9. Account of his family and education, 59, 60. Alters his life and manner, 61—3. Reſigns the ſeals, ib. Goes to the council of Tours, 64. After his return, attempts to recover certain rights of his ſee, 66. Oppoſes the king at Weſtminſter, 71. But conſents to obey the royal cuſtoms, 74. His behaviour at Clarendon, 76, 7. Repents of his weakneſs, 83, and attempts to leave the kingdom, 86. His conduct at Northampton, 89, 102. Withdraws into Lincolnſhire, and then to Flanders, 126—7. Opens his defence at Sens, 135. Reſigns his ſee into the pope's hands, 137, and goes to Pontigny, 138. Is appointed legate; his life at Pontigny deſcribed, when he writes in high language to Henry, 156—9. Watches before the ſhrine of St. Drauſinus, and excommunicates his enemies, 162, 3. He replies to the addreſs of the ſuffragans, 170, 5: and writes to Foliot, 175—7. Is driven from Pontigny, 178. Is diſaffected to William of Pavia, 187. Meets the legates near Giſors, 189. His firm and conſiſtent conduct, 195. Meets the king at Montmirail, where he gives general offence, 205—8. Returns towards Sens and is met by Louis, 208, 9. Spreads his cenſures, 210. Meets Henry at Montmartre, 214. Is reconciled to him, 220. Sees him again at Tours, and at Chaumont, 223. Writes his laſt letter to Henry, 224. Ready to embark for England, he diſpatches cenſures before him, 227. Lands at Sandwich, and proceeds to Canterbury, 228. His behaviour there, 230. Is aſſaſſinated, 231—5. His character, 235—40. Is canoniſed, 273.

*Berengaria*, princeſs of Navarre, goes with Eleanor into Sicily, 377, 9. Is married to Richard in Cyprus, 381. Her dower ſettled, 454.

*Bertrand* de Gourdon, kills Richard, 425.

*Biſhops*, Engliſh, oppoſe the king at Weſtminſter, 70. Are induced to join him, 73. Their conduct at Clarendon, 76. And at Northampton, 93—102. They appeal, and write to Rome, 165—7. Addreſs the primate, 168. Their prudent advice to the king on ſending a ſubſidy to Rome, 325.

*Bologna*, famous for the ſtudy of laws, 643.

*Bouvines*, battle fought there, 533—7.

C

*Calixtus* III. antipope, 201. Is reconciled to Alexander, and made governor of Beneventum, 306.

*Cambridge*, the revival of its ſchools deſcribed, 641.

*Caſtles*, deſcribed, 616.

*Chaſhel*, a ſynod held there, 255.

*Charter*, of Henry I. and the laws of the Confeſſor not diſtinguiſhed, 510. MAGNA CHARTA, its articles, 544—61.

*Chateau Gaillard*, a caſtle near Andeli, built by Richard, 417. Is beſieged by Philip, 462. And taken 470.

*Chivalry*, its deſign and occupations, 607, 8.

*Clarendon*, meeting there, 76. Its conſtitutions, 79—83. Condemned at Sens, 136. Its principal ſtatute reverſed by Henry, 289.

*Clothing*, art of, improved after the conqueſt, 617, 18.

*Cologne*, archbiſhop of, comes to England to propoſe a marriage, 148. Beſieges Rome, 182. Comes again to England, 326.

*Conan*, duke of Bretagne, affiances his daughter Conſtance to prince Geoffry, and ſurrenders his dukedom to Henry, 159.

*Council*, national, 105.

*Crown*, its revenue, 110.

*Conſtantinople*, the Latin empire erected there, 463—69.

*Cruſade*, preparations for it in France and England, 341—3. Its regulations, 366. Againſt the Albigenſes, 515—27.

*Croyland*,

*Croyland*, abbey and church of, by what means rebuilt, 613—15.

D

*Dermod* Mac Morrogh, king of Leinſter, implores the aid of Henry, and engages Strongbow to come to his aſſiſtance, 247. Writes to him, 249. Dies, 250.

*Dominic*, founder of an order, 630.

*Dreſs*, changed after the conqueſt, 610.

E

*Eleanor*, Henry's queen, her character and conduct, 13, 14. Inſtigates her ſons to rebel, and is taken, 262. Is detained captive at Wincheſter, 335. And releaſed by Richard, 358. Goes to Sicily with Berengaria, 377, 80. Having ſupported the intereſt of Richard, during his captivity, ſhe reconciles him to John, 408. Conducts her grand-daughter Blanche of Caſtille into France, 444. Is beſieged by duke Arthur in the caſtle of Mirebeau, 458. Dies, 471.

*Excommunication*, its effects, 163.

F

*Ferdinand*, earl of Flanders, deſerts the cauſe of Philip, 503.

*Fitzpeter*, grand juſticiary, made earl of Eſſex, 437. Levies a ſubſidy by artful means, 456. His conduct at St. Alban's, 507. Dies, 511.

*Fitzwalter* Robert, choſen their general by the barons, 541.

*Foliot* Gilbert, tranſlated to the ſee of London, 75. Speaks at Northampton, 93. And before the pope at Sens, 131. Writes to him in favour of Henry, 145. Receives a packet at the altar, and writes to the king, 156. Is addreſſed by Becket, as the author of the letter of the ſuffragans, 175. To which he is ſaid to have replied, 178. Addreſſes the legates at Argentan, 192. Is excommunicated by Becket, 227. Preaches before his ſhrine, 274. His letter from the Cottonian MS examined, and proved to be ſpurious, 655—67.

*Francis* of Aſſiſium, founder of the grey friars, 627—9.

*Frederic* Barbaroſſa, emperor of Germany, 18. His character, ib. He marches into Italy, 19. And is crowned at Rome, 20. Is inſulted by the Roman legates at Beſancon, 21; and is afterwards pacified, 22. Advances into Lombardy, and takes Milan, 23, 4. Holds a diet in the plain of Roncaglia, ib. Convokes a ſynod at Pavia, 35. Carries war again into Lombardy, and takes Crema, 47. Deſtroys Milan, 49, 50; and ſubjugates Lombardy, 51. Retires to Pavia, 88. Holds a diet at Wurtzburg, 144. Marches through Italy, takes Rome, but is compelled by ſickneſs in his army to withdraw to Pavia, 182—5. Eſcapes thence in diſguiſe, 198. He cauſes his ſon Henry, to be choſen king of the Romans, 259. Beſieges Alexandria, from which he is forced to retire, 294. Is defeated, and narrowly eſcapes, 296. Is reconciled to Alexander at Venice, when the ſchiſm cloſes, 299. Marries his ſon Henry to Conſtance of Sicily, 333. Takes the croſs, and writes an extravagant letter to Saladin, 343. Leads an army to the eaſt, and dies, 368—70.

*Frederic*, prince, grandſon of Barbaroſſa, crowned king of Sicily, and committed to the care of Innocent, 441, 2. Is called to the German throne, 532. His increaſing greatneſs, 595.

*Fretval*, where Henry and Becket are reconciled, 220.

G

*Geoffry*, Henry II. brother, is diſpoſſeſſed of his caſtles, 5.

*Geoffry*, third ſon of Henry, duke of Bretagne, joins the young king againſt Richard, 320. Is killed in a tournament, leaving a daughter, and his ducheſs with child of Arthur, 334.

*Geoffry*, the ſon of Roſamond, biſhop elect of Lincoln, 269. Afterwards a layman, and chancellor of England, 334. Defends his father, 350. Attends him at his death, 353.

Is

Is chosen to the see of York, 363. Ill-treated by Longchamp, 389. Accused of irregular conduct, 410. Recovers the favour of John, 453. And quits England in disgust, to which he returns no more, 472.

*Gervase*, the monk of Canterbury, describes the rebuilding of Christchurch, 612, 13.

*Government*, Anglo-Norman, brief account of it, 103—23.

*Gratian*, a monk of Bologna, author of the *Drecretum*, 637, 8.

*Guelfs and Ghibelins*, two powerful factions in Italy, 444.

*Guy de Lusignan*, murders the earl of Salisbury, 202. Is made king of Jerusalem, 336. Taken prisoner, 338. And presented by Richard with the crown of Cyprus, 394.

H

*Henry* Plantagenet, is raised to the English throne, 3. Executes the treaty of Winchester, 4. Goes into Normandy, and does homage to Louis, 5. Returns into England, and receives from the Scottish king the three northern counties, 6. Marches against the Welsh, whom he finally compels to do him homage, 6, 8. Going into Normandy, he takes possession of Nantes, and forms a treaty of marriage between his eldest son and the princess Margaret, 8. He attacks Toulouse, but raises the siege, 9, 10. Concludes a peace with Louis, 12. Obtains a dispensation for the marriage of his infant son, 45. Meets the pope at Bourgdieu, 55. Appoints Becket to the see of Canterbury, 58. And undertaking to reform the laws of the church, 68; he summons the bishops to Westminster, 70. Calls a meeting at Clarendon, 76; and applies to Alexander to approve its customs, 84. Convokes a council at Northampton, 87. His behaviour there, 89—102. He sends embassadors to Louis and to the pope, 129. Revenges himself on Becket's friends, 141. Invades Wales, behaves cruelly, and retires with disgrace, 148—50. He takes possession of Bretagne for his son Geoffry, 160. Appeals to Rome, 161. Forces Becket from Pontigny, and sends an embassy to the pontiff, 178. His behaviour in the conference at Argentan, and after it, 191, 3. Pacifies the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, 196. His extraordinary conduct, after which he signs a treaty with the French king, 203, 4. Meets Becket at Montmirail, 205. He applies to Rome and to the cities of Italy against the primate, 210. His behaviour at Domfront and Baieux before the nuncios, and at Montmatre with Becket, 212—16. Publishes a severe edict, ib. and returning to England, crowns his son, 218. Meets the commissioners and Becket at Fretval, where a reconciliation is effected, 220. Sees him at Tours, and at Chaumont, 223. Is enraged by the representations of the three bishops, and utters words which occasion the murder of the primate, 231. The news of it afflicts him, when he sends embassadors to Rome, and himself comes to England, 242—4. He permits his subjects to aid the king of Leinster, 247. And lands an army himself in Ireland, which submits, 253—7. Returns into Normandy, where he is reconciled to the church, 258. Prepares to oppose the rebels, and takes into his pay 20,000 Brabanters, 264. Retakes Verneuil, and defeats the rebels in Bretagne, 266. Implores the aid of Alexander, by a strange concession, 268. After a dangerous passage, he lands at Southampton, 270; and visits the tomb of Becket, 273. Receives at London the news of the taking of the Scottish king, 275. Quells the rebellion in England, 278. And having raised the siege of Rouen, concludes a peace, 280—2. He punishes the destroyers of game, 284. Establishes a new treaty with Ireland, 285. Divides England into six circuits, and appoints itinerant judges, 287. Reverses the famous statute of Clarendon, 288. Is consulted from Spain, 291. He is threatened with censures, on account of Adelais, 293. Makes a new division of the kingdom, 310. Meets young Philip,

Philip, king of France, 313. Enacts a ſtatute concerning arms, 316. Does homage to Philip, 323. Is viſited by embaſſadors from Jeruſalem, 326. And permits his ſubjects to take the croſs, 329. Still detains Adelais, and begins a war, 335. Prepares for a cruſade, 341. Recommences hoſtilities, 346. Comes to a conference after many loſſes, 351; and conſents to an inglorious peace, ib. He dies at Chinon, and is buried at Fontevraud, 353. His character ſketched, ib.—356.

*Henry*, prince, crowned, 219. Forbids Becket to come to him, 230. Rebels againſt his father, 261. Beſieges Verneuil, 265: and is finally reconciled to his father, 283. His fondneſs for martial ſports, 309. Aſſiſts at the coronation of prince Philip, 312. Dies, 321.

*Henry* the Lion, duke of Saxony, married to a daughter of the Engliſh king, is diſpoſſeſſed of his great territories, and comes into Normandy, 314.

*Henry* VI. emperor, ſon of Barbaroſſa, receives Richard from the duke of Auſtria, 396: and baſely treats for his ranſom, 397—405. Takes poſſeſſion of the throne of Sicily, 412. Dies, 419.

*Herbert* de Boſeham, accompanies Becket in his flight, 126. Waits on Louis, 130.

*Heretics*, puniſhed at Oxford, 155.

*Hermit* of Yorkſhire, predicts the downfall of John, 491.

*Homage*, how performed, 5.

*Hubert*, tranſlated from Saliſbury to the ſee of Canterbury, guardian of the realm, 403. An able ſtateſman, 409. His remarkable conduct at the coronation of John, 434.

*Hugh*, biſhop of Lincoln, diſturbs the aſhes of Roſamond, 399. His behaviour to Richard, 411. Is buried with great magnificence, 452.

J

*Jeruſalem*, taken by Saladin, 339.

*Jews*, are maſſacred at Richard's coronation, 360.

*John*, earl of Mortagne, fourth ſon of Henry, is ſent to Ireland, 329. His bad adminiſtration, 331. Is recalled, 332. Marries Aviſa of Glouceſter, and receives great poſſeſſions from Richard, 359. Reſiſts Longchamp with views to the throne, 387—90. Rebels, and comes to England, 398. Endeavours with Philip to obſtruct his brother's releaſe, 402—4. Is reconciled to Richard, 408. Accuſed by Philip of treachery againſt his brother, 424. On his death, ſucceeds to Normandy, 433. And then to England, 434, 5. He forms a laviſh contract with Philip, 445. Marries Iſabella of Angouleme, 446. Is crowned with her at Weſtminſter, 447. Meets the king of Scotland at Lincoln, and makes a progreſs through the realm, 450—3. Goes into Poitou, and inſults its barons, 455. Takes duke Arthur priſoner, and is charged with his murder, 458—60. His French dominions are declared forfeited, ib. When he loſes Normandy and other provinces, 470. Enters into an inglorious truce, 472. His anger on the nomination of Langton; he exiles the monks of Chriſtchurch, 477—81. His further vengeance, 482, 3. Goes on to irritate the nation, 485. Is excommunicated, 486. Paſſes into Ireland, 487. Marches againſt the Welſh, but returns in fear, 490. His downfall is predicted by a hermit, 491. He prepares to oppoſe the invaders, 494. Conſents to the meaſures of Pandulphus, 496. Submits, ſubjecting himſelf and kingdoms to the pope, 497—502. Takes the oath propoſed by Langton, 505. Appoints a council to meet at St. Alban's, and ſails to Jerſey, 507. Is checked by Langton, 509. Rejoices at the death of Fitzpeter, and ſends an embaſſy to Morocco, 512. Repeats the act of ſubmiſſion before a legate, 514. Lands with an army at la Rochelle, 530. But after ſome ſucceſs, is forced to retire from the enemy, 533. Enters into a truce, 537. Meets the barons, and then rejects their petition, 539—41. Grants the

Charter of Liberties, 543. Retires to the iſle of Wight, and prepares for revenge, 561, 2. Meets an army of mercenaries at Dover, and beſieges the caſtle of Rocheſter, 566: which he takes, 567. Deſolates the kingdom, 571—4. Retires before the French prince, 581. Takes the field, 588. Sickens and dies, 590—3.

*John* of Saliſbury, the friend and ſecretary of Becket, returns into England before him, 225. Checks his violence, 233. Is elected to the ſee of Chartres, 290. His *Polycraticon*, a famous work, 644, 5.

*Immunities*, of the church, 67.

*Ingeburga*, queen of France, her cauſe, 447—50.

*Innocent* III. pope, his character and conduct, 439—44. Eſpouſes the cauſe of king John, 462. Juſtifies the appointment of Langton, and threatens England with an interdict, 479—81. Excommunicates John, 486; and abſolves his ſubjects from their allegiance, 489. Complies with the petition of Langton againſt the king, 492: and ſends a legate to England, 513. He excommunicates Otho, and abets the cauſe of young Frederic, 531, 2. Addreſſes a bull to the faithful, which annuls the Great Charter, 563, 4. Publiſhes a bull of excommunication againſt the Engliſh barons, 567. Excommunicates them by name, 574. The claim of the French prince is agitated before him, 583—7. Dies, 594.

*Interdict*, its effects, and England laid under one, 482. Is withdrawn, 537.

*Ireland*, its deſcription, and its government, 245, 6. Its bad policy, 253. Submits to Henry, 254. Is new ſettled, 286. Forms a powerful confederacy, 331. Receives another ſettlement from John, 487. But is not benefitted by its conquerors, 597.

*Iſabella* of Angouleme, John's ſecond queen, 446.

K

*King*, his power, 104; and court, 108.

L

*Langton*, Stephen, is appointed to the ſee of Canterbury, and conſecrated by Innocent, 472—7. Comes to Pontigny, 482. Obtains at Rome a ſentence of depoſition againſt John, 492. Permitted to come to England, he adminiſters an oath to the king, 505. His menacing behaviour to him, 508. Unites the barons, in producing the charter of Henry I. 510. Oppoſes the Roman legate, 514. Seems to co-operate with the king, 540, 1, 3. Is ſuſpended, and goes to Rome, 568, 9. Remains there, 582.

*Langton*, Simon, brother to Stephen, 515. Is made chancellor by the French prince, 582.

*Lateran*, third council of, its canons, 306—8. Fourth council, 570, 1.

*Laws*, Engliſh, 117. Much cultivated, 639.

*Learning*, general view of, 631—46. And of learned men, 644.

*Lombardy*, deſcription of its ſtate, 23. Its cities confederate, 88. Form a more extenſive union, 185. Build Alexandria, 199. Defeat Frederic in a pitched battle, 296. Their deputies meet Alexander at Ferrara, and enter into a truce with Frederic, 298. Become independent by the concluſion of a general peace, 323.

*Londoners*, their ſenſible conduct, 575.

*Longchamp*, biſhop of Ely, made juſticiary, and guardian of the realm, 363. His arbitrary conduct, 365. Gives great diſguſt, 387; and retires, 390. Returns to England in the ſervice of Richard, 401.

*Louis* VII. king of France: view of his reign from his return from Paleſtine, 15, 16. Marries Conſtantia of Caſtille, 17: and Adelaide of Champagne, 44. Duped by Henry, he flies to arms, 45, 6. Meets Frederic in a fruitleſs interview at St. Jean de Laune, 54. His reply to the Engliſh embaſſadors concerning Becket, 129. Lays a tax on his ſubjects for the uſe of Paleſtine, 160. Informs Becket of Henry's illneſs, 162. Is irritated by Alexander's weakneſs, 181. Exculpates Becket from a hea-

a heavy charge, 191. Concludes a peace with Henry, 204. His ſingular behaviour, followed by his noble reply to Henry's meſſengers, 209. Inſtigates prince Henry to rebel, 261. Beſieges Verneuil, 265. Viſits the ſhrine of Becket, 311. Dies, 314.

*Louis*, the French prince, invited into England by the barons, 576. Is oppoſed by the pope's legate, 578—80. Lands, and meets with great ſucceſs, 581, 3. His claim is agitated at Rome, 583—7. Purſues his conqueſts, and lays ſiege to the caſtle of Dover, ib.

*Lucy*, Richard de, grand juſticiary, 5. Is active againſt the rebels, 267. Dies in a convent, which himſelf had built, 310.

*Lyttelton*, Lord, his charges againſt Becket and Alexander III. from the Cotton MS. examined and refuted, 647—73.

M

*Manners*, of the Engliſh and Normans, at and after the conqueſt, 603—7. Modified by our intercourſe with France, 623. And with Rome, 624, 5. And by the cruſades, 630, 1.

*Manuel* Comnenus, emperor of the eaſt, ſends an embaſſy to the pope, 200.

*Marchadée*, a Flemiſh general, 423. Is preſent at Richard's death, 426.

*Matilda*, Henry's mother, reſides in Normandy, 12. Her meritorious conduct, 13. Dies, 197.

*Milan*, is taken and deſtroyed by Frederic, 49, 50. Its walls and houſes are rebuilt, 186.

*Miracles*, ſaid to be wrought at the tomb of Becket, 270—2.

*Montfort*, Simon de, general of the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, his conduct, 517—27.

*Money*, its value, 623.

*Montmirail*, articles of a treaty made there, 204.

*Muret*, battle of, won by de Montfort over the king of Arragon, 525, 6.

*Muſic*, ſtate of, 621, 2.

N

*Navy*, Engliſh, 116.

*Nobility*, degrees of, 118.

*Northampton*, meeting there, 89—102.

*Nuncios*, Gratian and Vivian come from Rome, 211. And return after fruitleſs attempts to reconcile Henry and the primate, 215.

O

*Oxford*, John of, afterwards dean of Saliſbury, preſides in the council of Clarendon, 76. Is ſent to a diet at Wurtzburg, 144: and to Rome, where he bribes the cardinals, and deceives Alexander, 178—80. Returning from another embaſſy to Rome, he circulates various reports, 218. Eſcorts Becket to England, 226, 8. Is made biſhop of Norwich, 311.

—— ſchools of, their gradual progreſs, 640.

*Ordeal*, water, ſanctioned in a meeting at Northampton, 287.

*Otho*, ſecond ſon of Henry duke of Saxony, choſen king of Germany, 443. Succeeds to the imperial throne, on the death of Philip, 485. Is excommunicated, 488. And compelled to retire to Brunſwic, when he enters into a league againſt the French king, 531, 2. Is defeated at Bouvines, 533—6.

P

*Painting*, its improvement, 619.

*Paleſtine*, its ſtate from the laſt cruſade, 327.

*Pandulphus*, a Roman nuncio, is ſent to England, 488. Receives ſecret inſtructions from Innocent, 493. Waits on John, and addreſſes him, 495, 6. Receives his ſubmiſſion, 497—502. Forbids Philip to purſue his deſign againſt England, ib. Takes a ſecond charter, with a golden ſeal, to Innocent, 514. And afterwards pleads the cauſe of John, 563.

*Paſcal* III. antipope, 88. Is admitted into Rome, 184.

*Paris*, the principal ſeat of learning, 642.

*Pavia*, council held there, 38.

*Petrus Lombardus*, father of ſcholaſtic divinity, 636, 7.

*Peter de Blois*, ſecretary to Henry, 290.

*Philip*, Auguſtus, ſon of Louis VII. born, 150. Is crowned after a dangerous illneſs, 312. Mar-

312. Marries Elizabeth of Hainault, 313. Demands his ſiſter Adelais, 335. Prepares for a cruſade, 343. Recommences hoſtilities 345. His ſpirited reply to a Roman legate, 349. Concludes a peace with Henry, 351. Departs for Aſia, 366—8. And arrives at Meſſina, 371; where he winters, 373—9. Returns to Europe after the taking of Ptolemais, 384. Propoſes to John to ſeize his brother's throne, 397. Strives with him to obſtruct Richard's releaſe, 402. Makes a ſecond attempt, 404. Prolongs hoſtilities, and nearly loſes his life, 421. Concludes a peace with Richard, 424. Begins war againſt John, and protects Arthur, 438. Cites the Engliſh king before his peers for the murder of Arthur, 460. Enters Normandy, 461. And lays ſiege to Chateau Gaillard, 462. It ſurrenders, with Normandy and other provinces, 470. Is commanded by the pope to invade England, for which he prepares, 493, 4. Is checked by Pandulphus, 502: when he enters Flanders, 503. Burns his ſhips in deſpair of ſucceſs, 504. Gains the battle of Bouvines, 533—7. Forms a truce with John, ib. Receives the propoſal of the Engliſh barons with indifference, 576. Liſtens to the remonſtrance of the Roman legate, 578—80: and permits his ſon, with ſeeming reluctance, to carry aſſiſtance to the barons, 581.

*Philip*, earl of Flanders, though much indebted to Henry, joins the rebels, 263. Repents, but renews the confederacy, 268. Prays at Becket's tomb, 292.

*Philip*, duke of Suabia, elected king of Germany, 443. Is murdered, 484.

*Poetry*, Engliſh, its imperfect ſtate, 620.

*Ptolemais*, or Acre, taken by the cruſaders, 382.

R

*Ranks*, inferior in the ſtate, 121.

*Ranulph de Glanville*, ſheriff of Yorkſhire, 276. Takes the croſs, 329. Dies at the ſiege of Acre, 383. The reputed author of the firſt book of Engliſh law, 639.

*Raymond* VI. earl of Toulouſe, protector of the Albigenſes, his various fate, 516—27.

*Richard*, ſecond ſon of Henry, duke of Aquitaine, affianced to the princeſs Adelais, 204. Implores his father to forgive his undutiful conduct, 281. Begins hoſtilities againſt the young king, 320. Joins Philip, 336. Attacks the earl of Toulouſe, 345. Does homage to the French king, 347. Meets his father's body, 353. Succeeds to his dominions, 358. His firſt improvident meaſures, 361, 2. Goes to France, 364. His preparations, and departure for Aſia, 366—8. Arrives at Meſſina, 370—2. Where he winters, 373—9. Takes the iſland of Cyprus, and marries Berengaria, 380, 1. Arrives before Ptolemais, 383. Maſſacres his priſoners, 385: and having repulſed Saladin, marches ſouthward, 386. He leaves Paleſtine, 392—5: and is taken priſoner, 396. After various negotiations is releaſed, 397—405. Comes to England, acts arbitrarily, and begins hoſtilities with Philip, 405—8. Appoints tournaments, 409. Builds Chateau Gaillard, 417. Raiſes by arbitrary meaſures ſoldiers and money, 419. Revives the foreſt laws of Henry I. 420. Continues hoſtilities, ib. Converſes with a holy man, 422. Makes peace, 424. Dies, 425—7. His character, ib.

*Roderic o'Connor*, king of Connaught, and monarch of Ireland, 246, Aſſembles the ſtates, 248. Is defeated near Dublin, 252. Submits to Henry, 255. Makes a new treaty with him, 286. Joins a powerful confederacy, 332.

*Romuald*, archbiſhop of Salerno, the envoy from Sicily to the congreſs at Venice, and its hiſtorian, 300.

*Roſamond*, the miſtreſs of Henry II. all that is known of her related, 391—2.

*Rouen*, the capital of Normany, its ſiege, 278.

*Runnemede*, the mead of council, between Stains and Windſor, famous for the great meeting of the barons, 542, 3.

S

*St. Jean de Laune*, ſingular conference there, 54.

*Saladin*, Sultan of Syria, 327. Gains the battle of Tiberias, 337: and takes Jeruſalem, 339. His troops bravely defend Ptolemais, 382. Maſſacres his priſoners, 385. Is repulſed by Richard, ib. Makes a truce with him, 394. Dies, 418.

*Saliſbury*, earl of, named Longſword, the ſon of Roſamond, 489. Witneſſes the tranſaction between the king and Pandulphus, 498. Sails to the aſſiſtance of the earl of Flanders, 503. Is taken priſoner at Bouvines, 536. Adheres to John, 542. Co-operates with him in his worſt exceſſes, 572. Joins the French prince, 582.

*Sculpture*, its improvement, 619.

*Sicily*, its ſtate, 25. Alſo when the cruſaders arrive there, 372. The line of its Norman kings ends, 412.

*Strongbow*, earl of Strigul or Pembroke, engages to aid Dermod, 247. Lands near Waterford, and marries Eva, 249. Defeats the Iriſh army near Dublin, 251. Remains in Ireland, 257. Dies, 292.

T

*Tancred*, king of Sicily, 372. His interview with Richard, 377, 8.

*Theobald* archbiſhop of Canterbury, 5. Dies, 56.

*Tiberias*, battle of, 337.

*Tournaments*, firſt appointed in England by Richard, 409.

*Tours*, council of, 64.

*Trade*, principal articles and ſeats of, 622.

V

*Victor* IV. Octavian, choſen antipope, 26. His character, 28. Circumſtances of his election, and conſequent tranſactions, 29—35. His election confirmed at Pavia, 39. Again at Lodi, 43. Dies, 87.

W

*Wales*, its princes do homage to Henry, 8. They enter into a confederacy againſt him, and are ſucceſsful, 148—50.

*William* of Pavia, comes into France as legate, 186. Confers with Becket near Giſors, 189.

*William* the Lion, king of Scotland, taken priſoner, 277. Does homage to Henry for his kingdom, 282. Renews the ſame at York in the preſence of his nobles, 285. Redeems the independence of his country from Richard, 361. Demands from John the northern counties of England, 437. Does homage to him at Lincoln, 451.

*William*, the learned biſhop of Tyre, preaches the cruſade, 341.

*Wincheſter*, Henry de Blois, biſhop of, brother to king Stephen, his addreſs to Becket at Northampton, 93. Dies, after an extraordinary life, 244.

*Wine*, formerly made in England, 612.

Y

*York*, Roger archbiſhop of, crowns prince Henry, 219. Is ſuſpended by Becket, 227. Goes over, with Foliot and the biſhop of Saliſbury, to the king, 230. Dies poſſeſſed of great wealth, 317.



FINIS.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

# B O O K S

*Printed for* G. G. J. & J. ROBINSON, *Paternoſter Row*, R. FAULDER, *New Bond Street, London; and* M. SWINNEY, *High Street, Birmingham.*

THE HISTORY of the LIVES of ABEILLARD and HELOISA; compriſing a Period of eighty-four Years, from 1079 to 1163. With their genuine LETTERS, from the Collection of AMBOISE. By the Rev^d. JOSEPH BERINGTON. 2d Edition. Quarto, boards, 1l. 1s.

*Where alſo may be had, by the ſame Author,*

2. LETTERS on Materialiſm and on Hartley's Theory of the Human Mind. 8vo. 3s.

3. IMMATERIALISM Delineated, or, a View of the firſt Principles of Things. 8vo. 5s.

4. LETTER to Dr. FORDYCE. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

5. STATE and Behaviour of the Engliſh Catholics from the Reformation to the Year 1781. Second Edition, 8vo. 2s. 6d.

6. REFLECTIONS addreſſed to the Rev^d. JOHN HAWKINS. To which is added, an Expoſition of Roman Catholic Principles, in Reference to God and the Country. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

7. An

7. An ADDRESS to the Proteſtant Diſſenters, on their Memorial for the Repeal of the TEST ACT. Second Edition; containing a LETTER from the Rev^d. Dr. PRIESTLEY. 8vo. 1s.

8. An ESSAY on the Depravity of the Nation, with a View to the Promotion of SUNDAY SCHOOLS, &c. of which a more extended Plan is propoſed. 8vo. 1s.

9. The RIGHTS of DISSENTERS from the eſtabliſhed Church, in Relation, principally, to ENGLISH CATHOLICS. 8vo. 1s.